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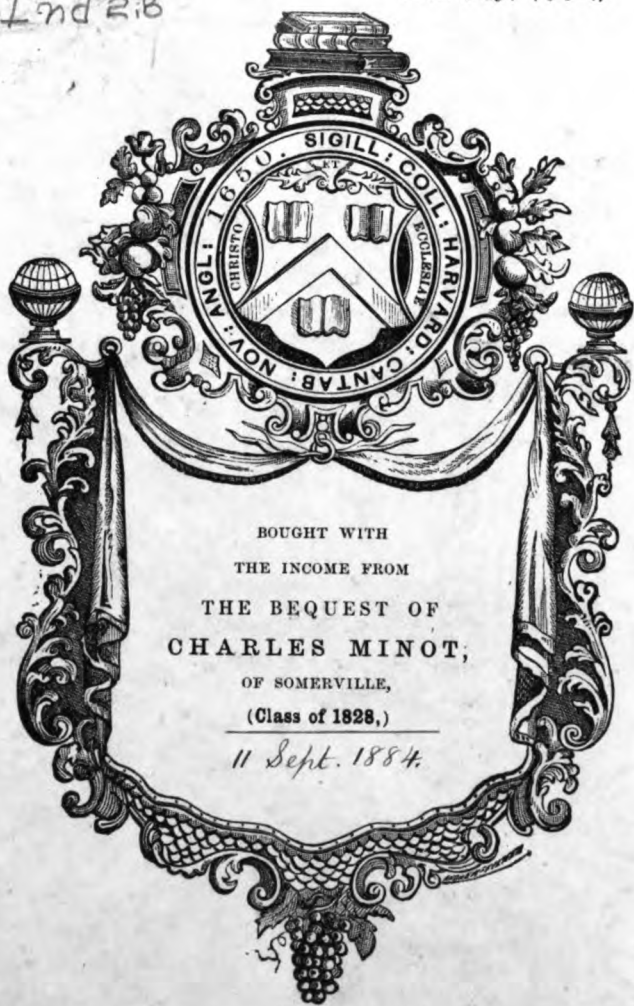
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JOURNAL
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No. XXXIII. VOL. XII.

ART. I.—*Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, relating to the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, edited from the originals, with translations, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., Bo. C. S.*

Presented January 8th, 1876.

The accompanying five Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions relate to the dynasty of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri.

No. I is a Sanskrit inscription from Khêdrâpûr, a Kôlhâpûr¹ Inâm village of the Saṅkêśwar Swâmi Śaṅkarâchârya, about nine miles to the S.E. of Kurundwâd in the Southern Maratha Country. It is engraved in Kâyastha characters of a somewhat indifferent type on a stone-tablet standing on the right hand as one enters by the south entrance of the temple of Koppêśvaradêva. This temple is one of the largest, and must have been originally one of the finest, in this part of the country. The columns and walls of the interior are not specially noticeable; but the exterior architecture, of such of the original building as remains, is very fine, and the outside of the building is covered with well-executed and spirited representations of gods, goddesses, dancing-girls, elephants and their riders, &c. Such of these sculptures, how-

¹ The old form of this name, as shown by some Śilâhâra inscriptions, was Kollâpura.

ever, as are within easy reach from the ground, have been wantonly ill-used and in many cases almost destroyed. The general style of the building is, as far as my experience goes, unique in these parts. In front of the temple there is an octagonal chamber, with twelve columns and some excellently carved images still standing on the capitals of some of them; the centre-piece of the floor consists of one entire circular stone slab, of about fourteen feet diameter, over which there is an aperture of the same shape and size in the roof, and devotees are supposed to stand on the centre-piece of the floor and obtain *mōksha*, or final emancipation of the soul, from that position. A large portion of the original building had fallen into ruin. The repairs to it,—executed under Siṅghaṇadēva himself, to judge from lines 22-3 of the inscription,—consisted in rebuilding, in a very inferior style and without sculptures or ornamentation, the centre part of the temple, restoring the roof of the same, and erecting a high terraced dome over the shrine at the back of the temple. The restored portion is whitewashed; the rest of the building has not been thus disfigured. Round the outside of the temple, at the back, about eight or nine feet from the ground, there are a number of short inscriptions,—one in the Kāyastha characters and the Sanskrit language, and nine in the Old Canarese characters and language. Three of them mention a certain Boppana, who was a Chamūnātha or Daṇḍanāyaka, and who brought the whole earth under one umbrella²; but they contain no dates, and furnish no information of importance. The tablet containing the inscription now published is 5' 3" high by 2' 1½" broad; at the bottom it is blank for the space of 1' 5". The emblems at the top of the tablet are;—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest; on their right, a curved sword or knife, and in the upper corner the moon; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the sun in the upper corner. The inscription records grants to the temple by king Siṅghaṇadēva in the Śaka year 1136 (A. D. 1224-5), the Śrīmukha *saṁvatsara*.³

No. II is from a stone-tablet standing by the temple of Pañchaliṅgaḍēva, outside the town of Munōli, about six miles to the N. of Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tālukā of the Belgaum District. The temple is between the town and the river Malaprabhā. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; on its right an

² i.e., who achieved the sovereignty of the whole world for his master.

³ See note 2, page 9.

officiating priest, with the moon above him ; and on its left, a curved sword or knife, beyond which are a cow and calf with the sun above them. The characters and language are Old Canarese. A good photograph of this tablet is among the supplementary plates, still to be published, of Mr. Burgess' *Archæological Report* for 1874. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), the Chitrabhānu *saṁvatsara*⁴, to the temple of Pañchaliṅgadēva at Munipura or Munivalli in the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand, by Purushōttama, the General of Siṅghaṇadēva, and other persons.

No. III is a Sanskrit inscription of the time of king Kṛishṇa, or, as he is here called, Kanhara or Kanhāra⁵, the grandson of Siṅghaṇadēva. It has already been published by me at pp. 246 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Journal ; I now give a revised transcription, with a full transcription of all the important part of the inscription. The original is in somewhat corrupt Kāyastha characters, on copper-plates which were found at Chikka-Bāgiwādi in the Belgaum Tālukā of the Belgaum District, and which now belong to myself. The plates, three in number, are fastened together by a ring, the seal of which bears a representation of the god Hanumān ; their size is $7\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $10\frac{3}{4}$ " long, and the inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1172 (A.D. 1250-1), the Saumya *saṁvatsara*⁶, Mallisaiṭṭi, the minister of Kanhāra, at the king's command bestowed upon thirty-two Brāhmaṇs, attached to the shrine of the god Mādhavadēva, certain lands at Santhēya-Bāgavādi⁷ of the Huvalli⁸ Twelve in the country of Kuhunḍi⁹, and how the grant was subsequently confirmed by Mallisaiṭṭi's son Chaunḍisaiṭṭi. As I have already pointed out, this inscription, as also No. IV, supplies the name of Siṅghaṇadēva's son, Jaitugi, not previously ascertained by Sir W. Elliot.

* See note 9, page 20.

* See note 3, page 31.

* See note 6, page 32.

* See note 9, page 32.

* There are several places called Hubballi in the Belgaum and Dhārwad Districts ; that here intended is probably Mughatkhān-Hubballi, close to Bāgiwādi.

* Or 'Kūṇḍi', which is the form of this name in other inscriptions,—e. g., my Raṭṭa Inscriptions No. V, line 55, No. VII, line 3, &c. ; as 'Kuhunḍi', it occurs in No. II of the same, line 27.

No. IV is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language, from a stone-tablet at the temple of the goddess Udachavvâ in the fort at Munôji. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :— In the centre, a *liṅga* ; on its right, an officiating priest, with the moon above him, and behind him two objects that would seem to be a closed umbrella and an ascetic's water-pot or a sacrificial ladle ; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them and a curved sword or knife beyond them. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1174 (A.D. 1252-3), the Virôdhikṛit *saṃvatsara* ¹⁰, to the god Jagadīśvaradêva. The temple, to which the inscription is now attached, if it be the same to which the grants were made, is one of no architectural pretensions.

No. V is another Sanskrit copper-plate inscription in the Kāyastha characters. The plates are three in number, each 7" broad by 10' long, and are strung together by a ring, the seal of which has on it figures of Garuḍa and Hanumān with the moon and sun above them. They belong to Basappa bin Liṅgappa Beṅgêri of Bêhaṭṭi, which is about thirteen miles to the E. of Dhârwâd. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1175 (A.D. 1253-4), the Pramâdi *saṃvatsara*, Chaṇḍarâja or Chavṇḍarâja, the minister of Kṛishṇa or Kanharadêva, bestowed upon one thousand and two Brâhman's the village of Kukkanûru, the chief town of a circle of thirty-two villages in the Belvola Three-hundred in the country of Kuntala. As this inscription identifies the Śaka year 1175 with the seventh year of the reign of Kanharadêva, the termination of Singhana-dêva's reign and the commencement of Kanharadêva's, not determined by the inscriptions collected by Sir W. Elliot, is now fixed as Śaka 1169.

* * * * *

In connexion with the above inscriptions, I have to notice one of the time of Râmachandra, the son and successor of Kanharadêva. It is contained in Plate No. 26 of a collection of photographic copies of inscriptions at Chitrakaldurg, Dêvanagiri, Harihar, and other places in Maisûr, published in 1865 for the Government of Maisûr by Major Dixon, 22nd Regiment M.N.I. The original, in the Old Canarese

¹⁰ See note 7, page 39.

characters and language, with one or two Sanskrit verses in the middle, is on a stone-tablet, 10' 2" high by 2' 4" broad, at Harihar. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a figure of some god, seated ; on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them ; and on its left, a kneeling priest or worshipper, with the moon above him. The inscription consists of eighty-four lines of about fifty letters each ; there may, perhaps, be at the bottom a few more lines not shown in the photograph. The original is in fairly good order ; but the photograph is on too small a scale, and here and there too indistinct, for me to edit the text satisfactorily from it. However, the general contents of the inscription are for the most part easily decipherable. The genealogical portion of it opens in line 10 with the praises of the kings of the Yādava family, of which the Sōmakula, or race of the moon, was the original stock. The first of these kings mentioned by name is Bhillama,—line 14. His son was Jaitugi,—line 14 ; and his, again, was the famous Singhāṇa,—line 15. The name of Singhāṇa's son is not given in this inscription ; here, as elsewhere, this omission must be attributed to the fact that Jaitugi II, dying before his father, did not reign. Singhāṇa's grandson was Kandharadēva,—line 20,—or Kandhāradēva,—line 22,—whose younger brother was Mahādēva¹¹,—line 24. Kandhāradēva's son was Rāmachandra¹²,—line 31,—or Rāmarāya,—line 32. The titles of Rāmachandra in this inscription are the usual titles of a universal sovereign, modified to suit the family to which he belonged. In lines 39 to 66 is described the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara or Great Chieftain Tikkamadēva or Sāḷuva-Tikkamadēva, the 'Samastasainyādhipati', or Commander of all the forces, of Rāmachandrārāya. With line 67 commences the portion containing the grant, which was made on Friday the thirteenth day of the bright or of the dark ¹³ fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Īśvara *samvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 1199 (A.D. 1277-8).

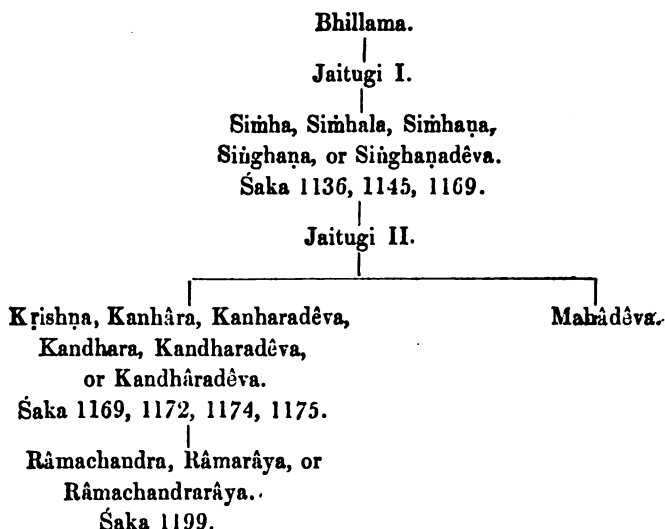
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The inscriptions noticed above establish the following genealogy and dates of the kings of this dynasty :—

¹¹ Or, as in the original, Mahādēva,—the second syllable being shortened for the sake of the metre.

¹² Spoken of by Ferishta as Rāmadēva.

¹³ The word 'suddha' or the word 'bahuḷa' has been effaced in the original.



• Nothing definite is known regarding the origin of Bhillama, who is always spoken of as the founder of the Dêvagiri family. Sir W. Elliot conjectures that, either he was a member of the Hoysaḷa-Yâdava family who asserted his own independence and founded a separate branch of the Yâdava stock, or he was some petty local chief who suddenly rose into power and assumed the Yâdava titles. A contest between Bhillama and the Hoysaḷa-Yâdava king Vîraballâlâdêva¹⁴, in which the former lost the country of Kuntala, is referred to, in lines 30-1 of the Gadag inscription, dated Śaka 1115 (A.D. 1193-4), published by me at pp. 299 *et seqq.* of Vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*.

In Sir W. Elliot's genealogy, based on the Harihar inscription noticed above, Râmachandra is shown as the son of Mahâdêva; but the inscription states explicitly that he was the son of Kandhâradêva.

By the same authority, quoting also Ferishta, Râmachandra was succeeded by his eldest son Śaṃkaradêva, in Śaka 1232 (A.D. 1310-1) and the dynasty expired in Śaka 1234 on the death of Śaṃkaradêva at the hands of Malik-Kâfur. It seems doubtful whether any inscription of the time of Śaṃkaradêva exists.

¹⁴ Śaka 1113 to 1133?—Sir W. Elliot.

No. I.

[1] श्री [11] नमस्तुंगेशिर्भुंबचंद्रचामरचारवे त्रैलोक्यऽनगरं प्रभूलस्तंभाय क्षंभवे 1 (11)
 धर्मः सुस्थिरतामु[3]पैतु जगतामानंददायी सदा वृद्धिं चाभिनवांतरण [4]भजतां केष्वेश्वरस्याभितः ।
 स्थानं स्वोचितमूर्जितं च [5]बहुना कालेन लब्धवान्ना श्रीमद्दीप्तदुसारसारचतुरायुष्मन्म*हपू-
 [6]रुषान् ॥ भूदेवाशिरमृतात्म (स्मा)वृष्ट्याप्यायितो यमनवरतं [7] । अंकुरतात्सल्लवतत्कुसुमतु फलतात्सु-
 धर्मकल्पतरुः ॥ [8]स्वस्ति श्रीशङ्करे ११३६ श्रीमुखसंवत्सरे चैत्रे सूर्यपर्व(र्व)णि सोमदि-
 [9]ने श्रीमैरवगिरावधिष्ठित(तः) समस्तभुवनाश्रय(यः) श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ(भो) महाराजा[10]धिराज(जः)
 परमेश्वर(रो) द्वारवतीपुरवराधीश्वर(रो) विष्णुवंशोद्भव(वो) [11]यादवकुलकालकालिकासभास्कर(रः) सम-
 स्तथ (स्ता[10]स्तथ)रि[12]रायजगजंप हस्येवमादिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृत(तः) श्रीम[13]त्प्रतापचक्रवर्तिश्रीमहारा-
 जश्रीसिंघणदेवः शासनपत्रं प्रय[14]च्छति । यथा । कूडलकृष्णवेणिभेगसीनद्योः संगमे मिरि-
 बिदेश[15]मध्ये च तिष्ठमानं कूडलदामवाडग्रामं सतृक्षमालाकुलं क्षेत्रस्य[16]लवाटसहितं नवनिधानसंगुक्तं
 चतुराघाटोपेतं स्वसीमार्पयन्तं [17]श्रीमत्कृष्णवेणीकुवेणीनदीसंगमात् श्रीमदाद्यास्वयंभुवे [18]श्रीकोप्येश्वरदेवाय

* This letter, —म, —having been at first omitted in the original, was inserted in the following line between the last two letters of अनवरतं, just below its proper place, with a mark to indicate that it belongs to the line above.

सकलांगभोगंगभोगपरियल(ज्ञः)परिपू [19]रणार्थं अष्टविधावर्चननिमित्तं शासनोदकेन प्रदत्तवान् ॥ अस्य
 [20]ग्रामस्योत्पन्नद्रव्येण सकलस्थानपतिभिः श्रीमदेवका[21]र्यं सर्व(र्व)मपि अंगभोगपूजादिप्रभृतिकं [क]-
 रणीयं ।(॥) अन्यच्च [22]जुगुलसिरिगुपग्रामद्वये यस्युर्बे(र्वै)ण विद्यते तदेव जीर्णो[23]द्धारी-
 कृत्य श्रीसिंचणदेवः श्रीकोप्यिश्चरदेवाय प्रदत्तवान् ॥ [24]आनंदात्मृतसारस्य भरणे यः पूर्णचंद्रा-
 यते यः कार्प[25]ण्यतमस्ततेश्च हरणे मार्तंडतां दैकते । यश्चाप्यं हृदये निवे[26]शित-
 हरेः(रिः) क्षीराब्धिना स्पर्धते तस्य श्रीभुजवह्नी विजयते सिंहा[27]द्विपृथ्वीपतेः ॥ रिपुभूभि-
 पालभालस्थलनिहितं क्षालयनगेषु चकास्ति । [28]गजगलगलितमदांबुप्रवाहतो सौ जगयी * सिं-
 हनृपः ॥ मंगलं ॥

* It will be seen that two syllabic instants are required here to make up the metre. The letters in the original are distinct as written above, but I cannot satisfy myself as to what जगयी is intended for; to make up the sense some such word as तिलकम् or युगमदम् is required.

No. 1.

Śrī! Reverence to Śambhu¹, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May the religion of (the god) Koppêśvara, which confers happiness upon the (three) worlds,—having now at length obtained an abode worthy of it and excellent, in the form of men of eminence who are fortunate and intellectual and good and clever and long-lived,—attain stability and ever increase anew on all sides! May the tree of paradise which is the true religion, unceasingly nourished by the rain which consists of the blessings of Brâhman, sprout and send forth its young shoots and blossom and bear fruit!

Hail! In the year of the Śaka 1136, in the Śrīmakha *samvatsara*², in (the month) Chaitra, on the solar festival³, on Monday, the glorious and valorous universal emperor, the great king Śrī-Singhanadêva,—who was adorned with all the royal titles commencing with ‘He who is established at the opulent (city of) Dêvagiri; the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravatîpura⁴, which is the best of cities; he who is born in the lineage of Vishṇu⁵; he who is the sun which causes to blossom the white lotuses of the Yâdavakula; he who is victorious over all the hostile kings,’—bestows a charter;—

To wit;—To provide for all the *aṅgabhōga*⁶ and *raṅgabhōga*⁶ and the accompanying rites, he gave to the god Śrī-Koppêśvaradêva, the holy and primitive self-existent one, with libations of water (such as it is the custom to make) at (the time of granting) a charter, the village

¹ Śiva, who bears a digit of the moon on his tiara.

² According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Śrīmakha *samvatsara* is Śaka 1135, and Śaka 1136 is the Bhava *samvatsara*.

³ ‘*Sûryaparvan*’,—a solar festival on the days of the solstices, equinoxes, eclipses, &c.

⁴ Also called Dvârasamudra or Dhôrasamudra,—the modern Halabîda in Maisûr.

⁵ The ‘lineage of Vishṇu’ is the Yâdavakula.

⁶ I cannot obtain any satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the terms ‘*aṅgabhōga*’ and ‘*raṅgabhōga*’ as used in connexion with the service of idols.

of Kūḍaladāmaṇḍa⁷, situated at the confluence of the rivers Kūḍa-lakṛishṇavēṇī⁸ and Bhēṇasī and in the district of Mirīñji⁹, together with all its trees and the enclosures within its lands and the nine kinds of buried treasure, and with its four boundaries, and comprising all the land within its own limits, and extending up to the confluence of the sacred rivers Kṛishṇavēṇī and Kuvēṇī. The holy rites of the god, consisting of the *aṅgabhōga* worship and other ceremonies, should be performed by all the chiefs of the locality out of the produce of this village.

Again;—Having repaired that (temple) which is found to have existed of old in the two villages of Jūgula and Siriguppa, Śrī-Siṅgha-nadēva gave it to the god Śrī-Koppēsvaradēva.

Victorious is the creeper-like arm of the king Simha,—who is like the full moon in nourishing the ocean of the nectar of joy; who acts like the sun in dispelling the thick darkness of niggardliness; and who rivals the ocean of milk in having Hari established in his heart!¹⁰ Glorious is king Simha, washing away, with the streams of rut that trickle down over the cheeks of his elephants in his battles, (the distinctive marks¹¹) that are placed on the foreheads of the hostile kings! May it be auspicious!

⁷ i. e., 'Dāmaṇḍa of the confluence', 'kūḍala' being the genitive of the Canarese 'kūḍalu', the confluence of rivers. 'Kūḍaladāmaṇḍa' would seem to be the old form of 'Kurundwād', the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Southern Maratha Country.

⁸ i. e., the Kṛishṇā and the Vēṇī, regarded as one river after their confluence.

⁹ The modern Miraj, a Native State in the Southern Maratha Country.

¹⁰ Hari, or Viṣṇu, sleeps on the coils of the serpent Śēsha in the midst of the ocean of milk.

¹¹ See note * to line 28 of the text.

No. II.

[1] ● ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಳಿರಕ್ಕುಂಬುಪಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚರವೇ [1] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಗ್ನಂ(ಸ್ತಂ)ಭಾಯು
 ಶಂಭವೇ || ● [2] ವಾರಿರವೇಷ್ಟಿತಮೇನಿವೇ ಧಾರಿಣಿಗತಿಸೇಲ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ) ಮೇರುವಿಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದೇಶ್ ಸಾರಂ
 ಜಯೂದ್ವೀಪದೇಶೀಶೋರಂ [3] ಕೆಸೆವೊಟ್ಟಿ ಕೋರ್ಪು ಭರತಶ್ಚೇತ್ರಂ || ಭರತಾನನಿಗೊಪ್ಪಿಲ್ಲದು ಸುರುಚಿರಧ-
 ಮೈ(ವಿ)ಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ಕುಂಠಕಕತಿವಿನ್ದ [4] ರಮಿನೆ ತೋಗತಿ ನಾದಿನ ನಿರಿಕರುನಿನಿದುದು ಮುನಿಪುರಂ ಕಡು-
 ರಂ(ರ)ಮ್ಯಂ || [5] ● ಯಾ(ಈ) ವಿಶ್ವಕೇಶೋಣಿಗೊಪ್ಪಿಪ್ಪ ಮರಪುರಮಿನಳ ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗೋದ್ಭವಾನಂ
 ಶ್ರೀವಾಸಂ ರಾಮಗಂ [6] ಗಾಜವಿಹವರಸಂಗೆಲ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಮಿಂದೊಪ್ಪಿತಿಪ್ಪಶ್ರೀವೇದಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ಶ(ಸ)ಶತ್ವರ್ಜಮದಗುನಿ* [7] ಪಶಿವ್ಯಧ್ಯ-
 (ಬೃ)ರದ್ಯಾಜರತ್ತಿಶ್ರೀವಿಶ್ವಾಮಿತ್ರಂ ದಂ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿನಿಗುಂ ಕೋಟಶೀರ್ತ್ಯಂ [8] ಇಂದಂ || ಮಾ(ಲ)ಪುರೋಪವನ-
 ಮೆಂತಂದೊಡೆ || ತಂಗು ಕಾಂಗು† ಜಂಬುರನ ಮಾಧುಫಲಂ ಪನಸಾಂಬು [9] ನಿಂಬ ನಾರಂಗ
 ಲನಂಗ ವಿಳಿ ನುರಹೋನಿ ಸುಪಾಟಿ ಪರಿಪಾತ ಪುಂನಾಗವಕೋಕ(ಕ) ಕತ್ತಲಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪಲಿವಳ್ಳಗಂ
 ಮ[10] ಬಾಳಯಿಂ ಶ್ರೀಗದು ಜನ್ಮಭೂಮಿಯನಿಕುಂ ಮುನಿವಳ್ಳ ಸದಾನಕಾಲ(ಕ?)ಮುಂ || ಸನಕನಂದ-
 ನಾದಿಜಮದ್ಗುನಿಭಾಂಡುಕರಪ್ಪ [11] ತಾನೇವಿ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿಂದಂ ಮುದದೆ ರಕ್ಷಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪನು ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗನೇಶ್-

* The name has here, for the sake of the metre, to be read as written, —Jamadagni.

† For the sake of the metre this word must be read as if written ಕವಂಗು.

ದಸದಿನ ಶತಕರೋಪ[12]ವನಸಾ(ಶು)ಸ್ವ(ಶ್ವ)ತಲ್ಯೈಯೊಳುಂನತಿರ್ಕ್ಕಿಯುಂ ಧನಕನಕಂಗಳಂದಮೆನೆಗುಂ ಧರ ಮೇರು
 ಕಸಾಂ(ಘಾಂ)ಕರುಳ್ಳನಾ || ಸ್ವಪ್ನ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ತ್ವೀವಲ(ಪ್ರ)ಭಾ [13]ಮಹಾರಾಜಾದಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರ-
 ಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪಟ್ಟೇತುಗದೇವಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾತ್ಮಕಂ ಯಾದವನಾರಾಯ[14]ನಾ ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್-
 ಸಿಂಘಣದೇವರಸಾ ಭೇನಗಾರಿಯ ನೆಲವಿಡಿನೊಳ್ ಸುತ(ಪು)ಸಂಕಥಾದಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯು[15]ತ್ತಮೀರಿಯಾ . ||
 ಯಾದವನಾಯಸಿಂಘಣಮಹೀವತಿ ತಂನ ಭುಜಾನಿಧಾರಯೊಳ ಸಂದಿಪಿ ವೈರಿಭಾಭುಜರ ದೇಶಮನಿಕರ್ಪ್ಯಳಗೋ[16]ದು
 ಲೀಲೆಯುಂ ಮೇದಿನಿಯೊಳಪ್ಪ ಶನಗಾಣೆ ಮಹೋಂನತಿನೆತ್ತ ರಾಜ್ಯದಿಂನಾ ದಿಗು * ದಂತಿದಂತನಕಳೋರ್ಬ್ಬಿ(ವರ್ವಿ)-
 ಯಮುಂದಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯ ಮಾಡಿದಂ || [17] * ಮಾಳವಚೀರಚೋಳಮಗಧಾದಿಪಗಂಜ್ಜರಪಾಂಧ್ಯಲಾಳನೇಪಾಳ-
 ತುತ(ರು)ಕ(ಪ್ಪ)ಜಬ್ಬ(ಬ್ಬ)ರಿಗಕೇರಳವಲ್ಲವಮಂಗಳವೆಂಗಿಪಾಂಚಾಳಕಳಂಗೆಸಿಂಧುವಿದ[18]ಯಾದಿಪರಾಳ್ಯನಗೆಯ್ಯಿ ಧಾತ್ವಿ(ಶ್ರಿ)ಯಾಂ(ಯುಂ)
 ಲೀಲೆಯುನಾಳ್ವ ಸಿಂಘಣವಂಂದ್ರ ಸುರೇಂದ್ರನಪೋಳ ವಿರಾಜಿಕುಂ || ಜಗ ತನಗುಂದಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂ
 ಜಗಮಂ ಮಾ(ಮ)ಯ್ಯಾರ್[19]ವೆಯುಂವೆ ಪಾಳವದೇವದೀಪಗದ್ದಿಪಾರಮನಿತ್ತಂ ಜಗದಳವರುಳೋ(ಬೋ)ತ್ತಮುಂಗೆ ಸಿಂ-
 ಘಣಾಯಂ || ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಸಂಗದಿಂದಂ ಪನ್ನಿಗೇ ಮರು ಸಿಂ[20]ಘಣೋರ್ಬ್ಬಿ(ವರ್ವಿ)ಪಂ ಶಿವಪ್ರಸುಂ
 ನಿಮ್ಮಿಪ್ರವೆನೆ ಪುರುಷೋ(ವೋ)ತ್ತಮಧಸ್ತೋರವೋಗಮನೆ ಜೋಗದೇವಂಗತ್ತಂ || ಸ್ಥಿರತರಮಿನಿಪುಂನತಿಗಂ ಪರ-
 ಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀಗೆ ಮೇರು ಕಾರಾ[21]ಚ(ಪ್ರ)ವದಿಂ ಪುರುಷ(ವ್ರ)ರತನಂ ಪುರುಳೋ(ಬೋ)ತ್ತಮನ-
 ಬ್ಬರ್ವರೈ ಮೇಲವ ಗೋತ್ರಂ || ಮತ್ತನಾ ಜೋಗದೇವನ ವಂಶಾವತಾರಮೆಂಕೆಂದೇವೆ ||

* 'Digdanti' instead of 'digdanti'; for the sake of the metre, as in 'Jamaḍaguni' in line 6,

[22] ● ೧೦ಜೇಶಂ ಪಂಜಲಂಗಂ ವರದನಿಜಕುಲನಾಮಿ ವಾಸಿ(ಶಿ)ದ್ವೈಪ್ರವರ(ರು)ಣಂ ಕವಂ(ಕಾಂ)ಗಾ ಕವಂ(ದಿಂ-
 (ದಿ)ಸ್ತನೋತ್ರಂ ಜನಕಗುಣಗಂ(ಣಾ)ಕಂಕಿ(ಕ್ರ)ಶಂ. ರಾಮದೇವಂ [23]ಸ್ಥಿರಸತ್ಯಂ ಮಾನಿ ತೋಶಾಂಬಿಕೆ ಜನನಿ
 ಲಕ(ಸ)ದ್ಧಾರಿಯ(ರ್ಯು)ಗಾ ರಿಯ) ಸೌಭಾರ್ಯ(ಬ್ಧಾರ್)ಯ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀವರಪ್ರತಂ ನೋಮನಧಂ ಸಿರಿಧರನೇಶಂ ಧಂ-
 (ಧ)ಸ್ತನೋ ಜೋಗ[24]ದೇವಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಜೋಗದೇವಂ ಪಲವದೇಶಾದಿಕಾರಮಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಸುಖ-
 ದಿನಾಳ್ವ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ ಸ(ಕ)ಕವರ್ವ ೧೦೪೫ನೆಯ ಚತ್ವ(ತ್ವ)[25]ಭಾನುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಸು(ಕು)ದ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)
 ಪೂಮಿ(ಪ್ರಣಿ)ಮೆ ನೋಮವಾರ ನೋಮಗ್ರಹಣಾಲ್ವ(ಸ್ವ)ತಿಂಪಾತದಲ್ವ ಸ್ವಯಂಭುಶ್ರೀಪಂಜಲಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ಮಾ-
 ಟ್ರ[26]ಕೂಟವ್ರಸದತ್ಯಂ [ಖಂ]ದಸ್ತುಟಜೀವ್ಯೋ(ಣೋ)ರ್[ದ್ಧಾ]ರನಿತ್ಯವೈವ್ಯಮಂಗಳೋಗಂಗಳೋಗಭತ್ತತ್ಯಂ ಶ್ರೀ-
 ಮಹಸಿಂಘಣದೇವರ [27]ಸಬ್ಬಾರ್(ವರ್ವ)ದಿಕಾರಿ ಪುರುಕೋ(ವೋ)ತ್ತಮದೇಶಾ (ದಂ)ಡನಾ)ಯಕರ ನಿಯಾಮದಿಂ ಜೋಗ-
 ದೇವ[ಂ] ಸಬ್ಬಾರ್(ವರ್ವ)ನಮಸ್ಕವಾ೧ ಕಳ್ಳವೊಳಿಯ[ಂ] ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)[28]ಣ್ಯಧಾರಾಶಾರ್ಪ(ವರ್ವ)ಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೇಟ್ಟಂ ||
 ವರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಪತಿ ಜೋಗದೇವನೋಲ್ವಿ* ಶ್ರೀಪಂಜಲಂಗಂಗೆ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರದಿಂ ಸಬ್ಬಾರ್(ವರ್ವ)ನಮಸ್ಕ(ಸ್ವ) ಕಳ್ಳವೊಳಿಯಂ
 [29]ಸಂಪ್ರೀತಿಯಂದಿತ್ತನಾದರದಿಂ ಚೈತ್ರಪವಿತ್ರಕಂ ಸ್ತುಟಿತಜೀವ್ಯೋ(ಣೋ)ರ್[ದ್ಧಾ]ರಕ(ಸ)ಪ್ರತ್ಯದಂ ಧರಣೀಶ್ವರ
 ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳವರ್ಜ್ವಳದ್ವಿಪಃ[30]ದ್ರಾದಿತ್ಯರುಳ್ಳಂನಿಗಂ || ಪುರುಕೋ(ವೋ)ತ್ತಮನಾ(ನ)ಸುಜ[ಂ] ಕ(ಸ)ತಿಪ್ರಕಂ(ರು)ದ್ವಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಜೋಗದೇವದಂಪಾದೀಶಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತರಮಿನಿ ಶಿವಪ್ರರಮಂ ಧರೆ ಮೀ[31]ರು ಕಣಂಕರುಳ್ಳನಂ ದ್ವಿಜಗ್ಗ-
 (೧೯)ತ್ತಂ || ವಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತಿ ಹದಿನಾಱ(ಱು) ಶಿವಪ್ರರದುತ್ಪಮನಿಪ್ರರಿಗೆ ಜೋಗದೇವಪ್ರಮೂವಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೋ-

* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ನೋಲ್ವಿ.

(ಶ್ರೀ)ಕ ಕಮ್ಮವಿಂನಪಿತ್ತಂ [32] ಪಳಿಪೂರ(ರಬಿ)ಗಲಾಬಿನಿಂ ನಾಲಕೂರೊಳ್ || ಮತ್ತಮದಾವಾಪೂರೋಳಿಂದೇಡೆ ||
ಮುನಿಪುರದೊಳ್ ಸಿಂಧವಿಗಿಡೊಳನುನಯದಿಂ [33] ದಾಗನೂರು ನಾಗರಪುರದೊಳ್ ಮನುಬರತೆಜೋಗದೇವಂ ವಿನಯದೇ
ಹದಿನಾಯು ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಿಯು ದ್ವಿಜ್ಞ(ಗ)ತ್ತಂ || ಜಗದೊಳತಿತಯ[34] ಮಿದಿನಿಸಲ್ ಜಗ* ದಳಪುರುಕೋ-
(ವೊ)ತ್ತಮಾನುಜಂ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ವಪುರಮು ಪೊಗಯಿಸುವ ಭೋಗಭೂಮಿಗೊ ಮಿಗಿಲಿನಿಸಿದ ಜೋಗದೇವದಂಡಾದ್ವಿಲಂ ||
ಮತ್ತ[35]ನಾ ಪುಸ್ತಾ(ಸ್ತಾ)ವದೊಳ್ || ತ್ಯಾಗದ ಪಂಪಿನ ನೆಲೆ ರತ್ನಾಗ(ಗ)ರಮುನಿಪುರದ ದೊಂ-
ಟಗಪ್ಪಿಸನ(ವ)ದದಭ್ಯೋ(ವ್ಯೋ)ಗದ ನನಿಯು ಛಲದುಡೊಳಗದ ಕಲಿತನದ ಒಲುಹಿನಾ[36] ಪ್ಪಿಂ ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ||
ಧರಣಿಸಿವ ಪಂಚಲಂಗನ ಚರಣಾಬ್ಜ ವರಪುಸಾದತೀರ(ತೋರ)ಟಗರಿತ್ತವರ್ಧಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಕಂಡೆಯಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತರ
ತಾಟಂಗೆ ರಂಗ[37] ಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆಂದು || ಬಿರುದರ ವ್ವಿಂ(ವಿ)ರಾಗ(ಗ)ಣ್ಯರ್ಪಲದ ಒಲುಪಿನಾಪ್ಪಿಂ
ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ಪಂಪಿಂ ವರಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀನಮಾಖ್ಯುಸ್ಸುಕಳನಮ[38] ಯನಿಸಾ (ಸ್ತಾ)ರಕಸ್ತೋಜ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ರಾರಿಂದುತೋಜ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)-
ಣ್ಯಾಂಜಪ್ಪಿಂ ವಿಧಗುಣಗಣಾಧಾರಗಂಭೀರಧ್ಯಯ್ಯಾರ್ ಸ್ಥಿರನತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ದಾರ್ಪನಾಣಿಗ[39] ಉಗುರಮೂನೂವ್ವರ್ಪಿರೀಡೋ-
ಕಳಾಜ್ಯೂರ್ || ಕರಣೇಂದಂಗಜಾಮರತ್ನವರದಂಗಾಪ್ಪಾತ್ಪನೇಂದ್ರಿ(ದ್ರಿ) ತಾಂ ದೊರೆ ಕೊಂ[40] ದಿಕ್ಕುನಿಸ್ಥಿ
ಕಾಪ ಬಬ್ಬಿಂ[†] ದಾದಾಯ್ಯಾರದಿಂ ನತ್ಯದೇವರದಿಂ ಸಾಹಸದೇಳಿಯಂ ನಕಳಧಕ್ಕೋದೊಳಗದ್ದೆನೇಣನಾಲ್ವರ ಪಂಪಂ
[41] ತೊಗಲೞಂ ನೆಡೆಯನಿಂನೇ ವಣ್ಣಿ ಪಂ ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಪಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಪುಗುರು ಮೂನೂವ್ವರ್ಪುರು-

* This letter was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ಬರಿಪಿಂ.

ಮೈಸೂನಾಲ್ವರುಂ . ಚಟ್ಟರಾಸಿಗೆ[48]ನಿವಲ್ಲ ಹನಿಯ ಹೂವೊಂದಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು [||] ಮತ್ತಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಪಂಚರಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ನಮಸ್ಕೃ(ಸ್ತೃ)ದ ಯಶಯ ಕಂಮ ಮೂನೂದಕ್ಕೆ ನಿಮಿಯಾ[49]ವೆಂದೆಡೆ
 ಮೂಡಲ್ ತಗ್ಗಿಗೆ ಹೊಂದಿದ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ ತಂಕಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳ ಪಡುವಲ್ಕನಾಲಗಿಯ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೆಬ್ಬಳ್ಳಿ-
 ಹರಳಕಿಯ [||] ಮತ್ತೆರೊಂ[44]ದತ್ತಂ ನೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಕಾಳಕಾವೇವಿ ತಂಕಲ್ ಹಗ್ಗಿನೆಡೆ
 ಪಡುವಲ್ ಕಣುವೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೂವಿನಕಲ್ಲ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ [||] ವೆಂವ[45]ರಿಂ ತಂಕಲ್ ಯಂ-
 ಗರತ್ತಿಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಯೆರೆದೊಂಟ
 ಕೃತಿಯಯನೂ[46]ಕ್ಕೆಂ ನಿಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ಯ ಹರಿಕುಳಯ ಸುಂಕ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಒಟ್ಟಿ ಸುಂಕ
 ಸಬ್ಬಾ(ವ್ವ)ಬಾಧೆ(ಧ)ಪರಿಹಾರ ಯಾ ದೇವರ್ಕಿ(ಗ್ಗಿ) ಯೆಲಯ ಹೇರಿಗೆ ವಿಲ[47]ವೊಂದು ಸ್ಥಳದ
 ಸಿಂಗವಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ನೋಮುವಾರದಲ್ ನಿಬಾಳಿಗೆ ಗಾಣಕ್ಕೆಯಂ(ಯಿ)ಗ್ಗೊ ನೀಳನಗಿಯರಸು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ನವೆವ
 ಗಾಣವೊಂ[48]ದು ಯ(ಲ)ಱುವತ್ತೊಕ್ಕಲ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿ ತಾಟನ ಕಂಡಗೆ ಯೆಲಯ ಕೊಯಲಾಳ ಕೊಯ್ಲಿ
 ಕುಡವರ್ ಯೆಲಯ ಬೋಜಗರಿದು [ಕು][49]ದುನರ್ ಯ(ಲ)ರಸದಿಹಾರಿಗಳ ಸುಂಕವಂ ಮುಂನಿಸುವರ
 ವೊ(ಲ)ರೊಳಗದ್ದ ತಂಜುಲಗರ್ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಧಾಪಗೊಯಂ ರೊಕ್ಕ ಮಾಡಿ ಕುಡು[50]ನರ್ ಹೂ-
 ದೊಂಬದ ಮೂಡಲ ತಂಕಣ ನೀಮಿ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ಪಡುವಣ ನೀಮಿ ಒಗದಿಯ ತೊಂಟ
 ಬಡಗಣ ನೀಮಿ[51]ಯೆರೆದೊಂಟ [||] ಮತ್ತಂ ತೊಡೆದೊಂಟದ ಯೆಲಯ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯಯ್ಯಕ್ಕೊಕ್ಕಂ
 ನೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ತಂಕಣ ಪಡವ[ಣ] [52]ಬಡಗಣ ನೀಮಿ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲ [||]

ಸುರುಗಣಹಾಳಲ್ ಹೂದೇರಂಟ ಮೂಱು [||] ಶ್ರೀಮಾಧವನಾರಾಯಣದೇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯಂ ಮಾ[ದಿ]
 [58]ಲ ದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸರ್ವವಸ್ತುಮಾನ್ಯ ನತ್ತಿಯಕೆಡೆಯು ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯ ಧಾರಾಘಾ-
 ವ್ಯುಕ್ತಂ ಮಾದಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮುನಿ[ವಳ್ಳಿ][54]ಯು ಮೂಡಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯುಂ
 ವಡುವಲ್ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಿಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಯಲೆಮೋಂಟ ಕುಳಿಯಯನೂ[ಱು] ||] [55]ಮತ್ತಮಾ
 ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಾ(ಸ್ತ)ವದೇಶ್ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪುರಿಯ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವ್ಯುಕ್ತಂ ಮಾದಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ವ್ರಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತಿ
 ಕಡಕುಳದಲರಡು ಬಳ್ಳಿಗೊಡೆಯಲರಡು ಹುಲುಕುಳದಲರಡು *...[56]ಟ್ಟನೆಯಲರಡು ಕುಮಳನೂರಲರಡು
 ಬಂನಿಪೂರಲರಡು ವಾವೆಯಬಾವಿಯಲರಡು ಗೋರವನೂರಲರಡು ಜಂಗವಾಡವನೂರಲರಡು ಹಳಿ[ಪೂರಲ್ಯಾ][57]ಲ್ಯು ತ
 ಮತ್ತಂ ಲ ಪೋರಗದೇವನಾಯಕರಾ ಧರ್ಮವಂ ರಜೆಯನುಮಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಪುರಕಂ ಸಂಧಿ(ಗೆ)ಕಾಸನಕಂ
 ಅಜುವತೊ(ತ್ತೊ)ತ್ತಲಗುರಮೂನೂವ್ವುರಯನೂ[58]ಱನಾಲ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯಮಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವ್ಯುಕ್ತ-
 ವಾಗ ಹಡದು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿಯ ಸೀಮಾವಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)ತಿಮೀತೆಂದದೆ ಕಣ್ಣಾನ್ಯದಲ್ಲ ಕೋರಣಾ[ವು]-
 [59]ಣಿಸಿ || ಕಂ || ತೋರಪುಣಿಸಿಯ ತೆಂಕಲ್ಯಾರಾಂಜಿನೀದ್ರಭೂಮಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಮತ್ತಂ ಕಾರಣಕೆ-
 ಮನೇಕೆವ್ವೆಯ ಗೋಳು†ರದಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಬಾ†.....[60]ರಕ್ಕುರದೇಶೀಂಟು || ಲ ತೋಟದ
 ಮೋರೆಯುಂ ವಡುವ ಮುಂದಾಗ ಕೆಂಪರಹಾಳಿನಿಟ್ಟಯ ತೋಟದ ವಾಯಾ(ಯ)ಬ್ಬ(ವ್ರ)ದಿಂ ತೆಂಕ ಮುಂದಾಗ

* One letter is effaced in the original here.

† The P'dase is violated here.

‡ One short syllable is effaced here in the original.

ದೇವರ ಮುಂ[ದಿದ್ದ] [೮] ಪರುಷಜಾವಿಪ್ರಹೃಯನಾಲಹಿಟ್ಟಲುನ ಬನವನನ ಶೋಖದಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಮುಖ
 ಕಳ್ಳವ(ವೊ)ಳನ ಹೋದ ಬಟ್ಟ ಮಲವ್ರಹಾರೀಯದ್ರತೀರ್ಥದಿಂ ಬ[೮]ಕಗಲ್ ಕಟಗುವೈಯ ಮಧ್ಯದಿಂ
 ಕುಪೈಯುಂ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಮೊದಲೂರ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯುಂ ಕೊಡಗದಕೆಯ ಕಾಳಕವೆ(ವೈ)ಯೊಲಹೊಲ ಹಳ್ಳ
 ಸಂ[೮]ದ ಹುಣಿಸೆಯುಂ ಕೋರಗುವುಣಿಸಿ || ಇತಿ ನೀನಾತ್ರಮಂ || ಈ ಮಳಿಗೆಯ
 ಕೋಲುಕೋಳಕ* ಸಕಲಸಾಂ(ಸಾ)ಮೃವಿಲ್ಲವೊ ಶ್ರೀ[ಪಂ][೮]ಚಲಂಗದೇವರದು(ಡಿಂ)ದ(ದು) ಸದೋನ(ದ)ವಜ್ಜವಹ
 ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರ(ಪ್ರ)ಶ್ವಿಯ ಉಜುಳಯಾ ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಶಾವರದಮುದ್ರಾದಿಕಾರಿ[೮]ಸುಗಳುಂ
 ಸಮಯಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಲಯನಾವರ್ತರುಂ ಸಾನೀರ್ವರುಂ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಪಟ್ಟಣಂಗಳುಂ ಯೇಳುವರೆ ಹಂ[ನರದು]-
 [೮]ವರೆಯ ಪುಭಯನಃನಾದೇನಿ(ಶಿ)ಗಳುಂ] ಭೂಮಿಜಲಪ್ರಂದ್ರಾಕ್ರೃತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸುವಾ ||
 ಸ್ವದಶಂ(ಹ್ರಂ) ಪರದಶಂ(ಹ್ರಂ) [ಪಾ] [೮]ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧವಾ(ರಾಂ) ಕ(ದ)ಪ್ಪಿವ್ಯವ(ವ)ದ್-
 ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿವ್ವಾ ಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿ(ಮಿ:) ||

* This letter was omitted in the original and then inserted over the line.

No. II.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds !

In Jambūdvipa¹, the most excellent region to the south of Mēru, which is worthy of great worship in the earth encircled by the ocean, is Bharata-kshētra, which is equally resplendent and beautiful. In Kuntala, which like a beautiful braid of hair adorns the land of Bharata, is the broad district of Toragale ; the very pleasant city of Munipura is esteemed the chief beauty of that district. So that you may say that it is like the city of the gods, resplendent in the universe, Munipura is more glorious than a crore of other sacred places of pilgrimage, from (its being the favourite residence of the sages) Vêdavyâsa, Kutsa, Jamadagni, Vâsishtha, Bharadvâja, Attri, and Viśvâmitra, who confessed that it was the birthplace of Pañchalinga² and the abode of the goddess of fortune, and that, being possessed of the waters of the Râmagangâ³, it was worthy to be worshipped both in this world and in the next. To describe the pleasure-garden of that city :—Munivallî has always been considered to be the birthplace of the goddess of fortune, on account of its black bees and its cocoanuts and areca-nuts and rose-apples and the fruits of the Mâdhu, on account of its jack-trees, and mango-trees, and lime-trees, and orange-trees, and clove-trees, and betel-plants, and Surahonne-trees, and Supâtali-trees, and Pârijâta-trees, and Punnâga-trees, and Âsôka-trees, and on account of the betel-creepers that cause a dense gloom. This same Munipura was the abode of the sages Sanaka,

¹ Jambūdvipa is the central division of the world. The golden mountain Mēru is the centre of Jambudvipa. Bharata-kshētra, 'the land of Bharata', is India.

² Śiva, who is the ultimate object of the *lînga* worship, is called Pañchalinga, 'he who has five *lîngas*', probably from the chief places at which he is worshipped under that emblem being five in number, viz.—1, Conjevaram ; where there is the '*prithivî-lînga*,' or *lînga* made of earth ; 2, Jambukêśvara, where there is the '*ab-lînga*,' or *lînga* from which water is said to exude perpetually ; 3, Tirunâmale, where there is the '*têjâ-lînga*,' or *lînga* which sparkles with light ; 4, Kâlahasti, where there is the '*vâyu-lînga*,' or *lînga* the lamp of which is said to be kept in constant vibration by the wind ; and 5, Chidambara, where there is the '*âkâśa-lînga*,' or aërial or sham *lînga*, i. e. where the *lînga* is worshipped without any material form of it being kept in the temple.

³ This would seem to be another name for the Malaprabhâri or Malâsphâri, the modern Malaprabhâ. Many rivers are called Gaṅgâ because the waters of the real Ganges are supposed to flow into them periodically.

Sanandana, Jamadagni, Vibhāṇḍuka, and others ; he who with joy protects it, daily delighting in the perpetual beauties of the pleasure-garden of that city, is Pañchaliṅga ; its high prosperity shall outshine riches and gold, as long as the earth and Mèru and the moon shall last.

Hail ! While the valorous universal emperor, the glorious king Siṅghaṇadêva,—the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the sun of the white lotuses of the family of the glorious Jaitugidêva*, the best among the Yâdavas,—was ruling at his capital of Dêvagiri, with the recreation of pleasing conversations :—King Siṅghaṇa, the sovereign of the Yâdavas, —having invaded and acquired with the edge of the sword, which was his arm, the territory of the hostile kings, and having charmingly become the sole ruler of the world,—by means of his mighty rule made the whole earth, (which rests) upon the tusks of the elephants (that stand) at the points of the compass, his prey. While the kings of Mâlava and Chêra and Chôla and Magadha, and the lords of the countries of Gûrjara, Pāṇḍya, Lâla, Nêpâla, Turushka, Barbariga, Kêraja, Pallava, Aṅga, Veṅgi, Pāñchâla, Kâlînga, and Sindhu were reigning,—Siṅghaṇa, the king of men, governing the earth in happiness, was glorious like the king of the gods. The world had become his prey ; and, saying “ Let him rule the earth with justice”, king Siṅghaṇa gave the government of the earth to Jagadaja-Purushôttama. On a religious occasion king Siṅghaṇa, who was preëminent in respect of his renown, saying “ Let him build the city of Śivapura”, gave the celebration of the rites of Purushôttama[†] to Jôgadêva. Best among a hundred millions is the family of Purushôttama, who is a very Mèru in respect of his firm dignity and the lustre of his excellent fame, and who, through the influence of his star, is a very asylum of mankind, a very jewel of a man. And the lineage of that same Jôgadêva is this :—Pañchaliṅga, the lord of the daughter[‡] of the mountain, is the propitious lord of his family ; his *gôtra*[§] is that of Kaunḍinya with (the *pravara*[¶] of) Vaśishṭha and Maitrâvaruṇa ; Râmadêva, firm in truth,

* Jaitugi was the name of the father, as well as of the son, of Siṅghaṇadêva.

† Vishṇu, ‘the supreme spirit’.

‡ Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva and the daughter of the mountain Himâlaya.

§ ‘Gôtra’,—family or kindred.

¶ ‘Pravara’ means the invocation of those ancestors whose names are to be coupled with that of Agni, the god of fire, when the latter is invited to be present at the consecration of the sacrificial fire.

is adorned with the qualities of a father (towards him); the honoured Lôkâmbike is his mother; Gaurbhâyi is his charming wife; Sômanâtha, the bridegroom of the goddess of fortune, is the son of him, the husband of the goddess of fortune;—how fortunate, then, is Jôgadêva!

And, that same Jôgadêva having exercised authority over many countries and having ruled happily;—Hail!;—On the holy occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Monday the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika of the Chitrabhânu *samvatsara*, which was the year of the glorious Śaka era 1145⁹, at the command of the Daṇḍanâyaka¹⁰ Purushôttama, who was the manager of all the affairs of the glorious Siṅghanadêva, Jôgadêva gave, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a grant to be respected by all, to the god Śrī-Pañchaliṅgadêva, the self-existent one, for the purposes of his temple with beautiful pinnacles, for the purpose of repairing anything that might become broken or torn or worn out, for the purposes of the perpetual offering, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhôga* and the *raṅgabhôga*, and for the purposes of a charitable dining-hall. Jôgadêva, the excellent husband of the goddess of fortune, being gracious, in his affection respectfully gave to (the god) Śrī-Pañchaliṅga (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a firm grant to be respected by all, for the purposes of the Chaitrapavitra¹¹, of repairing anything that might become torn or worn out, and of a charitable dining-hall; the lords of the earth shall preserve this grant as long as the ocean and the moon and sun may last. Śrī-Jôgadêva, the Daṇḍādhipa, the good man, the younger brother of Purushôttama, gave as a firm grant the city of Śivapura to Brâhmana, for as long as the earth and Mêru and the moon may endure. Jôgadêva, the Chamûpa, joyfully gave sixteen allotments, each of two hundred *kammas*¹² (of land), to the excellent Brâhmana of Śivapura, in four out of the ancient villages. And if you ask in what villages respectively:—In Munipura, in Sindavige, in

⁹ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Chitrabhânu *samvatsara* is Śaka 1144, and Śaka 1145 is the Svabhânu or Subhânu *samvatsara*.

¹⁰ 'Daṇḍanâyaka', 'Daṇḍādhipa', 'Daṇḍādhipa', or 'Chamûpa', as used in inscriptions, denotes a military officer with administrative powers.

¹¹ Perhaps 'the purificatory rites of the month Chaitra'. But in other passages the words are distinct and separate; e. g. 'Chaitrakke bôle pavitrakke bôle' in line 75 of the Nêsargi inscription at pp. 240 *et seq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal.

¹² 'Kamma' or 'kamba',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

Āganūru, and in Nāgarapura, Jōgadēva, who followed the precepts of Manu, with affection and modesty gave sixteen allotments to Brāhmaṇs. In order that it might be esteemed preëminent in the world, Jōgadēva, the Daṇḍādhiśa, the younger brother of Jagadala-Purushōttama, declared that Śivapura surpassed the charming land of enjoyment.¹³

And on the same occasion:—The gardeners of the jewel-mine Munipura, who were the receptacles of great liberality, acquired renown through the strength and the power and the eminence of their wealth, their truth, their firm determination, their perseverance, and their heroism. The gardeners, who had obtained the excellent favour of the lotuses which are the feet of (the god) Pañchaliṅga who is resplendent throughout the world, gave perpetually year by year, for the purposes of the *raṅgabhōga*, a *kaṇḍage*¹⁴ on the (total produce of) dried fruits, grain, &c.¹⁵

Honourable, worthy to be accounted foremost among the brave, possessed of a most excellent reputation by reason of the strength and the eminence and the greatness of their firm determination, the preservers of all religious rites, worthy to be worshipped, more glorious than any others, abounding in holy deeds, possessed of a profound firmness that comprises a number of various good qualities, firm in truth, the granters of all requests,—such are the Ugura Three-hundred¹⁶, who are worthy to be worshipped in this world. Even the

¹³ Svarga, or paradise, where people, after death, enjoy the reward of their works during life.

¹⁴ 'Kaṇḍage' is the modern 'khaṇḍaga', or 'khaṇḍuga', equivalent to about three bushels.

¹⁵ 'Tāriṅge';—but the meaning to be given to 'tāru,' of which we have the dative case here and the genitive case, 'tārina', in line 48 below, is not certain. In Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, 'tāru' is given as meaning, as a noun, *an omen, the bar of a door, a particular tree*, and, as a verb, *to become thin, exhausted with fatigue, dried up*. As he gives also a form 'tāru' in the meaning of a *door-bar and the tree so called*, 'tāru' may be assumed to be also the old form of the root in its verbal significations. And it would seem to me that the word as used in this inscription is connected with the root in its verbal signification *to become dried up*, and means *dried produce* generally.

¹⁶ It is not apparent who are the 'Ugura Three-hundred' and the Five-hundred-and-four'. Some large religious establishment appears to be alluded to, and perhaps it is the establishment of the priests of the temple of Ellamma or Rānukā at Ugargol, which is close to Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tēlukā of the Belgaum District. The temple is one of great note, it has a large establishment of priests, and great numbers of people go on pilgrimages to it at stated times; but, though the shrine has every appearance of being of some antiquity, I have met with no allusions to it in inscriptions, unless the present is one. The 'Ugura Three-hundred', and the 'Eleya-Bōjagaru Five-hundred-and-four' are mentioned also in line 28.9 of No. IV of my *Sindavarṇa Inscriptions*, at page 253 *et seqq.* of No. XXXI, Vol. XI, of this Society's Journal.

Unborn cannot describe the greatness of the Five-hundred-and-four, who occupied themselves in all the rites of religion; which greatness, resulting from their protecting might, their generosity, the powerful attraction of their truth, and the eminence of their energy, was such that you might say that one who asked them for protection or begged of them a freedom from old age and death was certain to attain his desired object; who, then, may describe it? And whenever those same Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four asked with importunity (?)¹⁷, they gave one coin such as is given on marriage occasions.

And the boundaries of the three hundred *kammas* of cultivated land, (which were given as a grant) to be respected to the god Śrī-Pañchalingadēva, are:—On the E., the highroad that goes to the valley; on the S., a rivulet; on the W., the cultivated land called Akka-sāligeyi; and on the N., the cultivated land called Hebba||ahara||akeyi. And the boundaries of one *mattar*¹⁸ (of land, which also was given to the god,) are:—On the E., (the temple of) the goddess Kālīkādēvi; on the S., the tank called Hapitegere; on the W., the village of Karuvetta; and on the N., the highroad (to the village) of Hūvinakal. Also the fixed contribution that was allotted, free from all opposing claims, on the betel-plantation measuring five hundred *kulī*s¹⁹, which was to the S. of (the temple of) the god, to the W. of the rivulet called Yaṅgarattihalla, to the N. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagange, and to the E. of a stone set upright in the ground, was the impost of the *Harīkekulī*²⁰; and the contribution on the profits was the impost of a bundle of betel-leaves levied on the road; and (there was allotted) to that same god one *visa*²¹ on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves. Two *solasages*²² of oil (were given) on (each) oil-mill,

¹⁷ '*Chaṭṭurāsigeridalli*';—but the meaning is not at all certain. In analysing it as '*chaṭṭurāsige eridalli*', I would connect '*chaṭṭurāsige*' with '*chaṭṭrāyisu*', to be obstinate, hardened.

¹⁸ '*Mattar*',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

¹⁹ '*Kulī*', a pit, hole. The meaning of the text is probably 'a betel-plantation capable of holding five hundred plants.'

²⁰ Meaning not known. '*Harīke*' is a vow; and '*kulī*', in addition to the meaning given in the preceding note, means, as a verb, to dig a hole, to protect, to journey.

²¹ Explained to me as being the same as '*duḍḍu*', the fourth part of an *anna*. In Sanderson's Dictionary '*visa*' is given as meaning one-sixteenth, a share, portion; and we have also '*viśe*', five seers.

²² '*Solasage*' is perhaps a mistake for '*sollige*, *solige*, *solage*, or *solege*', the sixty-fourth part of a '*koḷaga*', which is equivalent to about three-twentieths of a bushel.

to provide for the ceremony of averting the effects of the evil eye which was held on Mondays at Śingavattī of that locality. And one oil-mill was set apart for the god. Sixty cultivators³³ gave a *kaṇḍage* of dried fruits, grain, &c. And the reapers of the betel-plants will give (a contribution) when they reap, and the consumers of betel-leaves will willingly give (a contribution). The ministers of the king shall recognize these imposts. And the sellers of betel-leaves and arecanuts inside the village will give (a contribution) when they realize in cash the prices that they obtain.

The E. and S. boundary of a flower-garden (which was given to the same god) is the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; the W. boundary is the garden of the Basadi³⁴; and the N. boundary is a plantation of betel-plants.

And the boundaries of a garden on the river containing five hundred betel-plants are :—On the E., the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; on the S. and W. and N., stones set upright in the ground. (Also there were given) three flower-gardens in the waste land called Suruganahāḷ.

Having established the shrine of the god Śrī-Mādhavanārāyaṇadēva, and having given as a grant to be respected by all, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Sattiyakere for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of that same god, (there was given) a betel-plantation of five hundred *kulis* to the E. of Munivaḷḷi, to the S., of a rivulet, to the W. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge, and to the N. of a stone set upright in the ground.

And on the same occasion there were given to the Brāhmanas of Brahmapuri, with libations of water, two allotments at (the village of) Kaḍakuḷa, two at Balligere, two at Hulukund, two at —ttase, two at Kurulanūr, two at Bannivūr, two at Dāḍeyabāvi, two at Goravanūr, two at Jaṅgavāḍanaruṇanūr, and four at Haḷevūr.

And, while that same Jōgadēvanāyaka was cherishing the practices of religion, sixty cultivators acquired and gave to the Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four, with gifts of gold and libations

³³ This seems to be a technical expression; we meet with it again in line 44 of the Gulhalli inscription at pp. 296 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Society's Journal, in line 38 of the Kittūr inscription at pp. 304 *et seqq.* of the same, in line 2 of No. III of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 204 *et seqq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal, and in line 78 of No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 240 *et seqq.* of the same; and I have found the same expression in other inscriptions not yet published.

³⁴ 'Basadi',—modern 'Basti', a Jain temple.

of water, at Śivapura, as a token of union, certain land of which the boundaries are :—To the N.E., there is a row of tamarind trees arranged in the form of a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway. To the S. of the row of tamarind-trees arranged in the form of a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway, there is the garden of Ba—rakkura, which is to the S. of the ornamented gateway of the temple of (the goddess) Kāraṇikemasāṇikabbe, which stands together with the land of Jinêndra, the foe of passion. From the boundary of that garden towards the W., there is the garden of the merchant Keñcharakālisetti; from the N. W. of this garden towards the S., there are the gardens of Harumbabāvi-Brahmaya, Ālahiṭṭaya, and Banavaya; thence towards the W., there are the road that goes to Kaḷḷavoḷe, and the sacred shrine on the (river) Malaṇṇāhāri called Rudratirtha; thence to the N., (we come to the village of) Kaṇḍuppe, from the centre of which (we come to the village of) Kuppe, below which is the road to Maḍalūr; thence (we come to) the row of tamarind-trees, arranged like a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway, and commencing from a tamarind-tree which stands at the junction of the cultivated land called Koḍagadakeyi and the field called Kāḷikavveyola and the stream. Such is the course of the boundaries.

Saying that²⁵ all belongs equally to the god Śri-Paṇchaliṅgadêva, the regents of the four principal points of the compass, and kings, and the Five-hundred who are perfect in respect of their religion, and the One-thousand, and the (inhabitants of the) four cities, and the people of (the locality called) 'Seven-and-a-half'²⁶ and of (the locality called) 'Eleven-and-a-half'²⁶ and of many districts on both sides, shall faultlessly preserve this religious grant of rent-free service-land as long as the earth and the water and the moon and sun and stars may last.

He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

²⁵ The meaning of '† maḷigeya kṣṭukolaga' is not apparent.

²⁶ See note 33 to No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions referred to above.

No. III.

[1] ॥ छ ॥ ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीगणाधि[2]पतये नमः ॥ पायादादाः स वः
 यदं(द)ष्टा[3]मतिबि(बि)बिता । अगादिव धृता धात्री हर्षादि(द्)गुणपु[4]ष्टता(ता) ॥
 स्वस्ययनो राजा सिंहो यदुवंशजः [1] यस्य कीर्ति[6]स्त्रिभुवने प्रथिता
 हरिकीर्तिवत् ॥ यो राजा जैतुर्गिर्नाम सिंह[8]णाख्यानृपात्ततः ॥(1) अनितोयदुवंशाब्धौ-
 (ब्धौ) पयोधाविव चंद्र[7]माः ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार इति श्रुतः ।
 यदाबां(जां) [8]शिरसा धृता(त्वा) भवति सुखिनो नृपाः ॥ जयति जगति
 राजा सा[9]र्वभूपालमौलिप्रथितपरमरत्नमोल्लसत्पादद्वयः । य[10]दुलचिरलीले वासुदेवे जनानां
 नयनकमलसू[11]यः(यैः) प्रीतिमान्कन्हारख्यः ॥ तस्यान्यः(न्य)क्षितिपालमौलि[13]मकुटप्रत्युमरत्नैश्वरं नीराज-
 चरणारविन्दयुगलः [13]शेषस्य पृथ्वीपतेः । शूरो मात्स्यपुरि स्थितो विजयते वी[14]चाग्रजः संततं
 मल्लाख्यः किल चिक्रेदेवतनयः ॥ प्र[15]ख्यातकीर्त्तिभु(भुं)वि ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार
 इ[16]ति श्रुतः ॥(1) यो जिह्वा(त्वा) पृथिवी(वीं) श(त)स्य यो राजो(ज्ञो) दक्षिणो भे(भुं)[17]जः ॥
 प्रशां(शा)स्य(स्य)रीन्यः प्रगृहीतचापो ददाति चार्थान्कृप[18]या द्विजेभ्यः । आ(श्री)सोमनाथाधियुगावनत्या
 प्रवर्द्धि[19]लाशेषविभूतिरं(रं)म्यः ॥ छ ॥ स्वास्त ॥ एकसप्तत्युत्तरशता[20]धिकसहस्रसंख्येषु श-

क्वाब्दे(ब्दे)ष्वतीतिषु प्रवर्त्तमाने सौ(सौ)ग्य[27]संवत्सरे तदतग(गं)ताषाढ्यौर्णमास्यां शनैश्चरवारै पू[27]वा-
 षाढ(ढा)नक्षत्रे वैधृतियोगे(ग) इत्यंभूतपुं(पु)ण्यकाल राजः(ज्ञः) [28]सर्ब(र्व)दे(दे)शाधिकारी । सः ।
 महिसैष्टिनामात्याः(त्यो) मुदुगलप्रा[24]मे वसं(स)न । तदनुज(ज्ञ)या स्वदेवाच्चर्चनसमये श्रीसोमनाथस-
 (सं)निधौ [25]महाधार्मिकवीरनायकविज्ञापनया स्वाधिकारविषये कुहुं[26]डिदेशे हुव्विह्वादशयामाभ्यन्तरे संथेयबा-
 गवाडिसंज्ञ[27]के ग्रामे भगवं(व)श्री(च्छ्री)माधवदेवपुर(रः)सरेभ्यो ह्वात्रिशत्संख्या[28]केभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो
 ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्(स्त)द्रुमदक्षिणदिगु(ग)भागे [29]ष*दपाषाणमुद्रितां भु(भू)मि धारापूर्ब(र्व)कं दत्त[30]वान् ।
 तत्र । भगवतः श्रीमाधवदेवास्य अंग[31]भोगरंगभोगादिसकलपु(पू)जार्थं सहस(स्र)कंबपरिमितं [32]क्षेत्रं
 दत्तं । श्रीमाधवदेवसन्ने ब्राह्मणभोजनाय(र्थ) शतह्[33]यंकंबपरिमितं क्षेत्रं दत्तं [1] तदिदतर(रं)
 तु क्षेत्रं श्रीमाधवदे[34]वब(ब्र)ह्मपुरीवा(र्व)तिभ्यस्ने(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तं । तत्सत्रार्थ[35]मेव तद्गामपु(पू)र्वदिगु(ग)भागे
 शतह्दयकंबपरिमितं शालि[36]क्षेत्रं तेन दत्तं ॥ तत्सत्रार्थमेव तद्गामोत(त्त)रदिग्भागे विना[37]य-
 कनैररु(रुं)रु(रु)न्य(स्य)दिगु(ग)ना(भा)गे शतकंबपरिमे(मि)तं [क्षेत्रं†] दत्तं [1] इति श्री[38]माधव-

* The first side of the second plate commences with this letter, — व. —

† This letter, — व, — was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line over its proper place.

‡ This word is omitted altogether in the original.

देवसत्रब्राह्मणभोजनार्थं प(पं)चशतकंबमरिमिता [४७]भु(भू)मिस्तेनैव दत्ता ॥ छ ॥ भं-
 (भ)नंतरं तस्य(स्य) पुत्रो सौ चौंसोद्विना[४७]मामाभ्यः(स्यः) पितृकृते(तै)तध(द)भंरिपालनायास्मिन(भ)भे भ-
 [४१]गवन्माधवेदेव*पुर(रः)सरेव्यस्त(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तां[४२]त्र(त्र)शासन(नं) दत्त(त्वा) पितृध्वे(द्वे)भे सुदृ-
 ढतरं कृतवानु(न) ॥ छ ॥ ॥ [४३]तेषां पु(म)तिगृहीतृ(तृ)णं गोत्रगणनामनि लिख्यते ॥
 छ ॥ [४५]आत्रेयगोत्रीयसामवेदिविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसुतसर्व[४५]ज्ञहरिहरभट्टोया(पा)ध्यायस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥
 कैशिकगोत्री[४६]यमभाकरत्रिवाडिसुतदामोदय(र)त्रिवाडिः तस्ये(स्यै)का [४७]वृत्तिः ॥ कैशिकगोत्रीयमदनाइ(यि)तपाठ-
 कसुतराम[४८]देवया(पा)ठकस्यैका दृ(वृ)त्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रीयजयितपा[४९]ठकसुतकेशवपाठकः† तस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥
 हरितगोत्री[५०]यवामम(न)पट्टवद्ध(द्ध)नसुतत्रिविक्रमपट्टवद्धनस्याद्धवृ[५१]त्तिः ॥ शांडिल्यगोत्र(त्री)स्य(य)विष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसु-
 तपट्ट[५२]णपट्टवद्धनस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगोत्रदामोदरपट्ट[५३]वद्धनसुतता(ना)गदेवपट्टवद्धनस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगो-
 [५४]त्रकेशवपट्टवद्धम(न)सुतदामोदरपट्टवद्धनस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ व[५५]सिष्ठगोत्रमैत्रावरुणको(कौ)डिन्यगोत्रआ(त्राforत्रआ)दि-
 त्यभट्टसुतमलि[५६]देवठ(उ, and वो for वउ)पाध्यायस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ मैदु(द)गल्यगोत्रनारायण[५७]उ‡(णो for णउ)पा-
 ध्यायसुतरुद्र(द्रो)पाध्यायस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ त[५८]स्य त्रा(त्रा)ता गोर्विदु(दो)पाध्यायस्याद्धवृत्तिः ॥ भार-

* The repetition of the word देव is superfluous.

† A mark of punctuation,—||,—unnecessarily follows this word in the original.

‡ The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—व.

[६७] द्वाजगोत्रकालिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतश्रीधरपट्टव[७०]र्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ गौतमगोत्रमह(हा)देवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतका[७१]व(म?)दे-
 वक्रमितस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगौत्रमंच्यणपट्टवर्द्धन[७२]सुतत्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ द(ह)रितगोत्र-
 गोवि(वि)द[७३]सुतराविहे(दे)वभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ शांडिल्यगोत्रादिद्या(?) [७४]णसुतश्रीर(रं)गस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 काश्यप(प)गोत्रत्र(त्रा)fo:त्रअ)त्सं(?)पसुतमधुव[७५]णपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रमह(हा)द(दे)वसुतमालिदे-
 [७६]वय(व)लिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ रथीतरगोत्रसोमनाथसुतव(ब)सवणघलि[७७]सस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)योगोत्र-
 गोपालशु(सु)तमालिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्ध[७८]वृत्तिः ॥ विष्णुवृद्धगोत्रमाधवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतमालिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनस्या[७९]र्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 आत्रेयोगोत्रनारायणसुतव(ब)सवणक्रमिस्तस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] [७०]ता(भा)रद्वाजगोत्रनारायणसुतजातवेदपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 भार[७१]द्वाजगोत्रश्रीधरशु(सु)तहाम्भर(महे)श्वर(?)घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ श्रीवत्सगो[७२]त्रमायिदेवसुतगोवि(वि)दवैसास-
 (स)fo:सास)स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रआ(त्र)fo:त्रआ)[७३]दित्यसुतमालिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रता-
 (म?)यूर[७४]घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] काश्यपगोत्रविष्णुघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [१] [७५]कौशिकगोत्रविश्वनाथवे(वै?)स-
 स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)योगोत्रमालिदे[७६]वघलिसस्या(स्या)र्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रस्वामिदेववैषस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 [७७]कौ(कौ)डिल्यगोत्रनरसिंहवैसः [१] कौशिकगोत्रदामोदरघलिसः [१] [७८]विश्वामित्रगोत्रमालिदेवघलिसः [१] (१)
 मूकगोत्रकायणघलि[७९]सः [१] (१) काश्यपगोत्रम(न)रसि(सिं)हघलिसः [१] (१) द्या(द्यां)दि(दि)न्यगोत्रना-
 गदेव[८०]घलिसासः(सा:fo:सासः) [१] (१) अगस्त्यगोत्रकालिदेव(व)य(प)ट्टवर्द्धनः [१] (१) आत्रेयोगो[८१]त्रविष्णुपट्ट-

वर्द्धनः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रदासमलिदेवघलिसः ॥(१) का[४२]श्यपा(प)गोत्रवासुदेवघलिसः ॥(१) हरित-
 गोत्रश्रीधरपट्टवर्द्धनः । [४३]काश्यपगोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(१) शो(शौ)नकगोत्रमाधवघलिसः [१] [४४]एतेपा-
 (पां) प्रत्येकमर्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यप*गोत्रच(ज)गदे(दे)वपाठकस्य† [४५]पादोनवृत्तिः ॥ इतः परमन्येषा-
 (पां) शु(म)त्येक(कं) पादवृत्तिः ॥(१) विशी(श्वा)मि[४६]त्रगोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(१) गोतमगोत्रमलिदेवघ-
 लिसः ॥(१) [४७]भारद्वाजगोत्रवे(वै)जनाथघलिसः ॥(१) श्रीवत्स[४८]गोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(१) भार-
 द्वाजगोत्रका[४९]लिदासपैसः ॥(१) काश्यप(प)गोत्रगोया(पा)लघलिस[५०]ः ॥(१) तस्य भ्राता कलिदेव-
 घलिसः ॥(१) काश्यप[५१]त्रनागदेवघलिसः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रवोप्यदेवघ[५२]लिसः ॥(१) विश्वामि-
 त्रगोत्रलक्ष्मीधरशु(सु)तगोपालघलिसः ॥(१) [५३]काश्यपगोत्रनरसिंहभट्टः ॥(१) कौडिन्यगोत्रनागसुतविष्णुः ॥(१)
 [५४]जामदग्न्यवस॥गोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(१) कौ(का)श्यपगोत्रउ(त्रो)रत्रउ(दय)भट्टः ॥(१) [५५]कैशिकगोत्रदेव-
 णसुतमंच्यणघलिशः(सः) ॥(१) काश्यपगोत्रह[५६]ट्ट(?)णपट्टवघ(द्ध)नः ॥(१) भारद्वाजगोत्रमलिदेवसुतकलिदेवपट्टव-

* This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—॥—after this word.

‡ The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—भा.

§ This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

॥ These two letters,—वस,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

[७७]र्ध्व[६]नस्यैका वृत्तिः । (॥) वसिष्ठगोत्रवद्य (?) णसुतजनार्द्ध[६]नवलि[७८]सस्यार्ध्व[६]वृत्तिः ॥ विलुपुक्तसुतपधनाभपट्टव-
 र्ध्व[६]न[७९]स्यैका वृत्तिः [॥] तस्य सुत[स्य*] सोमनाथस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥ [१००]इत्थं द्वात्रिं-
 (त्रिं)शद्वृत्तयो विभज्य ब्रा[ब्रा]ह्मणेभ्यो दत्तः(ताः) । (॥) छ ॥ तदागाभिभि[१०१]व(र)शेष-
 भूपलैः(लैः) स्वदत्तनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयमिति भगव[१०२]ता वेदव्यासेनोक्तं । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
 राजभिः(भिः) सगरादिभिः(भिः) [॥] [१०३]यस्य यस्य यदा भू(भू)मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । (॥)
 स्वदत्ता पर[१०४]दत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि वि[१०५]ष्टायां
 जायते कृमिः ॥ रो(रा)मः । सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्न[१०६]प(पा)णां काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
 सर्वानि[१०७]तान्माविनः पार्थिवैर्दान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामचं[१०८]द्रः ॥ दानपालनयोर्मो(र्म)ध्ये दानाश्चे-
 (च्छे)यो नुपालनं । [१०९]दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं य(प)दं ॥ [११०]मंगलमहाश्रीः -१(॥)

* This letter, —स्य,—is omitted altogether in the original.

No. III.

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇādhīpati! May he, the first boar¹, protect you, on whose tusk the earth was reflected and upheld and thus through joy attained twice as great prosperity as before!

There was the prosperous king Śimhaṇa, born in the race of Yadu, whose fame was celebrated throughout the three worlds like the fame of Hari.²

As the moon was produced in the ocean, so in the ocean which is the race of Yadu there was born from that king Śimhaṇa the king who is called Jaitugi by name.

His son is that glorious one, who is renowned under the name of Śrī-Kaṇhāra³, and whose commands kings bear upon their heads and thus become happy. Victorious in the world is the king called Kaṇhara; the lotuses, which are his feet, shine brightly among the famous choice jewels in the diadems of all kings, (who bow down before him); he is the sun of the white lotuses, which are the eyes of mankind; he is full of affection for the son⁴ of Vāsudēva, who disported himself for so long a time in the family of Yadu.

Ever victorious is he, the brave one, who has the appellation of Malla,—the elder brother of Bīcha, and the son of Chikkadēva,—who, filling the post of chief minister of that most eminent of kings, has the lotuses, which are his feet, ever made radiant by the jewels which are inlaid in the tiaras of other kings, and who is renowned in the world. Having conquered the earth, he became the right arm of him who was his⁵ glorious son, and who was celebrated under the name of Śrī-Kaṇhāra. Armed with the bow, he chastises his enemies; in charity he gives wealth to Brāhmanas; and he is pleasing by reason of his

¹ The allusion is to the incarnation of Viṣṇu, when he assumed the form of a boar, and, plunging into the ocean, slew the demon Hiraṇyākṣha, and lifted up on the tip of his right tusk and thus rescued the earth, which had been carried away by him.

² Viṣṇu.

³ Other forms of this name in the present inscriptions are Kaṇhara, Kaṇdhara, Kaṇdhāra, and Kṛishṇa. In line 11 of the Nāsargi Raṭṭa Inscription,—No. XXIX, Vol. X, pp. 240 *et seq.*, of this Journal,—we have already, had 'Kaṇdhāra' as another form of 'Kṛishṇa.'

⁴ Viṣṇu, incarnate as Kṛishṇa; it is from this that the Yādavakula, or 'family of the descendants of Yadu,' is also called the Viṣṇuvamśa or 'lineage of Viṣṇu.'

⁵ *sc.* Śimhaṇa's; the construction in the text is very bad and obscure.

perfect prosperity, which is nourished by obeisance performed to the feet of (the god) Śrī-Sômanâtha.

Hail! One thousand one hundred and seventy-one of the Śaka years having elapsed⁶, in the Saumya *samvatsara*, on Saturday the day of the full-moon of the month Āshâdha of that year, under the Pûrvâshâdha *nakshatra*⁷ and the Vaidhriti *yôga*⁸,—at this sacred time, while residing at the village of Mudugala, he,—the minister called Mallisaitti, who was entrusted with authority over all the dominions of the king,—with his permission and at the request of the most pious Vîranâyaka, at the time of worshipping his own deity, in the presence of (the god) Śrī-Sômanâtha, with libations of water, at the village called Santhēya-Bâgavâdi⁹ in the Huvvalli Twelve-villages in the district of Kuhuṇḍi¹⁰, which was a district subject to his own authority, gave some land, marked out by six stones and situated in the southern part of that same village, to the god, the holy Śrī-Mâdhavadēva, and to thirty-two Brâhman of many *gôtras*. A field of the measure of one thousand *kambas*¹¹ was allotted for the *aṅgabhōga*, the *raṅgabhōga*, and all the other rites of the god, the holy Śrī-Mâdhavadēva. A field of the measure of two hundred *kambas* was allotted for the purpose of feeding Brâhman in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mâdhavadēva. And, in addition to that, another field was given to those Brâhman who dwelt at the town of Brahmapuri, which belonged to the god Śrī-Mâdhavadēva. And a rice-field of the measure of two hundred *kambas*, situated in the southern part of that same village, was allotted by him for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall. And, for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall, there was allotted a field of the measure of one hundred *kambas* on the south-western side (of the land) of Vinâyaka. Thus he gave altogether land of the measure of five hundred *kambas* for the purpose of feeding Brâhman in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mâdhavadēva.

⁶ i. e., in the Śaka year 1172; but, according to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Saumya *samvatsara* is Śaka 1171, and Śaka 1172 is the Sâdhârana *samvatsara*.

⁷ Constellation or lunar mansion.

⁸ An astronomical period of variable length, during which the joint motion in longitude of the sun and moon amounts to 30° 20'.

⁹ 'Santhēya' is perhaps intended for the Canarese '*santeya*', of the market, which is a common prefix to the names of market-towns.

¹⁰ In other inscriptions the form is 'Kûṇḍi', which is an abbreviation of the present form.

¹¹ 'Kamba',—the same as the 'kamma' of other inscriptions.

And after that, his son, the minister Chauṇḍisaṭṭi, for the purpose of continuing the religious act performed by his father, gave, with reference to that same subject, a copper charter to the god, the holy Mādhavadēva, and to those Brāhmaṇs, and thus made permanent the religious act of his father.

The *gôtras* and the virtues and the names of those recipients of the gifts are now written. (From here,—line 45,—to line 99, the inscription records the names, &c., of the grantees, and the share allotted to each. It is unnecessary to translate this portion in detail. In line 100 the inscription continues:—)

Thus thirty-two allotments were portioned out and given to the Brāhmaṇs.

It has been said by the saintly Vêdavyâsa, that this (grant) should be preserved by all future kings, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves, (in the words):—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it"! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! (Therefore has) Râma (said):—"This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes." In (discriminating between) giving a grant and continuing (the grant of another), continuing (the grant of another) is the better; by giving a grant a man attains paradise, but by continuing (the grant of another) a man attains the sphere of Achyuta¹²! May there be the most auspicious prosperity!

¹² Vishnu, whose paradise is of a higher degree than Svarga, which is the paradise of Indra.

No. IV.

[1] ಶ್ರೀ [11] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಕಿರಕ್ಕುಂಬಿಸಂವ್ರತಾ(ಜಾ)ಮರತಾ(ಜಾ)ರವೇ [1] ಶ್ರೀಕೋಕ್ಕನ[2] ಗರಾ-
 ರಂಭಮೂಲದ್ವಂಭಾಯ ಸಂ(ಕಂ)ಭವೇ || ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತ || ಮಿ[3] ಜಾಗುವ ನಂದನಾವಳಗಂ ಪೇ-
 (೪)ದೊಳ್ಳುವ ಕೆಯ್ಯೊಲಂಗಳಂ [4] ತುಜಾಗದ ದೇವ*ತಾಭವನದಿಂದಿವಿವ್ವ ಸುವಸ್ತುನರ್ಗದಿಂ ಕೋಗಕ-
 ಯಾಲುಸಾಸಿರಮಿನಿವ್ವ ಸುದೇ[5] ಸ(ಕ)ದೊಳೊಳ್ಳುವೆತ್ತಣಂ ಮೆಡಿನ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಗೆ ನಮಂ ಬರೆ ಪತ್ತ-
 ನಮುಂಟಿ ಭಾಶಿ[6] ಯೊಳ್ || ತುರುಗ ತರುತ್ತ ಮಾನರದ ನಿಂಪೆ ಕದಂಬಕ ದ್ವಾಕ್ಷಪ-
 ಣ್ಣಂಕದೊಳ[7] ಗುವ ನಾಳ(ರಿ)ಕೇರ(೪)ಪಯದಿಂ ಕಲುಪಾಧೆಯೊಳ್ಳು ಕೋರ್ಪು ಕಗ್ಗೊ(ಸ/ಸಿ)ವರನೊಳಿಂ ಮು-
 (ಮಳಿ)ಜಾ[8] ಕದಿಂ ಪೇಟ(ಟಿ)ದೊಳ್ಳುವ ಕಟ್ಟುಬೊಂಬದಿಂ ನೊ(ಪಿ)ದ ಕವಂಗಿನಿತ್ಯಲವೊಳಾದುವ ಕೋಗಕ-
 [9] ಯಂದ ಪೊಳ್ಳುಸುಂ || ಲಾವೇಣಾದೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸಿಂಘಣತುಳುಯಂ ತತ್ಪುತಂ ಜೈತು[10] ಗೀಶಂಗಾದಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣರೋವ್ವೀರ್ಗಶ್ವರಸುದಿತುಳುಂ ಯಾದವಾಪ್ರೇಸರಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಶೈ[11] ತಂ† ಸಾಮ್ವರ್ಣಿಮಕ್ಕಿತಪತಿ ವಿಜಯಾಳಂ-
 ಕೃತಂ ಭಾಶ್ರಿ ಮೆಚ್ಚಲ್ ವೇದೊಲ್ಲಾರಂ ಸಮಸ್ತೋ[12] ವ್ವಿಸ್ವವನುತೃಪಿತಂ ರಾಜರಾಜಶ್ರೀಶೇಶಂ ||
 ಪ್ರಸ(ಕ)ಿಸ್ತಿ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ನಮದ್ವಪ್ರಸ(ಕ)ಿಸ್ತಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಸಮ[13] ನಿ† ಭಿಗತಪಂಪಮಾಸ(ಕ)ಬ್ಬ ದ್ವಾರಾವತೀಪ್ರರವರಾದೀಶ್ವರಯಂ

* This letter,—ನ,—is inserted below the line in the original, having been at first omitted.

† ದೈತಂ, &c. ದಯತಂ.

‡ This syllable,—ನಿ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

ಶ್ರೀವಿದ್ಯಾ ವಕೋದ್ಭವರುಂ [14] ಸುವರ್ಣಾ ಗುರುತದ್ವ್ಯ(ಧ್ವ)ಜರುಂ ಯಾದವಕುಲಕುಲಾಸನಭಾಸ್ವರರುಂ ಯ(ಅ)-
 [15] ರಾರಾಯಜಗದ್ಗುಂಪ(ವಂ) 'ಮಾತವಿ(ವ)ರಾಯಮದನಶ್ರೀಶೇಶ(ತ್ವಂ) ಗಂಜ್ವರರಾಯಧಯಂಕರಂ ಕೊಂ[16] ಕಣಾಂಯುಧಪು-
 ಜ್ವರಂ ಚೋಟರಾಯದಿನ(ಶಾ)ಪಟ್ಟನುಂ ತೇಲುಂಗರಾಯನ(ವೃ)ದನಾಜಾಯ್ಕ(ಯ್ಯಂ) ಯ(ಅ)ರಬ[17] ಆಶ್ರಿಪ್ರರಶ್ರೀಶೇಶಂ
 ವೀರೋದ್ಭವಂ ನಿಖಿಲಧರಾಭಾರಂ ರಾಜಮನೋಜಂ ಯ(ಇ)[18] ತ್ಯಾದಿನಾಮಾನಕನಮಾಕಂಶ್ರೀ(ಶ್ರ)ತ ಭುಜಾಟ-
 ವಾತ್ಸ(ಸ)ಪ್ರತಾಪಶಕ್ತವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಂ(ಕ)[19] ವೃರಾಯರಾಜೋದಯ(ಯಂ) ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಉರಂ ಬೇನಗಿರಿಯ
 ಸಿರಿವೀರೋಳ ಸುಖಸಂ[20] [ಕಥಾ]ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗಯುತ್ವಮಿರೆ ಸ(ಕ)ಕನರ್ಧ ೧೦೭೪ನೆಯ ವಿಶೇಷ-
 [21] ದಿಶ್ಯತನಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೇ(ಜೈಂ)ದ್ವ(ದ್ವ) ಉಪಳ ಯ(ಅ)ಮಾವಾಸ(ಸಿ) ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಸ್ವಹಣ ಸು(ಪು)ಶ್ರವಾ-
 [22] [ರದಂ]ದು || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಸಂ(ಕಂ)ಕರನಮೃರೂಪನೋಜ(ಃ) ಚೋದೀನ(ಶಾ)ಸ್ವದೇವಾನ್(ಜೈ)ಯಂ ಕಾಮು-
 [23] [ಕೋರ]ಮದಾಶ್ರೀ(ತ್ವ)ವೀರೋದಭಯಬೋಧಂ ದೂರ ಸವ್ಯೋ(ವ್ಯೂ)ಸ(ಶ್ರ)ವ(ರಂ) ದೀಮಾನ ಸದಗ(ಸು)-
 ರುವಾದನಂ[24] [ದಿನಿ] ತಪ(ಪ)ಶ್ರಿಂ(ಶ್ರಿಂ)ಗಾರಸಂ ಸಜ್ಜನಂ(ನ)ಪ್ರೇಮಾಂಭೋನಿಧಿಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಯಾಸ(ಶ)ಶ್ರಿಯಂ* ಉಂ-
 ಗೋಪ(ಪು)ವಂ [25] [ಉಕ್ತಂ]ನಂ || ವಿ(ನ್ಮ)ತ್ವಂ || ವಿನಯಾಂಭೋರಾಸಿ(ಶಿ)ಸವ್ಯೋಶ್ವರಯುತವಶ್ರಿಪ್ರತ್ವಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಯಾಸ(ಶ)ಶ್ರಿಗಾ[26] [ದಂ] ತನಯಂ ವೀರೋದಭಯಂ ಸಜ್ಜನಭವಮದಾಂಭೋಜನೇವಾಸಮಗ್ರಂ ತನಗೋಪ(ಪಿ)ರ
 [27] ಸತ್ಯಮುಂ ವಿಶ್ವತಶಿತವಮುಂ ಭಾಗ್ಯಮುಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಯೇಶ್ವಂ ಸಸುಮಾಗ್ಗಂ† ಉಂ[28] [ಗ]ರಳ

* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written—ಕಶಿಶಿಯಂ.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as written,—'sonumdraggam' for 'sonumdraggam.'

ಭೂಭುವನದೊಳೆದಂ ಕೀರ್ತಿಕಾಂ(ಕಾ)ನ್ತಾವಿಳಾಸ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಯ[ಮು]ನಿಯಮಸಪ್ಪಧ್ಯು[38]ಯಧ್ಯಾನಧಾರು(ರ)ಣವೋ-
 (ಮಾ)ನಾನುಪ್ಪಾ(ಪ್ಪಾ)ನಜಪತಪಸ್ಯಮಾದಿಸೀ(ಶೀ)ಲಗುಣನಂಪಂನುಂ [30][ಯ]ಜನಯಾಜನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಯನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಾವನದಾನಪ್ರತಿಗ್ರಹ-
 ವಟ್ಟಮೃನಿಯತರುಂ ರುಗ್ಗ (ಮಗ್ಗ for ರುಗ್ಗ)ವೇದನಾ[ಮು][31][ವೇ]ದಯ(ದಾ for ದಯ)ಕರ್ವ್ಯಣಯದು(ಜು)ವ್ಯೇದವೇದಾಂತದ-
 ಟ್ ಪತ್ರ್ಪಾಪ್ಯಾ(ಪ್ಯಾ)ಕರಣಿಪಂದಕು(ಪಂದೋ)ನಿಘಂಟು[32]ಕಾಪ್ಯ(ಪ್ಯ)ನಾಟಕನಕಪವಿದ್ಯಾವಿನೋದರುಂ ಪ್ಯಾ(ಪ್ಯಾ)ಸಯ(ಸಾ for ಸಯ)-
 ಗಸ್ಯದೋ(ದು)ಪ್ಯಾ(ಪ್ಯಾ)ಸವಿಸ್ವ(ಪ್ಪಾ)ಮಿತ್ರನಾ[33]ರಂ(ರ)ದಾದಿದಿಪ್ಯ(ಪ್ಯ)ಮುನಿಜಾರಿತ್ರರುಂ ಭಸ್ಮೀಧೋ(ದ್ವಾ)ಕತಫಣ(ಗಾ)ತ್ರರುಂ
 ಕಲು(ತಾ for ಕಲು)ಪೀನಾಂ(ನಾ)ಜನಯ *ರುಂ [34]ರುಪಾಕ್ವ ಮ(ಮಾ)ಲಿಧಾರರುಂ ಅಕೃಗಾಸಮಸಮ(ಮ)ಯಸಮುದ್ಧ(ದಾ)ರರುಂ
 ಜಂಗಮಲಂ[35]ಗಾವತಾ[ರ †]ರುಂ ಉಭೇ(ಭ)ಯಕುಲಸು(ಕು)ಧ್ವ(ಧ್ವ)ಮವು ಶ್ರೀಕಾಳಾಮುಖಮುನೀಯ ಸಂಮಂಧ ||
 ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರಾ[36]ಯಾಜಗುರು ಸಪ್ತೋತ್ಕರದೇವರ ದಿಪ್ಯ(ಪ್ಯ)ಶ್ರೀಪಾದಪದ್ಮಂಗಳಂ ತೋಷ(ಡೆ)ದು ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರತ್ನಾಗರಂ
 [37]ಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಿಯ ಯ(ಅ)ಜವತ್ಕೋತ್ಕಲ್ಪ(ಅಂ) ಪುರುಮೂನೂರ್ವ್ಯರುಂ ಯ(ಅ)ಯಾನೂನಾಲ್ಯು[38]ರುಂ ಯಂ-
 ಟುಹಿಟ್ಟುಪಂಚಮಹಸ್ವ(ಸ್ವ)ಜನಮೃಗವಂ(ವ)ವ್ರರು(ರುಂ) ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗ ಶ್ರೀಜಗದೀಶ್ವರದೇವರಿ[39]ಗೆ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ-
 ರಂಗಭೋಗ ಚೈತ್ರವೈ(ವವಿ)ತ್ರ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೇ ‡]ಯಂಗಡಿ ಗಾಣ ಪುರವರ್ಗ ಸಹಿ[40]ತ ಕೋಟ್ಟಿ ವಿ(ವೈ)ತ್ತಿ
 ನೂಯನವತ್ತು ೭ ಕುಳಿಯ ಯೇರೇದೋಂಟ ಹೊಂನಕಲ್ಲ ಸುತ್ತಿಯ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ ಕೆ[41]ಯುಯಂನುತ್ಪರ

* This syllable,—ಯ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† No space is left in the original for this letter,—ರ,—but it has to be inserted to complete the word.

‡ No space is left in the original for this syllable,—ಗೆ,—but it must be inserted to complete the word.

ನದುವನೂರಲ್ ಕೆಯುಯುಂಮತ್ತಲ್ ಯುಂ(ಇ)ದ್ರೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದತ್ತಿ ಕಡಲಹೊ[43]ಳಿಯ ಹೂಡೊಂಬ
 ಸಹಿತ ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಥತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿಳ(ಕೃ) || ಯಾ(ಈ) ಸ್ವ(ಸ್ಥ)ಳೈ ಪ್ರತಿವತ್ತವಿನ
 [43]ಪ್ಪ(ಸ್ಥ)ಳಮಂ(ಮಿ)ದ್ರಿಂದೊಡೆ ಶ್ರೀವೇಳುಗ್ರಾಮಿ(ಮ)ಯ ಮದ್ದೀಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪಿರಿಯಗ್ಗಹಾರಂ ನೇನಡೆಗೆಯ
 [44]ಕಲಿದೇವರ್ ಗೋಣಾಪ್(ಇ)ಯ ಬದ್ದೀಶ್ವರ ಹಲಗೆಗೆ ಪಂ(ಪ)ದ್ವಿತ್ಯಾಸಿರದ ಕೊಟ್ಟುಂಬಾಗಿಯ ವಿಜ-
 ಯಮೇ(ಯೇ)ಯಮೀ[45]ಶ್ವರ ಗೋಳಯಹಳ್ಳಯ ಕಲಿದೇವರ್ ಯುಂ(ಇ)ದ್ರೀ ಮಹಂಗಳಗೆಯದು ಗುರುಪೀಳಗೆ ||
 [46]ಶ್ಲೋಕ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವರದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಂ(ರಾಂ)
 ದ್ವಿವರ್ಷಸಹಕ್ರಾ(ಸ್ರಾ)ನಿ ವಿ[47]ಬ್ಧಾಯಾಂ ಜಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಿ(ಮಿಃ) || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪರಮನಾ(ಮ)ಹೇಶ್ವರ-
 ದಂ(ದ)ಶ್ಚನಾಯ್(ಯಕ)ಜನವೀದೇ[48]ವನ ಮುದ್ದು(ಮುಂದೆ?) ಶ್ರೀಕಲಿದೇವರ ದಾನ ಪೊಂ(ಪೊ)ಮ್ಬರಸರ್ ಬರೆದ
 ಸ್ವ(ಶಾ)ಸನಸ*ಕೆ(ಕೈ) ಮುಂಗಮಗ†ಳಮ[49]ಹಾಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ || ಗುರುಪಾದಭಕ್ತನಾಗೋಜನು ಮಾಡಿದ
 ಶಿವಾಶ್ಯ(ಲಯ) ಉಂನತೋದಭವ || ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ||

* This letter,—ಸ್,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† These two letters,—ಮಗ,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

No. IV.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Where on the earth is there a city equal to the radiant Munivalli, which, in the fair district that is called the Toragale, Six-thousand, is pleasing through its many glittering delights, its fertile fields, its large temple, and its glorious abundance of pleasing things? It is beautiful through the fruits of its large and leafy mango-trees, its lime-trees, its Kadambaka-trees, and its vines, through the pendent fruits of its cocoanut-trees, through its shady places which are pleasing to the eye and which seem charming when trouble is being experienced¹, through all its allurements, through its fertile sugar-cane plantations, through its many arecanut-trees, and through its cuckoos that sing on all sides.

The lord of that district was Singhana, of unequalled strength; and to his son, the lord Jaitugi, was born, to the happiness of the world, the king Śrī-Kandhara, who manifested his strength, the best of the descendants of Yadu, the beloved of the goddess of fortune, a universal king, adorned with victory, the preserver of the sacred writings, performing achievements that were praised by all kings, a very king Triṇētra among kings.

Be it well! Hail! While the reign of the king Śrī-Kandhara,—who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength and perfect prowess of his arm, and who was adorned with all the titles commencing with “He who is possessed of all glory; the supreme lord of the city of Dvārāvātīpura, the best of cities, who has attained the five *Mahāśabdās*²; he who is born in the holy lineage of Viṣṇu; he who has the banner (that bears a representation) of a golden Garuḍa³; he who is the sun that causes to expand the buds of the lotus which is the Yādavakuḷa; he who is victorious over hostile kings; he who is a very Triṇētra⁴ to

¹ ‘*Kaluvāddheyol*,’—the analysis would seem to be ‘*kalu*’, sc. ‘*kaliyuva*’, ‘*bāddheyol*.’

² Probably ‘five titles commencing with the word ‘*mahā*’ (‘*mahat*’), great, such as *Mahārāja*.’ This epithet is usually applied to feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvaras* or Great Chieftains, and not to paramount sovereigns as in the present passage.

³ The man-bird, the servant and vehicle of Viṣṇu.

⁴ Śiva, who reduced Madana, the god of love, to ashes by the fiery glance of the third eye in his forehead, when Madana tried to inspire him with love for Pārvatī.

Madana in the form of the king of Mālava; he who is terrible to the king of Gūrjara; he who causes the fever of fear to the king of the Koṇkana; he who has the sovereignty of the country of the king of Chōla; he who has established the king of Tēluṅga; he who is a very Triṇētra⁹ to Tripura in the form of the armies of his enemies; he who preserves the sacred writings; he who supports the burden of the whole earth; he who is a very god of love of a king"—was continuing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations⁸, at the capital of Dēvagiri, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Friday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha of the Virōdhikṛit *saṃvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka era 1174⁷:—

It needs one who is versed in description to describe Kriyâśakti; whose excellent father was the learned Sarvēśvara, who, having attained similarity of form with the god Śaṃkara⁸, at the bidding of the god⁹ who rules the north-east quarter kept himself apart from passion, anger, pride, wealth, error, fear, and avarice; who delighted in penance; and who was a very ocean of affection towards good people. To Kriyâśakti,—who was a very ocean of humility, and who was the son of Sarvēśvara, the chief of ascetics,—was born the good Sômēśvara, who, (like a bee), was entirely devoted to the service of the lotuses which are the feet of the Unborn¹⁰, and who, abounding in truth and the celebrated penances of (the religion of) Śiva and good luck and excellence of fortune and good conduct which were pleasing to him, became renowned in the world, enjoying the love of the lovely woman Fame.

Hail! Having washed the sacred lotuses which were the feet of the holy royal preceptor Sarvēśvaradēva,—who was endowed with the characteristics of (the performance of) the greater and the minor religious observances, study, meditation, immovable abstraction of the

⁸ Śiva, as the destroyer of three strong cities of gold, silver, and iron, the strongholds of a demon, in the sky, air, and earth respectively.

⁹ This denotes in some way a regal attribute, but I cannot define the exact meaning of the expression.

⁷ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Virōdhikṛit *saṃvatsara* is Śaka 1173, and Śaka 1174 is the Paridhāvi *saṃvatsara*.

⁸ Śiva.

⁹ Śiva.

¹⁰ Śiva.

mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, the performance of penances, &c. ; who was intent upon the six duties of offering sacrifices, conducting the sacrifices of others, studying, imparting instruction, giving presents, and receiving gifts ; who delighted in all the learning of the R̥gveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the Vêdânta, the six systems of philosophy, Grammar, Prosody, the collection and explanation of Vêdic words and names, poetry, and the drama ; who practised the observances of Vyâsa, Agastya, Durvâsa, Viśvâmitra, Nârada, and other holy saints ; whose body was sprinkled with ashes ; who wore a small piece of cloth round the loins, and the hairy skin of an antelope ; who carried a rosary of *Rudrâkshas*¹¹ ; who preserved the traditions and the observances of his family ; who was a very incarnation of the Jaṅgamalinga¹² ; who was (of) pure (birth) by both (his paternal and his maternal) families ; and who belonged to (the establishment of the goddess) Śrī-Kālāmukhamasi,—sixty cultivators of the fortunate Munīndravallī, the mine of jewels, and the Ugura Three-hundred, and the Five-hundred-and-four, and all those belonging to the *Entuhiṭṭu*¹³ and the locality of the five *Maṭhas*¹⁴, gave to the god Śrī-Jagadīśvaradêva, for the *aṅgabhōga* and the *raṅgabhōga* and the Chaitrapavitra and the perpetual lamp, one hundred and fifty allotments, together with shops and oil-mills and towns, and a betel-plantation measuring seven *kulīs*, and two *mattars* of cultivated land in the south part of (the village of) Honnakallagutti, and two *mattars* of cultivated land at Naduvanūr. The grant, together with the flower-garden (given in the neighbourhood) of the tank called Kaḍalahole, shall continue as long as the moon and sun and stars may last.

And the places of importance (that belong) to this locality are :— (The shrine of the god) Mallêśvara of Śrī-Vêlūgrāme ; the god Kallidêva of the great *agrahāra*¹⁵-village Nêsarige ; (the god) Ballêśvara

¹¹ The berries of a tree from which rosaries ('*Rudrâkshamālā*') are made.

¹² *sc.*, 'the moving *linga*.'

¹³ See Note 30 to No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions referred to above.

¹⁴ The '*Pañchamaṭhasthāna*', or 'locality of the five religious colleges', is an expression of frequent occurrence in inscriptions. Possibly the explanation of it, at all events as regards the locality of the present inscription and of others belonging to the neighbourhood of Belgaum, is to be found in the five shrines mentioned in lines 42 to 45 below.

¹⁵ '*Agrahāra*',—lands granted to Brāhmanas for religious and educational purposes.

of Gôkâve¹⁶; (the god) Vijayêśvara of Kottumbâgi of the Halasige Twelve-thousand; and the god Kalidêva of Goliyahallî;—this is the succession of the priests (belonging) to these *Mathas*.

He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

May the greatest prosperity attend this charter, which has been written by Bommarasa, the servant of the god Śrî-Kalidêva, in the presence of the supreme lord, the Daṇḍanâyaka Basavidêva!

Glorious is the temple of Śiva that was built by Nâgôja, the disciple of Gurupâda!

¹⁶ It is doubtful whether the reading in the text is Gôkâve or Gôkâge; probably the first form is correct, as the town is always called Gokâṁve by the Canarese people, though the name for it in Marâthi and in official correspondence is Gôkâk.

No. V.

[१] श्री [॥] ओ नमः शिवाभ्यां [॥] स जयति हरिः पोत्र [२] प्रांतप्रतिष्ठितभु-
 (भू) तलस्त्रिभुवनकृपा [३] मात्रोपात्तत्रयीमयविग्रहः ॥ (१) यदमलपदं ब्वा (व्या) पि व्यो [४] माध्यपायजिहासया श-
 रणमभजद्भूयः प्रायः प्रसा [६] दनयादरं [॥] आसीच्छंद्रमसो वंशो यदूनाममितौजसां [॥] तस्मिन्-
 (स्मिन्ना) म [६] र्यागिंयस्तत्रासीद्वरिजैतुभिः । (॥) कराक्रांतपरः पद्माह्लासी [७] दुष्प्रेक्षमंडलः [॥] भूभूमौ-
 लिस्थपादो भूत्तस्मासिं (स्ति) हलभास्करः ॥ [८] तन्नसारिबलाक्रांत (त) कुंभिकुंभे जयश्रियः [॥] कुच-
 कुंभे यथा लोलो [९] भाति श्रीकृष्णभूपतिः । (॥) यगदृ (दृ) ह्यु (स्तु) णलाटमबलबलगल [१०] ल*.
 द्रक्तपूरे रितैर्न्यं । यादो भूत्तरिसा (शा) दप्रकरनिपतिता मौ [११] लयो गूजराणां [॥] उद्या-
 (वं) त्या वीरलक्ष्याः सुखसवण (न) परिन्यस्तपादोप [१२] लाभा (भो) [॥] राजं (ज) त्रैशौ (श) त्रि (स्त्रि) लोकप्र-
 कटितविजयः कृष्णराजश्चक्रास्ति ॥ [१३] स्वस्ति श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा [१४] रकद्वारव-
 तीपुरवराधीश्वरारायनारायणेत्यादिनामावलीवि [१५] राजमानः (न) श्रीकन्दरेदेवविजयराज्योदये तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी [॥]
 [१६] भूभुम्रा (ग्रा) ह्यो प्रजो व्य (व्य) प्राप्नुग्रहो प्रेसरः सतां [॥] अत्युग्रो विग्रहो [१७] प्राणामप्र-

* This second ल is superfluous to both the metre and the sense.

महो भवद्भुवि । (॥) तस्यानुजः । (॥) हेल्लासाधितर*† [१६] कौण्णकनकादव (ब) गुयुल्लसत्साड्योद्भुमारहोरस-
 [१७] णादि विविधहमापालभूमंडलः । विद्यालोदककन्य [२०] काभयधरादनिकसर्वातिथिः । कावेरीनिकटप (म) तिष्ठि-
 [२१] तजयस्तभो भवर्हीचणः । (॥) तसुत्रो गुणवान्वीरश्च [२२] डादोर्दंडमंडनः । पालयंद (यन्द) क्षिणां
 पृथ्वीं राज [२३] ते चोडभूपतिः । (॥) एकच्छत्रधरो प्युपायव (ब) हुल [२४] त्र (ब्र) झण्यदेवो नरो
 बभन्नैरिवलीश्वरं वसुमतीमा [२५] क्रामयंली (यँल्ली) लया [१] भूदेवप्रकरावनोदातपदः संवर्धमा [२६] नः श्रिया
 चावुंडो नृपतिस्त्रिविक्रमसमः संशोभते भूत [२७] ले ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महामधाननिखिलजनरक्षणनिधान-
 [२८] राजवणिगंधवारणसंग्रामधृत्ववीरलक्ष्मिदेवीमनो [२९] वल्लभभयलोभटुल्लभहोयसणराजमदभंजनको [३०] विदजनरसांजनसाधितसक-
 लसकलसामंतपेषण [३१] हनूमानित्यादिनामावलीविराजमान (नः) श्रीचौडराजः ॥ स [३२] चौडराजः (जो)
 दिग्विजयव्यापारे कुंतलदेशांतर्गतबेल [३३] वल्लभमथ्यवर्त्तिनं त्रिशदामाधिपतिं श्रीकुक्कनूल् स पश्यति ।
 [३४] कथंभूतं । (॥) हित्वा कैलासशैलं समुदितशिवया क्षेतु (त्र) पाले [३५] न साकं [१] एको
 व्येकादशास्मा शशिधरमुकुटो भाति शंभुः स्व [३६] यंभुः । यद्रामावासलोभादखिलसुरवरः श्रेणिसं-
 रत्यूमा [३७] नः । शो (सो) यं श्रीकुक्कनूरुर्जयति वसुमतीरंजनी यो ग्रहारः । (॥) [३८] ए-
 कादशतनौ शंभावष्टादशतनुः शिवा [१] सहस्रमुखतो [३९] देवा विपत्वेन समासते । (॥) एवं-

* This, —†, — is evidently intended to represent the Old Canarese ॐ.

† The first aide of the second plate commences with this letter, — ड.

विधप्रामवासिनः(नो) द्वयधिकसह[40]लसंख्याकाश्चतुदशविद्यापारगाः । विप्रस्तुतिः ।(॥) वेदैषै[41]श्चतुरानना अपि
 सदा सत्त्वै(त्त्वै)कनिष्ठा जगद्रक्षाभिः पुर[42]षोत्तमा अपि परित्यक्तद्विजिह्वाश्रयाः [1] सामर्थ्यैस्तु
 महे[43]श्च*रा अपि महर्देवा द्विजेन्द्रा(द्राः) स्थिराः(रा) यत्रै[44]ते निवसन्ति तानिह नुमः श्री-
 कुक्कुरा(र्वा)धिपा[45]न् ॥ एवंविधैः(धै)त(स्त)दीप्सितकृतानुष्ठानैर्लब्धप्रसादः [1] य[46]स्य यस्य यदा भू-
 मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति धर्मप्रसं[47]गे हितोपादिष्टश्चादौ देन(व)गिरौ राजसदसि कुक्कनू-
 [48]रुनमाग्रहारो खिलसिद्धक्षेत्रशिरोमणिः सर्वदे[49]वतागर्भगृहमिति तद्विज्ञापनश्रुतेन श्रीकृ[50]ष्णभूपेने(नै)व-
 मुक्तः(क्त) अस्मद्रज्याभिवृत्त्यर्थमेवं त्वं कुर्वे[51]ति राज्ञानुज्ञातस्तदर्थलब्धराजमुद्रः स ॥ पंचसप्त-
 [52]त्यधिकशतोत्तरसहस्रके शकवर्षे वर्त्तमाने स्वस्ति [63]श्रीमद्यादवनारायणभुजव(व)लमौढप्रतापचक्र[64]वर्ति-
 श्रीकन्हरेदेववर्षेषु सप्तमे प्रमादिसंव[65]त्सरे चैत्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे अमा(मा for अमा)वास्यायां सोम[66]वा-
 रे । देशपरिवर्त्तनयोग्यैश्चतुश्चतसंख्याप[67]रिमितनिष्केनि(र्नि)यतकरमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व(र्व)बा[68]धापरिहा-
 रपुरःसरं राज्ञा राजपुरैरनुगुलिमे[69]क्षणीयं वरोक्षवरमहिषप्रसभक्रयविक्रयादि[60]सर्वदोषवर्जितं(त)अ(म)ष्टाच-
 त्वारिशत्सहस्रमात्रा(त्र)क्षेत्र[91]प्रसिद्धसीगा(मा)समन्वितं सगोव्रजं ग्रामघोषसहितं [62]ग्रामदेवघोषयुक्तं य-
 थास्थानमान्यं तत्तन्मौल्याद्या[63]योगोसादकारुहणादिसर्वोपाज्जोपेतमष्टभो[64]गतेजःस्वाभ्यसाहितं ग्रामायि(धि)देवतासमक्षे

* The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—ध.

† The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—ग्र.

पादम[७३]क्षालनं कृत्वा [१] सत्येनाकौ जगद्भास्वन्देवताः सत्यसंभवाः । स[७३]त्येन स-
 फला भूमिः सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितमिति तैरुक्तः श्रीचौ[७७]डराजस्तेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो महाब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 पर[म^१]या भक्त्या धा[७८]रापूर्व(र्व)कं साहिरण्यं प्रादात् ॥ ॥ अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे
 [७९]फलं । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः 'सगरादिभिः [१] यस्य य[७०]स्य यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।(॥) गण्यते पासवो भू[७१]र्मेण्यते वृष्टिर्बिंदवः [१] न ग-
 ण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फ[७२]लं ।(॥) अपहरतस्तद्विपरीतं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो
 हरेच्च वसुंध[७३]रा । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।(॥) अत एवाह [७४]श्रीरामः [१]
 सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल[७५]नीयो भवद्भिः [१] सर्वनेतान्भावनिः पार्थिवै-
 द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच[७६]ते रामचंद्रः ।(॥) कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यः समर्थो प्युपेक्षते ।
 सः(स) [७७]स्यात्तदैव चंडालः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः ।(॥) आसनं सर्वधर्माणां [७८]स्या((श्वा)श(स)नं
 सर्वदेहिनां [१] शासनं भाविभूपाणां तेनेदं दत्तशास[७९]नं ।(॥) न्यूनातिरिक्तमच्छिद्रं दोषज्ञैः
 क्रियतामिदं। धर्मं च शा[८०]श्वतं भूया+सुखिनः संतु देहिनः ।(॥) कृता सर्वज्ञैर्जायै[८१]लि-
 (लि)खिता मल्लशिल्पिना । दत्ता श्रीचौ[८२]डासपद्धतिः ।(॥) मंगलमहाश्रीश्री श्री स्वस्ति ॥

* This letter,—म,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—|,—between the letters या and त्सु.

No. V.

Śrī! Ōm! Reverence to Śiva and Śivā¹! Victorious is he, Hari, who raised the earth upon the tip of his snout, and who, solely on account of his tender solicitude for the three worlds, assumed a form composed of the three principles (of truth, passion, and ignorance); his spotless foot, invading even the skies, obtained a resting-place from a desire to avoid the causing of calamity, and obtained respect from conferring happiness!

From the moon there sprang the race of the sons of Yadu of immeasurable glory; and in it was born the brave Jaitugi, who was as it were a very Âmaragângêya².

From him sprang Simhala, who subjected the whole earth to his royal imposts, who increased the splendour of the goddess of fortune, who possessed an array of troops which it was very dangerous to face, and who placed his feet upon the diadems of kings; like to the sun, which pervades the whole earth with its beams, which causes the white lotuses to bloom, which is possessed of an orb which it is very difficult to gaze upon, and which directs its rays upon the summits of the mountains.

His grandson, the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, is resplendent, ever eager for the foreheads of the elephants that belong to the forces of his enemies and for the tips of the breasts of the goddess of victory. The army of his foes became a sea-monster in the torrent of blood that trickled down from the mighty force of Lâta that had been bruised in his grasp, and the diadems of the Gûrjaras have fallen into the mud upon its banks; for the sake of the blooming goddess of bravery, king Kṛishṇa, the lord of the protectors of kings, applied himself to war, and, his victories being made known throughout the three worlds, is glorious.

Hail! In the victorious reign of Śrī-Kanharadêva, who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravatîpura, which is the best of

¹ Pârvatî.

² *sc.*, 'the son of Amaraṅgâ or the heavenly Ganges'. Kârttikêya, the god of war, is intended, who was generated from the seed of Śiva, when it was received by the Ganges on the Fire being unable to retain it.

cities ; the best of kings",—he who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet³:—

Acceptable to kings, most excellent, merciful to the timid, foremost of good people, fiercest of those who are fierce in war,—such was Agramalla in the earth. His younger brother :—

Having acquired with ease the territories of various kings, commencing with the Rattas, the Kādambas who are glorious in the Konkana, Pāṇḍya who shines at Guti, and the turbulent Hoysana ; excellently treating all guests with gifts of learning, food, water, and damsels, and assurances of safety, and grants of land ; erecting the columns that record his victories in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvērī,—such was Vichana.

His son, the virtuous and brave king Chaṇḍa, governing the country of the south, is glorious, being decorated with a staff which is his mighty arm. The king Chāvṇḍa, who is like Trivikrama⁴, is resplendent on the plain of the earth,—bearing the sole umbrella of sovereignty ; treating as gods the Brāhman, who abound in the expedients of government ; being a man, just as Trivikrama is Nara⁵ ; binding the mighty lord who was his enemy, just as Trivikrama bound the lord Bali⁶ who was his foe ; stepping over in sport the earth ; lifting up his foot for the preservation of the multitude of Brāhman ; being augmented by his regal splendour, as Trivikrama is by the goddess Śrī.

Hail ! The Śrī-Chaṇḍarāja,—who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The fortunate great minister ; the preserver of all mankind ; the favourite of the goddess of bravery, who was captured by him in the wars of kings and merchants and choice elephants ; he who is not easily assailable by fear and greed ; he who curbs the pride of the Hoysana kings ; he who is the ornament of learned people ; he who is a very Hanūmán' in grinding all chieftains, with all their belongings, that have been seized by him",—this same Chaṇḍarāja, while busying

³ This is the usual expression for the relations of a feudatory or subordinate with the paramount sovereign.

⁴ 'He of the three steps',—Vishṇu.

⁵ 'The (original or eternal) Man',—Vishṇu.

⁶ A demon king, subjugated by Trivikrama in his incarnation as the Dwarf. The first two steps of Vishṇu covered, and deprived Bali of, the heaven and earth, and, on Bali humbling himself and presenting his head to receive the third step, Vishṇu spared his life and allowed him the dominion of Pātāla.

⁷ The monkey-chief, the ally of Rāma in his conquest of Laṅkā.

himself in conquering the regions, happened to behold the village of Śrī-Kukkanūru, the chief of thirty villages, in the middle of (the district of) Belavala⁸ which is included in the country of Kuntala. And what was that village like?—Having, through his desire to inhabit this village, left the mountain of Kailāsa with the excellent Śivā and with Kshêtrapāla⁹, Śambhu, the self-existing,—who, though he is but one, yet has eleven forms; who bears the moon upon his tiara; who is the best of all the gods; and who is praised in the streets of it,—is resplendent; and this same *agrahāra*-village of Śrī-Kukkanūru, the ornament of the earth, is surpassingly excellent. As Śivā, who has eighteen forms, (exists) in Śambhu who has eleven forms, so the gods, in a thousand manifestations, exist under the guise of Brāhmaṇs (in this village). And they who were the inhabitants of the village thus described, being one thousand and two in number, were thoroughly versed in all the fourteen sciences. (Here comes) an eulogy of the Brāhmaṇs.¹⁰ Ever adhering to excellence, even though they are equal to the Four-faced¹¹ in the abundance of their learning; abandoning men of double speech¹², even though they are equal to Purushôtama in protecting the world; simple divinities upon the earth, even though they are equal to Mahêśvara¹³ in respect of their superhuman powers,—where these steadfast ones, the best of the twice-born, reside, there let us praise them, the lords of Śrī-Kukkanūru.

Having been propitiated by these (Brāhmaṇs) thus described, whose observances were such as were desired by him, and having been soundly admonished, during a discourse on matters of religion, with the words “He, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it”, and having been addressed at the very commencement by the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, who had been touched by his request, in a royal assembly at Dêvagiri, in the words “The *agrahāra*-village of Kukkanūru is the best of all holy places and is the birthplace of all the gods”, and having had permission given to him by the king in the words “Do thou that

⁸ The ‘Belvola Three-hundred’ of other inscriptions.

⁹ This is an epithet of Śiva as ‘the protector of fields’. Who is intended in the present passage, is not clear.

¹⁰ This seems to be a parenthetical remark introduced by a revisor or by the engraver of the inscription.

¹¹ Brahma.

¹² In the word ‘*dvijivha*’, *two-tongued, double-tongued*, there is also an allusion to the serpent Śêsha, which is the couch (‘*âsraya*’) of Viṣṇu.

¹³ ‘The great lord’,—Śiva.

which may tend to the exaltation of our rule", and having for that purpose received the royal signet ;—in the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and seventy-five, in the seventh of the years of the glorious Śrī-Kanharadēva, the best of the Yādavas, a very universal emperor by reason of the mature prowess of the might of his arm, in the Prāmādi *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra,—having washed the feet (of those Brāhmanas) in the presence of the presiding deity of the village, and having been addressed by them with the words "It is through truth that the sun lights up the world ; the gods were born from truth ; through truth the earth is fruitful ; everything is firmly established in truth,"—he, Śrī-Chaṇḍarāja, made an *agrahāra* grant, the assessment of which was fixed at four hundred *nishkas*¹⁴ of the sort that were current in the country, and in his intense devotion gave it, with libations of water and gifts of gold, to those eminent Brāhmanas of many *gôtras*, free from all opposing claims, accompanied by a promise that it should never be pointed at with the finger (of confiscation) by the king or by the king's people, free from all such drawbacks as the forcible sale and purchase of its excellent bulls and cows, accompanied by the well-known boundaries of fields of the measure of forty-eight thousand¹⁵, including all the cattle and all the herdsmen's stations of the village and all the herdsmen's stations of the village-deity and the *mānya*-lands¹⁶ in their proper localities, accompanied by the acquisition of all the dues of hereditary officers (?), &c., and taxes on cattle, and perquisites of artisans, &c., and carrying with it the proprietorship of the eight privileges of enjoyment¹⁷.

¹⁴ 'Nishka',—a gold coin of varying value at different times.

¹⁵ The unit of the measure is not apparent.

¹⁶ 'Mānya',—lands held at a trifling quit-rent or altogether rent-free.

¹⁷ 'Aṣṭabhōga' is explained in the Dictionaries as meaning the eight sources of enjoyment, *sc.* a habitation, a bed, raiment, jewels, women, flowers, perfumes, and areca-nuts and betel-leaves. But Professor Monier Williams alludes, *s. v.* 'akṣiṇī', but without further explanation, to eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property, and this is more probably the meaning of the term. In lines 25 to 27 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription published by me at page 333 of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary* there is the expression *nidhi-nikṣhēpa-jala-pāshāṇa-akṣiṇī-āgāmi-siddha-sādhyā-[aṣṭabhōga]-tējaśvāmāya-saṇitā*, which, perhaps, furnishes the required explanation. This is the only passage in which I have met with 'aṣṭabhōga' preceded by eight specific terms ; in other passages the same terms occur, but they are broken up and arranged differently ; *e. g.*, in lines 67 and 68 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription at Raṭṭibāḷī, and in lines 119 and 120 of another at Gadag, which will shortly be published by me in this Journal, we have, without any use of the word 'aṣṭa-

And as to the reward of preserving an act of religion :—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it ! The dust of the earth may be counted and the drops of rain ; but the reward of continuing an act of religion cannot be estimated even by the Creator ! But it is different with one who commits spoliation :—He, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure ! Therefore has Śrī-Rāma said :—“ This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you”,—thus does Rāmachandra make his earnest request to all future lords of the earth ! He, who, though able (to continue a religious grant), manifests indifference in act or thought or speech, verily then becomes an outcaste beyond the pale of all religion ! Therefore has this charter been given, which is the abode of all religion, the breath of all mortals, and a command to future kings.

May this (charter) be made perfect and free from all defects by those who can detect shortcomings ; may religion endure for ever ; may mankind be happy !

The firm text of this charter has been composed by Sarvajñanavajīrya ; it has been engraved by Mallasīlpī ; and it has been given by the king Śrī-Chaunḍa. May there be the greatest prosperity ! Farewell !

bhōga, *nidhi-nikshēpa-pāshāna-siddha-sādhyā-jala-anvita* * * * * * *akshint-āgāmi-samyukta* ; and in lines 26 and 27 of a Sanskrit stone-tablet inscription at Harihara, published by me at pp. 390 *et seqq.* of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary*, we have, again without any mention of the ‘*ashṭabhōga*’, ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa-samyukta, jala-pāshāna-samyukta, akshint-āgāmi-samyukta, siddha-sādhyā-samanvita*’. Again, in lines 38 to 41 of a Canarese copper-plate inscription at Harihara, shortly to be published by me in this Journal, we have ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa jala pāshāna akshint āgāmi siddha sādhyā hechchā*(sc., *hechchugā*)-*rike modalāda sakala-ashṭabhōga-tējah-svāmya sahitavāgi*’, which, taking ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa*’ as one term, seems to mean ‘together with the proprietorship of the glory of all the *ashṭabhōgas*, which commence with (or, rather, consist of) buried treasure, water, stones, *akshint*, that which accrues, that which has become property, that which may become property, and augmentation.’

ART. II.—*Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul.* BY
J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S. Eng., &c.

THE ancient city of Chaul, now called Revadaṇḍā, is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of territory on the mainland of the North Konkan, which with the promontory of the *Mórro*, or *Kôrlê*, lying about one mile distant off to the south, encloses the well-known harbour of the same name. It is situated in 18° 33' N. Lat., and 72° 59' E. Long., and is about 30 miles south-east of Bombay.

Adjoining the above, on the margin of the same creek, is the still more ancient city of Champāvati, the origin and political existence of which are lost in the dim traditions of the past. It lies as if wedged in between Revadaṇḍā and the hog-backed hills behind, only two miles further to the north-east, and connected with the former by a long shady street—the dismal remains of what was once a pleasant avenue of trees. It is referred to in old Portuguese chronicles as *Chaul de cima*, or 'Upper Chaul.'

Geologically speaking, the whole tract in and about Chaul is found to consist of horizontal strata of basalt and similar rocks. In the highland of Chaul, comprising an uneven piece of ground broken through by low ridges separated by slightly undulating valleys, the trap is found to be the most conspicuous geological feature of the country. This highland terminates on one side at the foot of the gigantic escarpment which walls in the extensive plateau of the Dakhan from the low plains of the Konkan, and rises on the other abruptly in a spur to the northward, which is distinctly seen from the sea. The trap is met with either in tabular masses a few feet below the soil, or projecting through the surface in irregular shapeless boulders varying in size from a few inches to several feet in diameter. Some of these display ferruginous bands of the hydrated peroxide of iron or brown hæmatite, imparting to it a hue not unsimilar in appearance to the lateritic coloration so prominent among the hills of the Southern Konkan. The boulders are, moreover, found to be basaltic in structure, and to rest on beds of the fresh-water shales.

Nearer to the seaport, which—notwithstanding accommodation for large vessels has been decreasing for years, owing to silting up and other causes—is a convenient one for the coast craft, being from six to seven fathoms of water in depth, although at the entrance of the bay it is only three fathoms deep,* the shoals are so numerous as to be ranked among the triple lions of Chaul, which, according to the popular notion, consist of 360 temples, 360 tanks, and 360 shoals. There is a tradition current among the maritime population of the place, which is fully borne out by history, that long before Suali, Bassein, and Bombay rose into reputation as harbours, Chaul was a safely navigable river and a very commodious roadstead. It is necessary to remark, however, that this reputation was earned and maintained in the days of the infancy of navigation, when the tonnage of the largest vessel did not, perhaps, exceed that of the ordinary Portuguese caravel. This land-locked inlet, moreover, not unlike several others on the coast, has in course of centuries been gradually filled up, not only by the silt and sand deposited by the stream entering it, but also by other causes. Close to the shore—for instance, where the ruins of the fort stand in picturesque isolation, surrounded by the grey sands of the surf-beaten beach—an agglutinated calcareous mass of shells and gravel is found, bounded on one side by what is neither land nor water, but a muddy compound, which the tropical sun succeeds in a while in rendering fit for a mangrove swamp; and on the other by hillocks of drifted sand periodically bathed by tidal water, in which the *Elymus arenarius*, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, *Scilla communis*, and a few hardy descriptions of reeds and grasses bind together the light covering of the soil, until there is a sufficient consistency for the cocoanut palm to secure a firm hold, or for the rice-fields to make their advances, resulting in the end in that steady though gradual filling up of the river-bed which has rendered it impassable for modern ships.

Thus Chaul has fallen from the proud position of one of the principal commercial centres of Western India into so deplorable an obscurity that even Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* dismisses the whole subject in only two lines.

Though limited in extent, this section of the coast is fully compensated for its scantiness of space by the depth and variety of materials, which afford a wide field for the geologist. There is perhaps no land in

* Horsburgh's *Indian Directory*, Lond. 1817, vol. i., p. 303.

the vicinity of Bombay which will, in all probability, repay the curiosity and careful search of the scientific inquirer as Chaul: for the chemical and lithological peculiarities of its formations, the varieties of minerals contained in them, the fossil shells, though mostly of the littoral or estuary species, found in the intertrappean beds, the mammalian remains of the Miocene and Pliocene conglomerates, which are by no means rare here, and its peculiar flora and fauna, are really worth studying. But archæology, rather than natural history, being the theme of this sketch, I must pause here.

Among the early Hindus the ancient city of Chaul was known by the name of चंपावती (Champāvati) *, and stated in some of their meagre extant records to have been the capital of an independent kingdom situated in the Paraśurāmakshetra of the Purāṇic geographers. Various accounts of the origin of the name are given, such as 'a place abounding in champa trees' (*Michelia Champaca*)—a supposition that I did not find myself warranted in entertaining, because of the total absence of any mention of that tree in the tolerably exhaustive list of the plants of the district published by Hearn†, until I had the opportunity myself to count them in dozens in a single garden within the fort. The other account, and perhaps the more plausible of the two, is that which ascribes the foundation of the city to a king called Champā, whose name is, moreover, not unfrequently mentioned in the Purāṇas, and elsewhere.‡ The city of Champāpura, for instance, is said to have been founded by a king of this name. This is the royal Buddhist city situated on the Ganges near the modern Bhāgalpūr, and formerly inhabited by the descendants of Ikshvāku. This name is traceable again in the designations of several other places, such as Champanīr, Champavat, &c. In the *Bramhottara Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, ch. xvi., a description is given of four Indian cities, which are named Simantini, Varmani, Champāvati, and Mathurā. Again, mention is made of it in the *Vetūl-paṇchaviṃśati* and in the *Kathārṇava*; but unfortunately there is nowhere evidence to connect any of these with Chaul.

The name of Revadaṇḍa appears to be a reversion to one of its ancient Purāṇic designations, 'Reva' being the name of the holy stream of

* ठाणाजिल्याचे वर्णन p. 36; *et infra*.

† *Statistical Report of the Colaba Agency*, Bomb. 1854, pp. 26 *et seq.*

‡ H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Lond. 1820, p. 445.

Narmadâ (Nerbudda), which, like the Gangâ, has given its sacred name to many a rivulet. This is, however, a mere hypothesis. There are other explanations also respecting the etymology of the word Revadaṇḍa, one of which traces it to a tradition current among the Brāhmanas of the coast to the effect that when Kṛishṇa was reigning in Gujārāt he had assigned the southern part of his kingdom, which embraced a considerable portion of the Northern Koṅkan, for the support of Revatî, the wife of his brother Balarāma, and that the 'Revatikshetra,' or 'country of Revatî,' which is often mentioned in the Purāṇas, corresponds to the modern Revadaṇḍa.* Others, again, profess to have found its origin from inscriptions. A stone pillar was discovered near Government House, Bombay (Parell?), containing an inscription, dated 1102 A.S. (1181 A.D.), written in the Devanāgarī character, mostly in the Sanskrit language, but containing a curse in old Marāṭhī, referring to a grant of gardens in the village of Mandauli, in the district of Thadda (Thulla?), by Śrīmat-Aparāditya, Prince of the Koṅkan—his ancestors' names being unfortunately omitted, thus leaving us entirely in the dark as to his pedigree or descendants—to the temple of Śrī-Vaijanātha (Mahādeva), situated in the town of Rabavanti, in which, it is mentioned, there were many merchants living.† This Rabavanti is supposed by the late Professor Wilson‡ to correspond to Revadaṇḍa, from the circumstance of its having been inhabited by merchants, and from its name being recorded in the monumental stone-pillar—a not uncommon form of memorial—in the neighbourhood of Chaul; while the objection raised against the date 1181 as being that in which the Tagara rājās of Padma Nāla (Pannalla) ruled the Koṅkan (among whom there is no mention made of such a name as Aparāditya) is easily got over by supposing that this individual must have been simply a chieftain governing the Upper Koṅkan, or Chaul and its immediate vicinity, owing allegiance to the Tagara rājās, and perhaps from sheer vanity or pretentious exaggeration of his title styling himself "Prince of the Koṅkan."

We tread on comparatively safe ground as we proceed to identify Chaul with its name as given by Western writers. Their itineraries of a coast line which was the best known of any part of India to the

* कौकणाख्यान. अ० ४-६, chaps. iv.-vi.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Lond. 1835, vol. iii., p. 386.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Alexandrian merchants, during the first and second centuries of our era, and to the Arabs, the successors in the right line of some of Ptolemy's authorities, in the Middle Ages, although vague on the point of locations of the names with respect to the latitude, afford indications for identification certainly worth recording. Among these writers the foremost are, of course, Ptolemy, Arrian, and the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, variously estimated to have been written between 80 and 150 A.D. It may be desirable to mention here the approximate dates of the above geographical writers:—*Periplus* 80, Ptolemy 130, Arrian 150. The first calls Chaul *Συμόλλα*,* the next two *Σίμυλλα*.† These names are, again, supposed by Reinaud‡ to correspond to Symola, Chymola, or Malakûta, and by Yule§ to Chimolo of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. || Another writer, far older than these, tells us that Chaul, if Castaldus' supposition is right, is the *Comané* of Ptolemy.¶

Among the Arab and Persian writers we have first in the order of chronological precedence Masûdi, the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, who names Chaul *صيمور* (Saimûr) and refers to it thus:—"I visited the city of Saimûr, situated on the coast of Lar, and one of the dependencies of Balhârâ, in the year 304 (916 A.D.)." Then he goes on to relate that at that time the reigning prince was named *جانج* (Janja), which name, Reinaud informs us,** is also found recorded in a copper-plate discovered about eighty years ago in the neighbourhood of Chaul, and which is dated *circa* 1018 A.D., indicating that the prince had reigned there some time previous to the advent of the famous author of the *Meadows of Gold*. This prince is perhaps the Śrī Chhinna Dêva Râjâ, of the Silahâra family, descended from the royal line of Tagara, and chief of tributary râjâs, who reigned in Thâpâ over 1,400 villages of the Koṅkan, and whose name is recorded on some copper-plates discovered at the village of

* *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, edit. Blancard, p. 172.

† *Géographie de Ptolémée*, liv. vii., chap. 1.

‡ *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 220-221.

§ *Cathay and the way thither*, Lond. 1866., vol. i., p. cxcii.

|| *Foë-Koué-Ki*, p. 391, No. 94; and Julien's *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 420.

¶ *Sir Herbert's Travels*, Lond. 1865, p. 848.

** *Mémoire*, loc. cit., and *Jour. Asiatique*, Série IV., tome 4, pp. 263-264.

Bhāṇḍūpa.* Maśūdi then tells us that there were about ten thousand Mahomedans in the city of Saimūr from Siraf, Oman, Bassora, Bagdad, &c., exclusive of what he calls *بیسر* (*baisir*), i.e. children of Arabs born in the country. He goes on to relate that the Mahomedans of the place had at their head a man elected from among themselves whose title was *هزامة* (*Hazama*), who was invested with power by the prince of the country, to whom he owed fealty, and that in our author's time the individual who filled this high post of *Hazama* was called Abū Said.†

The Lar, also called Lardeśa, mentioned by Maśūdi, is evidently the territory of Gujarāt and the Northern Konkan, embracing Broach, Thāṇā, and Chaul, and which name is given by Ptolemy as *Lirikē*. The connection between Lar and Gujarāt is so intimate that Ibn Said speaks, on Abulfeda's authority, of the two names as identical; and it was probably a political rather than a geographical division of the kingdom of Balhārā. The sea to the west of the coast was also called in the early Mahomedan times, 'the sea of Lar,' and the language spoken on its shores is by Maśūdi named 'Lari.'

As regards Balhārā, whom Maśūdi mentions as the reigning prince to whom Saimūr was tributary, it has long been identified as the name of the dynasty which reigned at Valabhī (Valabhīpura) in Gujarāt, and according to Solimān, a merchant and one of the greatest travellers of his age, was in his time the chief of all the princes in India, the latter acknowledging his preëminence; while the Arabs themselves were shown great favours and enjoyed great privileges in his dominions.‡

Next in order is Ibn Muhalhal, who, it is supposed, visited the city of Chaul, which he also calls Saimūr, in the year 941 A.D., or about twenty-five years after Maśūdi. His whole narrative is unfortunately not extant, and the extracts made from his work by Yâkût, Kazwinî, Kurd de Schloezer, and others have caused doubts to be raised as to the genuineness of his travels, made up, as they are, of so many loose fragments. There are, however, reasons to believe that the traveller was in India about the middle of the tenth century (942 A.D.), when he ac-

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. li., pp. 383-384. The plate was discovered in 1830 at Bhāṇḍūpa, in Salsette. It is dated 948 Śaka (1027 A.D.).

† *Maroudj-al-Dscheheb*, tome 1, fol. 49; and *Les Prairies d'Or*, par MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-66, p. 66.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, &c., Lond. 1867, vol. i., p. 4; and Lassen's *Ind. Alter.*, vol. iii., pp. 533 et seq.

accompanied the Chinese Ambassador from the King of China, Kalin Bin Shakhbar, who had arrived at the court of Nasri Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail, of the Samanidæ at Bokhara, to negotiate a marriage between his King's daughter and Noah the son of Nasri. Ibn Muhalhal speaks of Chaul thus :—" At another foot of the mountain towards the north is the city of *Saimûr*, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese. From this place also *Saimûr* wood is named, though it is only brought thither for sale." * *Zakariya-al-Kazwinî*, who compiled his works from the writings of Ibn Muhalhal and others after the middle of the thirteenth century, says of *Saimûr* :—" A city of Hind near the confines of Sind (an Arabic demarcation). The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musalmâns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called *Saimûrî* are named from this place. The temple of *Saimûr* is an idol-temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and *bajîddak* (a stone like a ruby), which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and fire-temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs ; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from *Misâr Bin Muhalhil*, author of the *Ajûibu-l-buldân*, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders." †

Then follow two contemporary travellers, Shaikh Abû Ishak and Ibn Haukal. They are supposed to have written about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A.D.). The former is a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but they both met in the valley of the Indus and compared notes, and exchanged observations. The text of Shaikh Abû was first published by Dr. Moeller at Gotha in 1839, under the title of *Liber Clamatum*, and a translation of the same into German appeared in 1845, and of a portion of it into Italian in 1842. He places *Saimûr* among the " cities of Hind " in contradistinction to the " cities of Sind," and refers to it thus :—" From *Kambâya* to *Saimûr* is the land of the *Balhârâ*, and in it there are several

* *Cathay, ut supra*, p. cxi.

† *Elliot, ut supra*, p. 97.

kings." Then, again, in reference to distances he says:—"From Sindân to Saimûr five days. Between Saimûr and Sarandib fifteen days."* Ibn Haukal, in his *Ashkâlu-l Bilâd*, uses the same words as his fellow-traveller in his references to Saimûr.†

Next comes the most accurate of all Arab writers of the time, Abû Rihân Al-Bîrûnî. He wrote about 1030 A.D. He calls Chaul *Jaimûr*, and says: "It is situated to the south of Tâna, in the country of Lârân."‡

Edrisi, who wrote about the year 548 A.H. (1153 A.D.), writes the name of the city thus—صيمور (*Saimûr*), and, as Jaubert has it, fixes its position as follows:—"De là [Barouh, i.e. Broach] à Seimur on compte deux journées." Elsewhere he writes:—"Saimûr, five days from Sindân, is a large well-built town. Cocoon trees grow here in abundance; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported." Then again:—"Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, and Saimûr form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhârâ; his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in the country."§

Among the later Mahomedan writers we have Sadik Isfahâni, who, in his *Takwin-al-Bulddn*, written circa 1635, gives up the Arabic perversion of Saimûr, and adopts one that is the closest approximation to Chaul, writing چيول (*Chîvel*), and places it, in accordance with his own system of computation, in Long. 88° and Lat. 36°.|| The other is the author of the Arabic work on the *History of the Mahomedans in Malabar*, called *Tohfât-al-Majâhidîn*, translated by Rowlandson and published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1833, who writes *Sheiul*, which is not very distantly removed from the modern Chaul.¶

Now putting together all these forms of the name, such as the

* Elliot, *ut supra*, p. 30.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

‡ *Jour. Asiatique*, Sept. 1844, p. 263 (p. 121 de Fragments).

§ *Géographie d'Edrisi*, &c., par Amédée Jaubert, Paris, 1826, pp. 175-76: and Elliot, *ut supra*, pp. 85-86.

|| *The Geographical Works of Sâdik Isfahâni*, translated by J. C. Lond. 1832, p. 88.

¶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 214.

Champâvati of the ancient Hindus, the Simylla of the Greeks, the Saimûr of the Arabs, the Chîvel of the later Mahomedan writers, and the Cheîval of the Marâthâs,* there is no doubt, in the face of the above-noted authorities, and others to be mentioned hereafter, who plead warmly for the identity of these names, that the place they all refer to is but the modern Chaul, a form of spelling I have here adopted, in preference to others, being the one invariably found in almost all the Portuguese records of both olden and modern times.

It was Reinaud, I presume, who first identified *Simylla emporium et promontorium* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus* with the *Saimûr* of the Arab writers,—an identification that has met with the approbation of Yule, who does, besides, identify the above two names with Chaul. Kiepert, in his Map of Ancient India published about twenty-five years ago, under the personal supervision of the veteran Indianist Lassen to illustrate his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, placed Simylla at Bassein, which Yule first removed to Chaul, as evidenced in his recently published Map of Ancient India in Dr. W. Smith's *Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography*, in his *Cathay*, published about ten years before, and other writings,—a removal that has been declared by one of the learned journalists on this side of India to be “much more satisfactory.”† Yule, after giving the grounds on which his identifications rest, goes on further to suggest, from the reconstruction of all the loose fragments of the divers spellings of the name, that “it seems likely that the old name was something like Chaimul or Chânwul.”‡ Elsewhere he writes:—“Chânwul Châmul or Chânwur would easily run into Semylla or Jaimur on one hand, and into Chaul on the other.”§ How difficult it is to settle doubtful points in the ancient geography of India, whether Greek, Chinese, Arab, or Sanskrit, is well known; and some of the above identifications, though not made with rashness, are to be received with caution, being possible but not proveable. They cannot, in fact, be accepted as final, although that they will generally be admitted as satis-

* The Marâthâs have a tradition to the effect that this designation is derived from Chyavanarishi, the famous sage mentioned in Râjâvali and Sabyâdri Khanda of the *Skanda Purâna*, who had settled himself at Chaul; but this is unsupported by any written authority.

† *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 282.

‡ *Cathay*, p. cxcii.

§ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 321. Some of the Greek writers, instead of Simylla, write Semylla; just as the Arabs, instead of Saimûr, write Jaimûr or Taimûr. Ptolemy in one place says the natives call the place Timylla, and one of his commentators questions whether it is Tiomylla.

tactory in the present state of our knowledge it requires no unnecessary iteration to prove.

The river of Chaul is no exception to this confused system of nomenclature. Rivers in the Koṅkaṇ have, as a rule, two names,—the one of the uppermost part on the estuary, used by the maritime population ; the other of the stream itself, used by dwellers inland : thus the beautiful Kondulika, the genuine name of the river which debouches into the bay of Chaul, by which name it is known among the people living inland, is called Rohe-Ashtaṁichī-Khāḍī, *khāḍī* meaning literally a brackish part near the mouth of the river. It is fortunate, however, that it has no esoteric name besides,—a practice that is not unfrequent in the Koṅkaṇ, such as Tāramatī for the Kālā or Muslej Ghāt river, a name that is chiefly used by the Brāhmaṇs for purposes of worship.*

The history of Chaul during the ancient authentic Hindu period is as much involved in obscurity as the Purāṇic one : Revatikshetra, for instance, is, as before mentioned, as doubtful in its form and meaning as the inscriptional allusion of Rabavanti, where the temple of Śrī-Vaijanātha is said to be situated. This uncertainty is, moreover, made palpable by the complete disappearance from the locality of every trace of the elaborate Brahmāṇic Śaivite worship, to which that temple was first dedicated, to make room for the worship of Hingūlā, which flourishes at present in all its aboriginal *linga* splendour.

Chaul, there is no doubt, must have been a place of note in the beginning of the Christian era, or else the Greek writers would not have mentioned it. That during the Hindu authentic period the place had attained some degree of civilization cannot also be doubted, for, besides the tradition of its 360 temples and tanks above alluded to, there is the legend that states that the ancient temple of Kālābhavānī, which still exists by the side of a tank having a dome rather like a Musalmān tomb, had in former times an idol of that goddess which, it is believed, sprang—like its cognate of Wālukeśwara, whose legend was published by me about two years ago †—into the tank beside her temple on the approach of the Musalmāns, and it is not yet known whether that idol has returned to its primitive abode or not.‡

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. iv., p. 283.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 47 *et seq.*

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 67.

The peculiar architecture of that temple also would certainly lead one to infer that Chaul was a Hindu town that had before the arrival of the Mahomedans reached a marked degree of civilization. Coming down to the undeniably authentic period of copper-plates, inscriptions in stone, and coins, one meets with a number of dynasties disputing among themselves, at various times, the possession of the Koṅkaṇ. Among the struggles for supremacy which ensued at various epochs among the Chālukyas, the Yādavas, the Tagaras, the Silahāras, and innumerable other petty chieftains, we are at a loss to find out to whom Chaul did really belong. The presumption is that the Silahāra family, a branch of the Tagara, who reigned at Śrī Sthanaka, and whose capital is in the copper-plates called *Purī*, being, as the inscriptions style the sovereign, the "lord of 1,400 villages of the Koṅkaṇ," most probably included Chaul among their dominions, although there is no specification to that effect.* *Purī* seems to be Ṭhāṇā, i.e. the capital *par excellence*, and not Elephanta Island or Ghārāpurī, notwithstanding that some of the early European writers, such as Garcia d'Orta and Linschoten, call it Pori and Pory respectively. The same designation must have led Friar Odoric to describe Ṭhāṇā as *Hæc terra est optimè situata et fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit*,"† a statement that is, in the face of events, utterly paradoxical. Again, there are no vestiges of any description of an ancient town in the island of Elephanta, while in Ṭhāṇā there are still some, traceable with difficulty, no doubt; although, when seen by Giovanni Botero, these "remains of an immense city" were more plainly visible, and "the town still contained 5,000 velvet-weavers."‡

Of the Buddhists and Jainas we have no record in Chaul, except perhaps an ornamental fragment of a Jaina temple that has been supposed to have existed centuries ago in Chaul, but whose traces are now entirely obliterated. It was discovered by Hearn§ under a banyan-tree, lying along with some other such pieces under a heap of rubbish.

* Besides these, there are other copper-plates found at Ṭhāṇā in 1787, bearing date Śaka 939 (1018 A.D.), which record a grant by Rājā Arikeśava Devarājā, of the same family, governing the whole Koṅkaṇ, consisting of "1,400 villages with cities and other places acquired by his arm." See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 357. For other grants by "a viceroy of the Koṅkaṇ" under a prince of Yādava descent, see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 390.

† Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 143.

‡ Yule's *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.

§ *Stat. Rep. of Colaba Agency*, p. 110.

It consists of a marble stone-piece, and its workmanship is, in the opinion of our late deeply lamented Honorary President, Dr. Wilson, of Rājputānā origin, the most prominent figures being the Tīrthankaras, or saints of the Jaina creed. It is presumable that from the large series of the Kuda caves and cells near Mhar, in the neighbourhood of Chaul, of purely Buddhist construction, Chaul and its vicinity must have undoubtedly been one of the strongholds of Buddhism in Western India. Their position there, however, would not involve any high degree of civilization in the neighbouring town, as it is well known that the Buddhist Śrāmaṇas, not unlike the Christian monks, usually established their monasteries in places remarkable for solitude and beauty of situation.*

It appears that about the end of the 13th century this part of the Koṅkaṇ was conquered by Bhim Rājā—said by some to be a son of Rāmadeva Rājā of Devagiri, afterwards Daulatābād, mentioned by Ibn Batūta as belonging to the Yādava dynasty—and subverted by the Mahomedans in 1317 A.D., and by others to the Chelia or military Banian caste. But, whatever be his origin, the conqueror did not long preserve the integrity of his dominions, which were soon divided into fifteen Mahāls, the principal portion being inherited by his son Pratāpa Shāh, who was at last defeated and dispossessed of his kingdom by the invaders from Chaul, under the leadership of his brother-in-law named Nāgar Shāh, until the latter was in his turn defeated by the Mahomedans.†

Coming down to the Mahomedan period, it strikes us as probable that when the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Dakhaṇ, they lost no time in securing to themselves, for both strategical and commercial reasons, the seaports of the Koṅkaṇ, and that they did so there is historical evidence to prove.

As early as 1347 A.D., when Sultan A-la-u-din Hussain Kangoh Bāhmany became king of the Dakhaṇ and fixed his residence at Kulbarga or Affnābād, all the country lying between the river Bhima and the vicinity of the fortress of Rudrā, and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar, was soon brought within the circle of his possessions.‡

In 1356, when the dominions of Ala-ud-din became divided into sepa-

* See my *Memoir on the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon*, p. 18.

† *Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi., p. 132; *Tod's Western India*, p. 150.

‡ *Scott's Ferishta*, vol. i., pp. 9-10.

rate governments, Chaul and three other cities, with some territory around, were committed to Mahomed, son of his brother Ali Shâh. This prince, who is said to have been a man of sweet disposition, humane and just, established schools for orphans, with ample funds for their maintenance, in 1378 A. D., in both the cities of Dâbul and Chaul. The Bâhmani and the Shâhî dynasty of Ahmednagar promoted by all means in their power the prosperity of Chaul. It was from this city, as well as from Goa, that Sultân Féroz Shâh used to despatch vessels every year to procure him the manufactures and curious products from all quarters of the then known globe, and to bring to his court persons celebrated for talent.*

But both Féroz Shâh and his successors were not entirely engaged in the pacific course of trade; a little campaigning with the neighbouring Hindu chieftains, and occasional skirmishes with the rebels in their own dominions in the Koṅkaṇ, were by no means rare. In 1469 Mallik-al-Tûjâr Khajeh Jehan Gawan had to march with a powerful army against the Rai of Kelhna and refractory rajas in the Koṅkaṇ; and, as on other occasions, the troops were ordered from Chaul to join him in this service.†

Of the fourteenth century we have no traveller recording his impressions of the city of Chaul, except, perhaps, he whom Yule not inaptly calls "the lying Mandevill." The compass of his travels, which, if true, would certainly equal, if not surpass, that of "the Moor," includes Chaul among his other numerous peregrinations. He refers to Chaul thus: "Est et non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Cava vel Chava (here Hakluyt adds a marginal note—"Insula Chava vel Chaul forte")" quæ a primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alii Lunam, ignem, aquam, et terram, arborem vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obviant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate parvorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores."‡

Now this is, *mutatis mutandis*, what Friar Odoric about the same

* Briggs's *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Lond. 1829, vol. ii., p. 368.

† *Ibid.*, p. 483.

‡ Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 104.

time* wrote on Thâṇâ, which he had visited about the beginning of the second quarter of the 14th century. Sir John Mandevill here openly plagiarizes not only facts, but even the mongrel Latin of the Friuli monk. It appears strange that Jordanus, having been at Thâṇâ only a few years before Odoric, should, like Odoric himself, have omitted to mention so close and flourishing a place as Chaul; but most probably they confined themselves to their missionary track, and did not care for describing places they did not visit. It is still stranger that Marco Polo and Ibn Batûta, who traversed the peninsula on its western side about the middle of the 14th century, should have remained absolutely reticent about a city which, according to the testimony of the Arab writers who preceded them, was a flourishing emporium of trade with the West. Rennell, the Father of Indian Geography, remarks that "little can be gleaned from Marco Polo," and that "the travels of Cosmas in the 6th century, and of the two Mahomedan travellers in the 9th, afford few materials for history."† It was so, I dare say, in the days of Rennell; since then it has been ascertained that the omission of the name of the Koṅkaṇ by Marco Polo is more apparent than real, for his Thâṇâ stands for the Koṅkaṇ,—Thâṇâ being, as it was in the time of Al-Bîrûnî, the capital of the Northern Koṅkaṇ.

Rashid-ud-din, in 1310 A.D., and Ibn Batûta, about 1350 A.D., call that city Konkan-Tâna and Kukin-Tâna respectively, while an Italian writer of the same century names it Cucintana,‡ and Barbosa Tana mayambu, which latter designation Yule considers to be the first indication of the name of Bombay.§ Ibn Batûta, owing perhaps to the political aspect of India being in a state of transition, from the form assumed in consequence of the Afghan conquests of the preceding century, to the general disorganization which paved the way for the establishment of the new empire of Timûr, could not visit all renowned places as Thâṇâ, nor be precise about the government and other particulars of the maritime cities like Chaul, although he maintains no reserve regarding the condition of different other places he visited on the southern coast. His spelling of the Hindu names

* Odoric's travels refer to the year 1330 A.D., while the spurious peregrinations of Maundevill extend between the years 1322 and 1356 A.D. For Odoric's travels see Hakluyt, *ut supra*, p. 143.

† J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, Lond. 1788, p. xli.

‡ *R. A. S. Journal*, New Series, vol. iv., p. 340.

§ Yule's *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.

is, however, highly problematical. Marco Polo was at Thâñâ about 1385 A.D., and describes the manners of the people of that neighbourhood, and the trade in horses and other traffic, much as travellers in the next two centuries describe Chaul, which we shall see further on, as we follow the sequence of events.*

Cosmas Indicopleustes, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, describing the city and population of Kalliâna—which is according to some the Kalyânapura near Uḍupi, while others, with more plausible reasons, assert it to be the old city of the Koñkaṇ to the north of Thâñâ—refers to *Sibôr*, which, in accordance with the order of his names, indicates it rather as the *Saimûr* of the mediæval Arabs, or the modern Chaul, than *Supâra* near Bassein, as it has been supposed by some of his commentators.

“The two Mahomedan travellers” mentioned by Rennell were for a time an enigma for me, until the work of Eusebius Renaudot, who first edited and translated the manuscripts of these two travellers of the 9th century, in the year 1718, solved it. An English version of them appeared in 1733, and was reprinted in Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages* in 1811.† A new edition reprinted in French, by Reinaud and Alfred Maury, has also been lately published. Now all these writers seem to agree that the reason why “the two Mahomedans” are silent on the Koñkaṇ is because a portion of their manuscripts, which refer to the voyage between the Indus and Goa, is missing. But of the two the genuine traveller seems to be only the one known by the before-mentioned name of Solimân, who is supposed to have travelled in India about 898 A.D. ; while the other, named Abu Saïd Hussain of Siraf, never once left the latter place for India, although, like Mandevill, he had the knack of fabricating a Ulysses-like travelling episode, in which he fixes his start in the year 237 A.H. (851 A.D.)

During part of the 13th and the 14th centuries, the city of Chaul had, like Diu, in the opinion of Baldaeus,‡ sunk into a state of comparative obscurity. The Arabs, as mentioned by their own historians, made during that time several descents upon the west coast, and, though they made no fixed stay in it, a number of individual merchants established themselves there and carried on a brisk business.

* Yule’s *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 230.

† Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1811, vol. ii., p. 179.

‡ Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages*, vol. iv., p. 150.

It again rose by degrees to become a place of considerable note in the 15th century, during the prosperity of the Bâhmani dynasty and its Ahmadnagar branch.

It was during these times that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin first visited the city of Chaul. He writes in 1470 A.D. thus :—
 “We sailed six weeks in the tava (a vessel) till we reached Chivil, and left Chivil on the seventh week after the great day (Easter Sunday). This is an Indian country. People go about naked, with their heads uncovered and bare breasts; the hair tressed into one tail, and thick bellies. They bring forth children every year, and the children are many; and men and women are black. When I go out many people follow me, and stare at the white man.

“Their kniaz (Russian word for prince or chief) wears a *fata* (a large silken garment still worn by the women of the lower classes of Russia round the head or over the upper part of the body) on the head; and another on the loins; the boyars (noblemen) wear it on the shoulders and the loins; the *kniaginies* (princesses) wear it also round the shoulders and the loins.* The servants of the kniaz and of the boyars attach the *fata* round the loins, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword or a scimitar, or knives, or a sabre or a bow and arrow—but all naked and barefooted. Women walk about with their heads uncovered and their breasts bare. Boys and girls go naked till seven years, and do not hide their shame.”†

As the accounts of travellers, in the absence of better materials, are the only natural and easy method of attaining a tolerably accurate knowledge of the place, each illustrating the other and serving as a commentary too on the brief text of its precursors, showing at the same time the advance or decline the place has undergone during the course of ages, I quote here from the travels of a Roman who followed the Russian about thirty years after. He describes the place and manners of the inhabitants in much the same style as the Russian does.

Ludovico di Varthema, who travelled in India from the year 1503 to 1508, and was an eye-witness to the first commercial enterprise of the Portuguese on the western coast, writes :—“Departing from the said city of Combeia (Cambay), I travelled on until

* Varthema's *Alla Apostolica*.

† India in the Fifteenth Century, edited by R. H. Major, Lond. 1857, part iii., pp. 8 and 9.

I arrived at another city named Cevul, which is distant from the above-mentioned city twelve days' journey, and the country between the one and the other of these cities is called Guzerati. The King of this Cevul is a pagan. The people are of a dark tawny colour. As to their dress, with the exception of some Moorish merchants, some wear a shirt, and some go naked with a cloth round their middle, with nothing on their feet or head. The people are warlike : their arms are swords, bucklers, bows and spears made of reeds and wood, and they possess artillery. This city is extremely well walled, and is distant from the sea two miles. It possesses an extremely beautiful river, by which a very great number of foreign vessels go and return, because the country abounds in everything excepting grapes, nuts, and chestnuts. They collect here an immense quantity of grain, of barley, and of vegetables of every description ; and cotton stuffs are manufactured here in great abundance. I do not describe their faith here, because their creed is the same as that of the King of Calicut, of which I will give you an account when the proper time shall come.* There are in this city a very great number of Moorish merchants. The atmosphere begins here to be more warm than cold. Justice is extremely well administered here. This king has not many fighting men. The inhabitants here have horses, oxen, and cows in great abundance.†

We shall now pass on to describe the most interesting of all the periods of the history of Chaul—the Portuguese period. But before doing so it is necessary, for the better elucidation of the subject, to go back to a previous period, and survey briefly the condition of the Portuguese on their first arrival on the coast.

During their ascendancy in the Indian seas the Portuguese never aspired, in spite of splendid opportunities both in Gujarāt and the Dakhan, to acquire political and territorial influence, but confined themselves merely to the acquisition of maritime and trading power by the establishment of factories on the coast and small garrisons for their defence.

* On the religion of the king of Calicut he says that the king of Calicut is a pagan, and worships a God whom the people call the Creator ; while they also believe in one spirit, *deumo* (*deva* ?) besides God, whom they call Tamerant (Malabar *Tambaran*, meaning lord or master), and the king keeps his *deumo* in a chapel in his palace, &c. : see pp. 136-137.

† *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, edited by G. P. Badger, Lond. 1863, pp. 113-114.

Although their real dominion was on the ocean, where their ships, armed and manned in a manner superior to that of the Eastern potentates, were victorious in almost every encounter, still their seaports, with a chain of forts, were in a very short time extended along the coast line from Mozambique and Sofala in Eastern Africa, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Diu and Damaun in Gujarât, Bassein, Chaul, Goa, Angediva, Cannanore, and Cochin on the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, Malacca; and the Moluccas, to China and Japan. This sudden rise of a small nation in the west of Europe originated in a handful of enterprising men and bold adventurers.

When Vasco da Gama arrived, on the 20th May 1498, at Calicut,* which was then the principal emporium of trade in that part of India, sending out every year above five hundred ships to the Red Sea, he endeavoured to open communication with the Zamorin (Samondry Râjâ) in order to obtain such privileges and facilities as would enable the Portuguese to carry on an advantageous commerce with this rich country. He landed, and with great pomp made his appearance before that prince, who, actuated by motives of the soundest policy, showed a decided disposition to favour the admiral and his crew. Soon after, however, the intrigues and malicious reports of the Mahomedans from Egypt and Arabia, who commanded then the whole commerce of the Indian seas, carrying away not only rich cargoes, but shiploads of pilgrims, and who were jealous of the foreigners' interference with their own prerogatives, wrought a sudden change in the mind of the sovereign, who consented to make Vasco da Gama a prisoner. The prudence and firmness of the latter, however, availed him much at this juncture, for, observing ominous signs in the behaviour of the people on the release of two of his officers who had been detained by the Zamorin, Vasco da Gama weighed anchor and set sail; and although pursued by the enemy's fleet, a breeze springing up, he got clear off and reached home in safety on the 29th August 1499.

A new expedition was now fitted out, under Pedro Alvares Cabral, with a fleet comprising 13 vessels and 1,200 men. On their arrival at Calicut the Zamorin received them with imposing ceremonies, although the Mahomedans, whose resources in intrigue were otherwise inexhaustible, were not less demonstrative. Permission being neverthe-

* A pretty good representation of the city of Calicut as it was in 1574 is given by Brun and Hosenburg, and copied by Beveridge in his *History of India*, vol. i., p. 156.

less obtained to establish a factory, under the charge of Ayres Correa, in one of the Zamorin's palaces, a fair start was then made by the Portuguese to trade on a systematic plan with India.

It was, notwithstanding, highly impolitic under the circumstances to overlook the fact that the Mahomedans, thus brought into close competition with the foreigner, would beneath this seeming friendship nourish hostile intentions, moved as they were, beyond the feelings of political ambition and mercantile cupidity, by their natural hatred towards the Christians. But Cabral, it appears, in spite of all his excellent qualities, allowed himself, through Ayres Correa, to fall too easily into the snare thus laid for him.

The consequence was that the king and his myrmidons who never ceased for a moment to plot against them, and watch for an opportunity to attack them, profited by the uncircumspect conduct of the Portuguese, who had been treacherously induced to capture a merchant vessel with seven elephants on board. This affording them a pretext for the outrage, they stormed the building and overpowered the inmates. Their number amounted to seventy, and being unable to resist the thousands of Moors, Nairs, and others who in a body assailed the factory, fifty of them, the factor Ayres Correa included, were slaughtered on the spot, the rest escaping into the sea to swim over and seek shelter on board their vessels. The factory was first plundered and then reduced to ashes. This may be appropriately described as the inauspicious beginning of the hostilities which raged almost uninterruptedly for two centuries between the Portuguese on the one side and the Moslems and Hindus on the other, with a short interval of peace, until the whole fabric of the former tottered to its very foundation, and fell a rich prize to the energetic and moral endeavours of a great nation, which now happily sways the destinies of this important country.

Cabral's retaliation was severe. The Zamorin, perceiving that the matter was taking a grave turn, manifested an anxiety to cultivate the friendship of such powerful strangers. This is in accordance with the singular character of the Orientals, who from the days of Taxiles, Porus, and others of the time of Alexander of Macedon downwards have been always playing a similar rôle. But Cabral, determined to avenge their brutality, on a sudden made a furious onset, captured ten Moorish ships, transferred their cargoes to his own vessels, made their crews prisoners, and then ranging the captured vessels in a line before the city set them on fire, exhibiting them in full blaze before the citizens

of Calicut. He then drew his ships up in line of battle and opened a furious cannonade upon the city, which was destroyed in several places, hundreds of its inhabitants being killed. The Zamorin himself had a narrow escape, as one of his favourite Nairs was struck down beside him by a cannon-ball; and he hastily fled into the interior of his country. Cabral then set sail for Cochin, and after an encounter or two with the Calicut fleet started on his homeward voyage, arriving in Lisbon on the 31st July 1501.

Before Cabral's arrival at Lisbon, a third armament, under Joaõ da Nova, was on its way to India; it consisted of three ships and one caravel with 400 men. He was followed by Vasco da Gama, in his second voyage, with a fleet of twenty ships and the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. The details of the conflicts which ensued, although highly entertaining, possess little interest for my subject. Vasco, however, succeeded in forming a triple alliance with the kings of Cochin and Cannanore, and sailed for Europe on the 20th December 1503, reaching Lisbon in the following September.

Some time after, the Viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, arrived in India. He sailed on the 25th March 1505 from Lisbon in command of a magnificent fleet of twenty-two ships,* carrying, in addition to the crew, 1,500 trained soldiers, and arrived at Angediva on the 8th September of the same year.† Cabral, though his resentment was sufficiently gratified, had thought of applying to the Zamorin for further redress; but learning that he had countenanced the outrage, he left the reprisals to Vasco da Gama in his second voyage and to Almeida. A powerful fleet was then equipped by the latter to demand satisfaction for the injuries that had been sustained by his countrymen. All this, to cut the story short, was at last obtained.

There was thus a respite; but the calm was not unlike that which forebodes greater disasters. While most of the Portuguese officers were engaged in the conquest of Sofala, the Zamorin of Calicut, always instigated by his Mahomedan subjects, was secretly making exertions to raise up enemies against the Portuguese, and entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Gujarât. Mahomed Shâh, was through him invoking the assistance of the

* Of these ships eleven were to return with merchandize to Portugal, and the rest to remain in India.

† See my *Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva*, Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. 1876, vol. xi., pp. 288 et seq.

Mameluke Sultân of Egypt to drive away the dreaded *Farangis* from the Indian seas. Almeida, being made aware of these machinations, sent his son Dom Lourenço d'Almeida with eleven vessels to cruise about the coast and counteract the designs of the Zamorin by destroying the fleet he had equipped. Dom Lourenço fell in with them at the port of Cannanore while on his way, and after a severe engagement put them to flight. A great booty, consisting of ships laden with spice, was taken; and after sinking some, and running others aground, Dom Lourenço returned to relieve the garrison of the Angediva island, which was being besieged by the Mahomedans under the command of a renegade, who, on the approach of Dom Lourenço, made, with his barbarous host, a precipitate retreat, and in their hasty flight they lost several of their vessels.

These two signal victories, one following the other, achieved by the valour of the younger Almeida, seemed to have inspired the enemy with terror, and made them (so it was imagined) more cautious than ever in any new attempt against their rivals. But this was a mistake. The irrepressible Zamorin, relying on the predictions of his wizards and soothsayers, was arming afresh a fleet against the Portuguese, who this time were somewhat distracted by a petty strife with the Socotrines. No sooner was the news heard than the Viceroy sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with a squadron of ten ships to cruise about the sea. On his way in search of the Calicut fleet, which had sailed northwards, Dom Lourenço for the first time cast anchor at the entrance of the port of Chaul, into which seven vessels of the enemy entered without saluting his standard. Dom Lourenço upon this followed them in his boats, and the Moors, having no other resource left, leaped overboard and attempted to escape to the shore; but while in the water many of them were barbarously slain. This almost unprovoked cruelty was soon followed by another still more execrable, in which Gonçalo Vas was the chief actor. While on his way from Cannanore to join Dom Lourenço, Vas fell in with a Mahomedan ship having a Portuguese pass, but in spite of this he sunk the vessel with her crew sewed up in sails, that they might never be seen again. Scarcely even for a day did this inhuman action remain secret, as the perpetrator had perhaps thought it would, for the body of one of the Moors who had been thus basely destroyed was washed ashore, the victim being recognized as the nephew of Mamale, a rich merchant of Malabar. From that moment the latter swore vengeance against the

Portuguese, which terrible oath was the harbinger of all the calamities that subsequently befell the Portuguese at Chaul and elsewhere, as the sequel will show.

Dom Lourenço, on returning from Chaul with vessels laden with horses and other goods captured there, fell in with the Calicut fleet near Dâbul. He anchored off the mouth of the river, eager to destroy it; but on calling a council of his officers to consult with them as to what measures were best for an attack, they gave their opinion unanimously against any offensive action, the fleet having entered the river, which was too narrow for a successful combat. On his arrival at Cochin, flushed with victory and bearing rich spoil from Chaul, Dom Lourenço expected to be received with honour by his father; but he was, on the contrary, much to his disappointment and mortification, threatened by the Viceroy with punishment for not having engaged the enemy at Dâbul and destroyed their fleet, notwithstanding that he had the excuse to urge of having been overruled by the votes of his officers. This severe treatment preyed on the young man's mind, and, finding that all efforts to conciliate his father and regain his favour were of no avail, he sacrificed his valuable life in an action at Chaul. In the river of Chaul have his bones lain for the last three centuries and a half, and of the millions who have frequented the port since then none have known the spot which was the last resting-place of the brave Dom Lourenço d'Almeida.

But I am afraid I anticipate. Some time after the first victory of Dom Lourenço at the Chaul river, while Albuquerque was engaged before Ormuz, the Sultan of Egypt—to whom a deputy, reputed to be a man of sanctity, was despatched from Calicut by instigations of Marnale, the uncle of Vas's victim—fitted out a fleet of twelve sail with 15,000 Mamelukes, which he sent, under the command of Amir Hussain, to oppose the Portuguese in India. At this time the Viceroy, who was on the Malabar coast, had ordered his son Dom Lourenço with eight ships to scour the coast as far as Chaul, and wait there to join another fleet from Cochin, which was being prepared,—orders that were well received by his son. His fleet having arrived off Chaul put into the bay to take in provisions and refreshments. On his arrival there Dom Lourenço received intelligence of the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt being on its way to India, but, believing it to be an unfounded rumour, went ashore with most of his officers. Chaul was then a place of considerable trade, rising from its former decadence through the exer-

tions of the Ahmadnagar kings, who had but one maritime city for their extensive territory. This renovation was, moreover, facilitated by its convenient situation as an entrepôt between Gujarât and Malabar, and an outlet to the exports of the Dakhan.

To resume, however, the thread of our narrative. The news of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet having been confirmed by the Governor of Cannanore, who was informed of the fact by the well-known pirate Timoja, the Viceroy despatched Pedro Cam to Chaul to direct Dom Lourenço to proceed and engage the fleet. This has been regarded as a wrong step on the part of the Viceroy. It is by some opined that he should himself have started for Chaul to reinforce his son's fleet. Others, again, say that Dom Lourenço himself on the approach of the enemy's fleet should have steered out of the river and engaged the enemy on the sea. But we are all apt to be wise after the event.

Hussein, a Persian by birth and admiral of the Egyptian navy, had once before, on his way from Egypt to India, experienced in a formal engagement very harsh treatment from the two Almeidas, and was thirsting for vengeance. Malik Eyâz, a native of Sarmatia, who had renounced Christianity for Mahomedanism, and through his singular dexterity as an archer had not only regained his liberty—he had been a slave of the king of Cambay—but through his skill got himself nominated Governor of Diu, was also a sworn foe of the Portuguese. The hatred that both these men bore towards their common enemy was a bond of unity between them, and they combined to plan the destruction of their rivals.

Hussein and Malik Eyâz met amid great rejoicings at the point of Diu, and while consulting how to lay the ambuscade, or discussing other more or less well-devised schemes to annoy the Portuguese with their joint fleets, news was brought to them that Dom Lourenço d'Almeida had anchored his vessels before Chaul, and had landed his men, being ignorant of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet in the Indian seas. Dom Lourenço, on being made aware of this, did not at first take much heed, depending upon the friendship of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and believing that this sovereign would not permit any surprise in his dominions; although it was for his own interest that this pseudo-friend of theirs had advised his subjects to keep on good terms with the Portuguese trafficking in his ports.

Dom Lourenço, believing in this outward show of friendship, thought he might safely remain a little longer on land with some of his

officers, entertaining himself in shooting and athletic sports, until he had the opportunity of joining the fleet from Cochin. It was indeed rumoured abroad that the combined fleets had been seen on the coast sailing southwards; but Dom Lourenço made no account of this, imagining them to be the ships from Mecca which were here daily expected, or, as others state, to be the fleet of Albuquerque, who was sent out to succeed the Viceroy.

One of the ship's crew at last espied an extensive fleet from the top of the mainmast, but he could not discern their strength. They began now to suspect the truth. Hussein was really advancing that way with his red and white ensigns adorned with the black crescent, and a display of ornamental bunting as if on a gala day; while the astute Eyâz was following in the rear to concert an attack against the Portuguese.

Dom Lourenço had no sooner given the necessary orders to his men than he saw the Egyptian ships advancing against them. The Mamelukes had buoyed themselves up with the hope that they would surprise the Portuguese, and they gave undignified expression to their feelings by shouting and gesticulating and making divers other demonstrations of joy at having so opportunely found the enemy whom they were in search of, at their mercy. The Portuguese, having just had time enough to place themselves in a good position of defence, gave the enemy a warm reception. Hussein, believing himself secure of victory as he had surprised the Portuguese ships, determined to board in person the flag-ship commanded by Dom Lourenço. For this purpose he opened the attack with a volley of shells, arrows, hand-grenades, and other war-engines, enveloping the fleet in clouds of flame and smoke, but his attack was returned with such determination and skill that he at last desisted from attempting to board the vessel. Other Egyptian vessels attacked the Portuguese squadron throughout the day, though from a distance, but as night approached and separated the combatants, Hussein retreated with his vessels to the opposite bank of the river, among the sands, for his greater safety, to prepare for the renewal of the fight the next morning.

This brief respite for the night was spent by the Portuguese in preparations for the combat the next day. Dom Lourenço, being still ignorant of the confederacy between Amir Hussein and Malik Eyâz, gave, at daybreak, the signal to renew the fight. The attack was made with great energy and ardour, and Dom Lourenço was

sanguine of boarding Hussein's ship, which hope was shared by Pedro Barreto and the other captains; but, not being able to approach close enough, on account of the sandbanks, he was obliged to rest satisfied with cannonading them, and this he did the whole day, and succeeded, notwithstanding the greater numerical strength of the enemy in ships and men, in capturing two galleys, all the men on board being put to the sword. The combat was carried on with much ardour and intrepidity on both sides, and the Portuguese seemed fast gaining ground, when Almeida, favoured by the wind and tide, made the attempt to board the Egyptian flag-ship. The victory was almost achieved, and the Moors were leaping overboard to escape to the shore, when the inconsiderate valour of Francisco de Nhaya, who began to pursue with a lance the enemy in the water, turned the scales against the Portuguese. The Moors returned to the combat with the heroism of despair, and Dom Lourenço was unsuccessful in his attempt, on account of the contrary current, to board the vessel. Malik Eyâz, the Governor of Diu, in the meanwhile put in his appearance in the harbour with a well-manned fleet, consisting of forty vessels, coming at the most decisive moment to the relief of his *confrère* Hussein, the Egyptian admiral. Not daring at once to engage the Portuguese, he came to anchor at the entrance of the creek, near enough to Hussein to join him the next day, the Portuguese slackening their efforts a little, being somewhat alarmed at this formidable and unexpected circumstance.

On observing this state of things, Dom Lourenço, although twice wounded by arrows, retained his presence of mind. He despatched two galleys and three caravels to hinder the union of the two fleets of the enemy, and this they did so effectually that Eyâz was obliged to change his position and retreat for shelter to another site. Dom Lourenço was then advised by his captains to set fire to the enemy's vessels, but he said he wanted to spare them to take them over as trophies to his old father. This little vanity had blinded him to the danger of the moment.

The battle, however, still continued between Dom Lourenço and Hussein until night again parted them, both sides endeavouring to conceal their losses. In the evening, after the cessation of the fight, the Portuguese captains met in council on board the flagship to deliberate on what was next to be done, and they were unanimously of opinion that as it was unsafe to defend themselves in the narrow river of Chaul, which was being rapidly blockaded by the enemy's fleet, it was

well to exercise prudence, and endeavour to bring their ships out of the river into the open sea during the night, to effect a decent retreat, before Malik Eyâz, who was a much more formidable antagonist than they had been accustomed to deal with, had joined the reinforcing fleet. But Dom Lourenço, remembering the displeasure of his father at his having declined to force the Calicut fleet to action in the river of Dâbul, and being besides of a temper more valiant than discreet, resolved not to steal away by night, fearing that his retreat to the open sea might be construed as a flight. He determined to make the best of his way by broad daylight, resolutely awaiting in the meanwhile the events of the next morning.

The morning arrived, and Malik Eyâz, perceiving that the Portuguese ships were ready to set sail with the first tide after daybreak, interpreted the alteration in the arrangements as a preparation for a retreat, and advancing, therefore, from the place where he had taken shelter, boldly attacked them, and, undismayed by the havoc wrought among his own crew by the constant cannonade of the Portuguese, pressed close in front in order to intercept their passage. Unfortunately at this time the ship of Dom Lourenço ran foul of some fishing-stakes in the bed of the river, and then was cast upon the rocks. Pelagio de Souza, who commanded the nearest galley, fastened a rope to the stranded vessel, and plying all his oars was making ineffectual efforts to tow her off, when, a ball happening to strike her hull near the rudder, she took in much water and was in danger of sinking. Then Pelagio cut the rope off, and his own ship was irresistibly borne out by the current to the sea. The officers seeing the impossibility of extricating the Admiral's vessel from so perilous a position, a boat was sent to Dom Lourenço entreating him to save his person and preserve himself for another combat. The gallant and high-spirited youth replied, however, that "he would never be guilty of such a piece of treachery as to leave in the lurch those who had hitherto been his companions in danger." Accordingly, he exerted himself to the utmost extremity in this precarious situation, animating his thirty men (out of a hundred, seventy being *hors de combat*) both with words and by his example to defend themselves. They fought like lions, and, rejecting all proposals of honourable surrender, armistice, &c., offered them by the enemy, resolved either to save the ship or die in the attempt. In the midst of this engagement a ball broke the Admiral's thigh. Ordering his men to place him upon a chair resting against the

mainmast, or directing them, as others write, to lash him to the mast, he continued to encourage them with his orders as occasion required, when another bullet pierced him through the chest and he was killed. His body was thrown below deck, that the sight of it might not give the enemy cause to rejoice. Here it was followed by his faithful page Gato, who, threw himself upon his master's corpse, lamenting his fate with literally bloody tears, one of his eyes having been pierced with an arrow. When at last, after a vigorous resistance, the Moors boarded the ship, and found Gato upon his master's body which he defended, he rose and slew as many of the Moors as approached the body of Dom Lourenço, until he himself fell dead among them. At length the ship sank, and out of the hundred men who belonged to her only nineteen escaped. At the close of the action it was found that, in all, the Portuguese had lost one hundred and forty men, besides one hundred and twenty-four wounded, while the enemy's loss is estimated at upwards of six hundred. The accounts given by the Portuguese chroniclers and the Mahomedan historians differ widely as to the loss in men, Ferishta adding that although 400 Turks were honoured with the crown of martyrdom, no fewer than 4,000 Portuguese infidels were sent to the infernal regions. But they all agree that the Portuguese on this occasion experienced a severe check, losing both the flag-ship and their Captain.* Among those who distinguished themselves most in this engagement was a sailor by name Andrea van Portua—others call him André Fernandes—a native of Oporto, who, standing on the top of the mainmast, although having previously lost the use of his right arm by a musket-ball, defended himself with only his left for a long time against the enemy, till at length they promised to spare his life. Upon this he surrendered himself, and was afterwards restored to the Portuguese. He returned at last safely to his country, and was well rewarded for his rare bravery by the King. The rest of the squadron continued their flight to Cannanore.

Such was the end of poor Dom Lourenço. Still young, he was one of the most distinguished sons Portugal ever gave birth to. He was much loved by his men; not only because of the constant exhibition of his bravery and prodigies of valour in the battle-field, but also on account of his other qualifications and his general good conduct. In the taking of Mombaza ; in obtaining satisfaction from the regent of Quilon, who had

* Barros, *Decadas*, edition of Lisbon, 1777, tome ii., pt. i., pp. 186-199.

once offered an insult to his countrymen ; in the naval combat with the fleet of the Zamorin which was being secretly prepared against them, and whose preparation was made known to him by the afore-mentioned traveller Ludovico di Varthema ; in a successful combat at Panane ; in establishing negotiations with the Maldives and Ceylon, the principal king of which island he compelled to submit to the King of Portugal ; and in several other actions both on sea and on land,—in all these he played a most distinguished part, displaying an undaunted courage, and a noble and considerate interest for the welfare of his companions in the field. He had been about four years in India, and it may truly be said of him what a British essayist has said of Blaise Pascal, only in a different line of thought and action :—"When we think," says Rogers, "of the achievements which he crowded into that brief space, and which have made his name famous to all generations, we may well exclaim with Corneille, 'À peine a-t-il vécu, quel nom il a laissé!'"*

The combat being now ended, the policy of the victors was to pursue the vanquished by going down to Calicut to join the fleet of the Zamorin prepared there in order to make a general attack against the Portuguese. Hussein was of this opinion, in which, however, Malik Eyâz did not agree, for he took altogether an opposite view of the matter, and persuaded his fellow-admiral to sail with his fleet back to Diu. Malik Eyâz had, besides a clear mind, tact, politeness of manners, and an air of gallantry, qualities which are held in such high repute among the Orientals, and which made him take special care of his prisoners and render their captivity as light as possible. He also tried to get possession of the corpse of Dom Lourenço in order to consign it to a decent grave, but it could not be found, or, if found, could not be recognized. Eyâz at last wrote a letter to the Viceroy on the death of his son, to console him on his loss, saying, among other platitudes, that it was a subject for consolation to a father who loved glory to learn that the son he had lost in the midst of such a high and hopeful career was worthy of him, dying as he did on the bed of honour.

The Viceroy, long before receiving this condoling letter, was made aware of the unfortunate event by the fugitive remnants of the fleet which had, in the meanwhile, arrived at Cannanore and given him all the details of the action, concealing from him, however, the death

* Rogers' *Essays Critical and Biographical*, Lond. 1874, vol. i., p. 212.

of his son, or rather disguising the fact by stating that they were not quite sure whether their leader was dead or taken captive. In the midst of this perplexity the Viceroy sent a *yogi* to Cambay with a ball of wax containing a letter to the captives there, asking for particulars regarding Dom Lourenço. The *yogi* returned in due time with the news of his death. The elder Almeida sustained with all fortitude this severe shock to his paternal feelings, and although he spoke in public of the death of his son as the death of a Christian hero, and worthy of one who had maintained hitherto by his conduct the traditions of his noble ancestors, he subsequently withdrew to his apartment, from which he did not come out for three days, neither did he speak of his heavy misfortune to any one.

The victors were in the meanwhile overwhelmed with joy, and the whole of India rang with the cry of victory from the lips of the blatant Mahomedans. They then spoke but of Amir Hussein and Malik Eyáz as the most celebrated men of the day; all the kings of the country sent them ambassadors with congratulatory addresses, and the people celebrated the triumphs of their generals with fêtes and pageants of rare splendour. The victors were their tutelary deities, and the people believed that the moment had arrived for their deliverance from the oppressive yoke of the foreigner. These demonstrations of joy added to the affliction of the bereaved father, and tended also to inflame his wrath. Taking advantage of the two fleets which had arrived from Portugal, the venerable general set out to wreak his vengeance upon the Mahomedans, or revenge the death of his brave son. It would have been indeed difficult for him to hold the sea, but for the opportune arrival of the fleets of Tristaõ da Cunha and Affonço d'Albuquerque. The Viceroy had thus under him the combined armaments of nineteen vessels commanded by able officers, with 1,300 Portuguese soldiers and mariners and 400 Malabarese on board, with which force he set sail on the 12th November 1508, and, having first sunk and burnt some Calicut ships on his route, anchored off the city of Dâbul, which he destroyed, making a descent upon it. The resistance was, however, vigorous. Piles of the dead formed a barrier more formidable even than the palisades erected round the city, but the assailants striving among themselves who should be the foremost, the artillery of the besieged being happily of high range and passing over their heads, they pressed on to the ramparts, which were scaled, and the city devastated and razed to the ground. It was then given to

plunder,* and ultimately reduced to ashes. Their cruelty was on this occasion of so glaring a nature that it gave rise to the proverbial curse: "Let the wrath of the Farangî fall on you as it did on Dâbul." Having accomplished this unpleasant task, he set out for Diu on the 3rd February 1509, where he achieved a splendid victory. Of this engagement there is no mention made in the Mahomedan history of Gujarât, but the Portuguese annalists' accounts are too circumstantial to be doubted. Having at last concluded a treaty of peace with Malik Eyâz, who now hastened to court the friendship of the Portuguese, the Viceroy returned to Cochin, and on his way made the sovereign of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who was intimidated by the accounts of the late victory, a tributary to the King of Portugal.† This took place in April 1509.

One year subsequent to this event the Viceroy was, through the imprudence of his officers, involved in a scuffle with a band of Hottentots at Saldanha Bay, where he had stopped on his way home, and died, being wounded by a javelin in the neck. Besides his prudence and valour which had contributed so much to extend the conquests of his nation, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the seventh son of the Conde d'Abrantes, had also other accomplishments. It was he who first discovered the island of Madagascar and gave it the name of St. Lawrence, which name, according to Mandelslo,‡ was meant either to honour his son, or the saint of the day on which the discovery was made. His disinterestedness was equal to his valour, for, unlike some of his successors, he returned home poorer than when he left Lisbon for India. His death has been a never-ending theme for philosophical discourses, and, among others, there is a contemporary writer who moralizes on the sad event thus:—"That the man who had trampled upon countless thousands of Asiatics, who had humbled their sovereign powers, and annihilated in the seas the powers of the Egyptian Soldan, should perish on an obscure strand

* Faria y Sousa adds that, the Viceroy not having laid in any considerable store of provisions when his expedition was organized, it was thought fit to seek for food in Dâbul when it was given to plunder. In the search they found locusts preserved in pots, which the Portuguese tasted and found palatable, and not "unlike shrimps."

† Some of the chroniclers state that the amount of 2,000 *pardaos* in gold, which Nizâm-ul-Mulk used voluntarily to pay to Dom Lourenço for the defence of his port, was now made compulsory.

‡ *Voyages du Sieur Albert de Mandelslo*, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 654. But others say it was the fleet of Tristão da Cunha; Camoens is of this opinion—see *Lusiadas*, canto x., stanza xxxix.

by the hands of a few savages, should be a salutary lesson for human ambition.* Soon after this event a factor was placed at Chaul, where he is mentioned in 1514 by Duarte Barbosa, who, under the name of Cheul, describes the place thus :—

“ Leaving the kingdom of Cambay, along the coast towards the south, at eight leagues’ distance, there is a fine large river, and on it is a place called Cheul†,—not very large, of handsome houses, which are all covered with thatch. This place is one of great commerce in merchandize, and in the months of December, January, February, and March there are many ships from the Malabar country and all other parts, which arrive with cargoes. That is to say, those of Malabar laden with cocoanuts, arecas, spices, drugs, palm sugar, emery, and there they make their sales for the continent and for the kingdom of Cambay ; and the ships of Cambay come there to meet them laden with cotton stuffs, and many other goods which are available in Malabar, and these are bartered for the goods which have come from the Malabar country. And on the return voyage they fill their ships with wheat, vegetables, millet, rice, sesame, oil of sesame, of which there is much in the country ; and these Malabars also buy many pieces of fine muslin‡ for women’s head-dress, and many beyranies, of which there are plenty in this kingdom. A large quantity of copper is sold in this port of Cheul, and at a high price, for it is worth twenty ducats the hundredweight, or more, because in the interior money is made of it, and it is also used throughout the country for cooking-pots. There is also a great consumption in this place of quicksilver and vermilion for the interior, and for the kingdom of Guzarat, which copper, quicksilver, and vermilion is brought to this place by the Malabar merchants, who get it from the factories of the King of Portugal ; and they get more of it by way of the Mekkah, which comes there from Diu. These people wear the beyranies put on for a few days nearly in the raw state, and afterwards they bleach them and make them very white, and gum them to sell them abroad, and thus some are met with amongst them which are torn. In this port of Cheul there are few inhabitants, except during three or four months of the year, the time for putting in cargo, when

* Knight’s *Universal Biography*.

† *Chaul, Ortelius, 1570.*

‡ *Bealilla, bîlille* in French.

there arrive merchants from all the neighbourhood, and they make their bargains during this period, and despatch their goods, and after that return to their homes until the next season, so that this place is like a fair in those months. There is a Moorish gentleman as governor of this place, who is a vassal of the King of Decani, and collects his revenues, and accounts to him for them. He is called Xech, and does great service to the King of Portugal, and is a great friend of the Portuguese, and treats very well all those that go there, and keeps the country very secure. In this place there is always a Portuguese factor appointed by the captain and factor of Goa, in order to send from this place provisions and other necessities to the city of Goa, and to the Portuguese fleets; and at a distance of about a league inland from Cheul is a place where the Moors and Gentiles of the cities and towns throughout the country come to set up their shops of goods and cloths at Cheul during the before-mentioned months; they bring these in great caravans of domestic oxen, with packs like donkeys, and on the top of these long white sacks placed crosswise, in which they bring goods; and one man drives thirty or forty beasts before him.”*

During the Governorship of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, in the year 1516, permission was obtained from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to establish on a larger scale a factory at Chaul, and to have freer access than the Portuguese had hitherto had to this important harbour. It is on this occasion that the Portuguese chroniclers make the first mention of Mahim and Bandora, although it has no great historical importance attached to it. It was but a skirmish by Dom João de Monroy, who, while the Governor was engaged in the Red Sea, having orders to cruise along the coast, entered the Mahim river and met a native merchant vessel, the crew of which on the approach of the Portuguese dragged her on shore, and, taking as much of the cargo as they could carry, ran off in haste. Monroy then took the ship and steered towards Chaul. Passing near the Mahim fort he ordered a discharge of artillery against it, and went on his way; the native captain of the fort, by name Haguji, extremely vexed for this outrageous provocation, equipped in haste ten vessels, and followed in pursuit of Monroy. They met at the entrance of the Chaul river, where Haguji was defeated.

* Barbosa's *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, translated by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley, Lond. 1868, pp. 69 *et seqq.*

In the year 1521 the Governor, Diogo Lopes de Siqueira, who, like his predecessor, Soares d'Albergaria, was more a merchant than a soldier, on his return from Cambay, where everything had gone amiss with him, put into Chaul. His principal misfortunes were the firing of the powder-room of the ship commanded by Antonio Correa, by the Mahomedan crew of a vessel captured by him on his voyage from Ormuz to Diu, on board of which they were made prisoners, and by which they blew up the poop into the air along with the brave conqueror of Bahrayn and all his rich booty. This was followed by the defeat of the little fleet that was sent under Beja to make the old demand in regard to a site to construct a fort at Diu, which not only met with a stern refusal, but in the scuffle which ensued on that occasion one of their galleys was sunk. Diogo Lopes at last, owing to these disasters, abandoned the project and retired precipitately, harassed as he was by Malik Eyâz and his compeers in the rear, until he arrived at Chaul.

At Chaul, Diogo Lopes met Fernaõ Camello, who had come with permission from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to erect a fort on the site of Revadanda, where the Portuguese had already built, in 1516, a miserable-looking little house called a factory. They were, however, practically masters of the place to such an extent as to enrage the Mahomedans, who through sheer jealousy had murdered the first factor, Joaõ Fernandes, whose place was then filled by Fernaõ Camello.*

Some of the chroniclers state that the permission for the erection of the fortress was not only willingly granted by Nizâm-ul-Mulk, but almost pressed on them to be executed expeditiously, in order to spite the Gujarât king, with whom the Nizâm was then at war. For this purpose the king of Ahmadnagar, who had, a short time before, had his city burnt by the Dâbul fleet of Adil Khân, despatched to the Portuguese factory a person whom Barros calls Letefican (Latîf Khân) to concert measures and draw up an agreement or treaty between the two parties. The governorship of the Mahomedan city of Chaul had then fallen vacant, and was in dispute between two rival brothers named Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Mahomed, the highest bidder for the prize succeeding to the place.

Diogo Lopes was not slow to profit by so advantageous an offer. The treaty being ratified and signed, the building of the fort was

* Barros, *Decadas*, tome i., pt. 2, p. 295 ; also tome ii., pt. 1, p. 182.

begun without delay on the northern margin of the creek, about half a league to the south of the other, as the most convenient site for warlike purposes.*

The walls being once erected, the workmen, to whose toils a great impetus was imparted by the receipt of letters from the King of Portugal desiring them to build a fort at Chaul as well as at Diu, applied themselves *à couvert* to perfect the inner apartments of the building. Within this time the charge of the factory had passed over from Camello to Diogo Paes. Being aware that the erection of the fortress of Chaul was begun, which would eventually prove prejudicial to his interests, Malik Eyâz lost no time in making his appearance before Chaul with more than fifty vessels, and sunk a large Portuguese ship of Pedro da Silva de Menezes sailing with a rich cargo from Ormuz. He then continued to blockade the fort of Chaul for three weeks, doing considerable damage to the squadron which was opposed to him, and altogether harassing them greatly. Notwithstanding this, the construction of the fort was perseveringly carried on. About this time Diogo Lopes, learning that his successor had arrived at Cochin and his presence was necessary at that place, and being chagrined, moreover, at the inglorious result of the naval encounters above alluded to, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, leaving his nephew Henrique de Menezes to command the fort, and Fernão Beja in charge of the ships, consisting of two galleys, three caravels, one foist, and one brigantine, to oppose the aggressions of Malik Eyâz.

While thus forcing his way, escorted by his vessels, Diogo Lopes was, besides some untoward accidents of tide and head winds, met with a vigorous attack by Âgâ Mahomed, who was then commanding the Cambay fleet, and, being indefatigable in seconding every intention of his master, had himself done all in his power to hinder the establishment of the Portuguese at Chaul. He was, however, defeated, although the victory cost the Portuguese the death of Fernão Beja, who is crowned by the annalists with the pompous title of "General of the Sea." This memorable engagement was seen with

* Among the stipulations of that treaty was one concerning the importation of horses for the use of Nizâm-ul-Mulk. Barros says that on the subject of horses the Indian Mahomedans had the following adage:—"Se não houvesse sofrimento, não houvera já mundo; se não houvesse cavallos, não houvera guerra." "Without sufferings there would be no world, nor without horses any war."

exciting interest from the shore by multitudes of people, who seemed to enjoy the affray and carnage so long as their own lives were not at stake. Beja was much regretted, and his place was temporarily occupied by Antonio Correa (not the one blown up near Ormuz),* pending the arrival of Dom Luis de Menezes, brother of the new Governor, who had been appointed in his place "General of the Sea."

To secure the entrance to the river, the Portuguese had constructed a redoubt or bulwark on the side opposite to the fort, and placed it under the command of Pedro Vaz Permeo, an old officer who had seen service in Italy, with a garrison of thirty men. Âgâ Mahomed landed 300 of his men by night to surprise this bulwark; but the small garrison, though the captain and several men were slain, valiantly opposed them, and maintained their ground till relieved by Ruy Vaz Pereira with a reinforcement of two armed boats containing sixty men, who put the enemy to flight, after having lost two of their chief officers and a hundred men. By this signal success of the Portuguese the enemy were much daunted, particularly a certain Sheikh Mahomed, a great man in the city, who pretended to be a friend of the Portuguese, but yet did everything in his power secretly to molest them. On the occasion of the defeat of Âgâ Mahomed, this Sheikh, believing him ignorant of his perfidy, sent to congratulate Antonio Correa; but the latter, well knowing his treachery, sent him in return the heads of his messengers, and hung up their bodies, for his edification, along the shore. The Sheikh was taken aback at this act, and in revenge proceeded to open hostilities, encouraging Âgâ Mahomed to persevere in the blockade, giving him at the same time intelligence that the Portuguese were in want of ammunition; but Dom Luis de Menezes arrived in the nick of time with reinforcements and a supply of ammunition and provisions, beside the new captain of Chaul, Simão d'Andrade; to them Correa resigned the command, and the blockade was raised. Some of the chroniclers relate wonders of this siege. They tell us of a soldier's shield on which a crucifix was represented being spiked with sixty darts, none of which touched the crucifix; and of others having twenty or more darts on them, which were likewise uninjured.

* This, though apparently preposterous, is a necessary parenthesis. Some of the translators of Faria y Souza have expressed doubts on the subject.

The next historical event in connection with Chaul is the arrival of Vasco da Gama in its port on his third and last voyage to India as the second Viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in the East. On his way to Goa, off Dâbul, he met with a fierce tempest which was about to engulf his fleet, and which Vasco da Gama, with his usual *sang froid*, used to explain away as a symptom of the ocean's fright at his presence; he was driven safely to Chaul, where he cast anchor on the 8th September 1524, and took, according to Barros, his title of Viceroy, following the example of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, who had taken the same title on his arrival at Cannanore. He did not land at all, but on his arrival Simaõ d'Andrade, Captain of Chaul, went at once to pay his respects to the Admiral on board his vessel, where, says Gaspar Correa, "the Viceroy did him great honour, and gave him and all the Captains of the fleet large presents of refreshments, because he was very grand and liberal in his expenditure."* Then the Viceroy appointed Christovaõ de Souza captain of the fortress, and having made, in conformity with his instructions from the King, several other minor appointments, he sailed, after a stay of three days, to Goa, carrying with him all the officers who did not belong to the local garrison and were unmarried, or had no pretext whatever for staying at Chaul, promising to each a share of the rich spoil of a Mahomedan ship which he had captured at sea on his way from the Red Sea to India. The goods on board that ship, when valued, were found to contain one hundred thousand ducats in gold, and two hundred thousand more in merchandize and slaves.

Dom Duarte de Menezes, on entering upon the government of India on the 22nd of January 1522, had sent his brother Dom Luis de Menezes, the General of the Sea in Chaul, to Ormuz to quell a rebellion of the Mahomedans, and afterwards followed himself. The Mahomedans showed opposition to the obnoxious measure adopted by Dom Duarte's predecessor of appointing Portuguese officers to the custom-house of Ormuz, to prevent certain frauds that had been practised by the native officers of the customs. On Dom Luis going to Ormuz, Chaul was left entirely to the care of Simaõ d'Andrade, who had begun his career here by capturing two Turkish galleys and gaining a victory over the people of Dâbul. By this success that city was reduced, and made to pay tribute, and also to cede to him two of the enemy's

* Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Lond. 1869, p. 384.

ships. In the meanwhile the fort of Chaul, which had begun to be built in 1521, had been completed about 1524, and commanded even the entrance of the harbour of Bombay, in which from this date the Portuguese fleets were moving freely.

On Dom Duarte putting in at Chaul, where he met Christovão de Souza as Captain, he was informed that the Viceroy, Vasco da Gama, had left orders not to allow him to land. Malik Eyâz in the meanwhile appears to have been terrified by the repeated successes of the Portuguese, for he at once withdrew his fleet from before Chaul, to return again in 1528, when a great number of the ships of the fleet, which comprised 83 barques, were destroyed by the allied forces of the Portuguese and the King of Ahmadnagar. A valiant Moor named Alexiath (Ali Shâh) was in command. He had done much injury to the subjects of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and to the Portuguese trade at Chaul during the captaincy of Christovão de Souza. In consequence of this, the present Captain, Francisco Pereira de Berredo, demanded aid from the Governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who accordingly set sail with 40 vessels of different sizes, in which were 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a considerable force of armed natives. In this expedition Heitor de Sylveira commanded the small vessels that were rowed—they all being Malabar vessels, which by the early writers are called *parâos*, *tonys*, *caturas*, &c., and are in fact rowing-boats—while Sampayo took charge of the sailing vessels. On arriving at Chaul, Sampayo sent 80 Portuguese, under the command of Joaõ de Avelar, to the assistance of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and then sailed towards Diu. It was on this occasion that Bombay was for the second time visited by the Portuguese. Off Bombay the Cambay fleet, of which he was in search, was descried; some of the ships were detached and sent round to secure the entrance to the Bandora creek, to prevent the enemy from escaping, while Sylveira with his brigantines and rowing-boats bore down upon them. During the night, which was spent in the Bombay harbour, the crews of both fleets observed in the sky a comet of extraordinary size, sword-like in shape, which, says Barros, the Greeks used to call *Xiphia*. This appearance was held by the Mahomedans as an ominous sign, foreboding their proximate defeat. Notwithstanding, the engagement took place. A little before this, however, Sampayo got into one of his swift little boats and ordering all the ships of his fleet in a line made a short speech to each of them, encouraging them to action, and then gave the order for fighting. After a furious cannonade about or in front of the Bombay harbour,

the Portuguese gallantly boarded the enemy, who attempted to flee round the harbour through the Bandora creek, but found it blockaded, and Ali Shâh escaped with only ten of his barques, all the rest being taken. Of the 73 vessels captured, with a vast number of prisoners and much artillery and abundance of ammunition, 33 were retained as serviceable, the rest being burnt. It was on this occasion that Thâpâ, Salsette, and Bombay were made tributary. All this took place in February 1528.

In this naval engagement Francisco de Barrio de Paiva was the first to board the enemy's vessels, and obtained the prize of 100 ducats which had been previously offered by Sampayo for such an act. The Portuguese historians state that, although the enemy lost so many ships and lives, the Portuguese lost not a single man. On this Lafitau remarks:—"Peut on les croire sans leur faire tort et sans diminuer beaucoup l'éclat de leur victoire en concevant trop de mépris pour les ennemis, à qui ils avaient affaire?"*

The detachment sent to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, assisted by 1,000 native soldiers of that king, acquired great honour by their gallantry, their commander, João de Avelar, being the first to scale, with their assistance, a fort belonging to the Gujarât king till then thought impregnable. Having slain the defenders, he delivered it up to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had for this purpose first implored the aid of the Portuguese.

In 1530 the Portuguese had a squabble with Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had at length come to the determination, in spite of all his amicable overtures, to show the Portuguese his undisguised displeasure at having been compelled to cede them a few roods of the ground at the Chaul creek. This misunderstanding appears to have originated from the then captain of Chaul, Francisco Pereira Berredo, having, at the request of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, proceeded with a detachment of 200 men under his personal command to overthrow his enemy the king of Cambay, who was at the head of an army of 12,000, but only to return after suffering a severe repulse. Hence the determination of Nizâm-ul-Mulk to show his displeasure, which indicates to what extent the friendship he bore to the Portuguese was induced by self-interest. However, differences were soon made up, but the good understanding, superficial in its nature, lasted only for a decade, during which period Chaul was the only powerful Portuguese naval station on this part

* *Hist. des Descouvertes*, etc. Paris, 1736, vol. iii., p. 196.

of the coast, as well as the chief place of their army prior to the establishment of Bassein, honoured often by the visits of men so remarkable as statesmen and warriors as Nuno da Cunha, Martim Affonso de Souza, and others.

The success of the Portuguese under Sampayo had terrified all the princes of India who had been hitherto their enemies. Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân sent in consequence their ambassadors to the Viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to renew their former treaties of peace, and the Zamorin was to obtain more honourable treatment from his employing the mediation of a commandant of the fort of Chale, near Calicut.*

The next important event in connection with the history of Chaul is a grand naval review held in the harbour of Bombay. The largest fleet that ever crossed the Bombay waters, comprising four hundred vessels of all descriptions, principally from Chaul, were assembled under the command of Nuno da Cunha, Governor-General in India, conveying 22,000 men, of whom no less than 3,600 soldiers and 1,450 sailors were Europeans. There were, besides, 2,000 Canara and Malabar soldiers, 8,000 slaves, and about 5,000 native seamen. All of them were paraded on the site of the present Esplanade, and it was a splendid spectacle, say the chroniclers, to see these soldiers, in the quaint gaudy costumes of the time, moving on the then almost desolate island of Bombay, having for a background the array of vessels lying at anchor in the harbour, and all preparing to sail for the conquest of Diu. This took place in January 1531. They sailed towards Diu on the 7th February, and carried by assault a strongly fortified position in the island of Beyt, in the Gulf of Cutch.

Some time after, Chaul was visited by one of the greatest Portuguese travellers, the yet little known Fernão Mendes Pinto. He came down on board the same fleet which brought a new Captain of Chaul, appointed by the King, by name Jorge de Lima. On arrival at Chaul, in 1538 or the beginning of 1539, he met here Simão Guedes, who was then the Captain of Chaul, and to whom he mentioned all the untoward accidents that befell him on the way.†

* The renewal of the treaty with Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the Governorship of Dom Garcia de Noronha is published in the *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, by Rodrigo J. de L. Felner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 115-117.

† *Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisbon, 1762, pp. 3 and 8.

In the year 1540 Nizâm-ul-Mulk being determined to gain possession of the fortresses of Sangaça and Carnala (Sanksî and Karnâla), held by two subjects of the king of Gujarât, on the frontiers of that kingdom, and which were formidable from their strength and situation, took them by assault in the absence of their commanders. Dom Francisco de Menezes, the captain of Bassein, having been applied to for help, went to their assistance with 300 Europeans and a party of native troops, and the fortresses were stormed, retaken, and restored to their former owners, and Portuguese garrisons left with both for their protection. After a short time Nizâm-ul-Mulk, with an army of 5,000, having ruined and pillaged the two districts, the commanders in despair abandoned the places, and, resigning their titles to the Portuguese, withdrew to Bassein, whence Menezes sent supplies and relief, intending to defend them. On hearing of this, Nizâm-ul-Mulk sent an additional force of 6,000 men, of whom 1,000 were musketeers, and 800 well-equipped horsemen. This great force having besieged the fortress, which they twice assaulted in one day, they were repulsed with great slaughter. They again assaulted the trenches, and were opposed with determination, until, being much fatigued, and suffering from hunger and excessive heat, both parties were under the necessity of declaring by mutual consent a truce. In this interval Menezes having arrived with 160 Europeans, twenty of whom were cavalry, several naiks and 2,000 native soldiers, the attack was renewed, and after a sharp encounter the enemy fled, leaving the ground about the fortresses strewed with arms and ammunition.

In this engagement a Portuguese soldier of gigantic stature and prodigious strength, named Trancoso, in the heat of the battle seized by the waist a Mahomedan wrapped up in a large veil, and carried him as if he were a buckler to shelter his breast, receiving upon him all the strokes from the enemy's weapons. He continued to use this strange shield with marvellous effect, and did not once drop it on the ground till the close of the action. This soldier was the brother of Dom Antonio Trancoso, a magistrate, and having settled at Thâñâ died there at a very advanced age, having two of his grand-daughters married to Dom Francisco de Souza and Dom Diniz d'Almeida, officers of the Diu garrison. The house and family of this distinguished warrior are now extinct.*

* Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 193.

When the battle was over, the Governor, Dom Estevo da Gama, happened to arrive at Chaul, and considering that these fortresses cost more than they produced, and Nizâm-ul-Mulk was their ally, restored them to that prince for an additional tribute of 5,000 *pardaos* in gold, to the great regret of Captain Menezes of Bassein, who showed to the last his reluctance to deliver them up to him.*

A curious episode, connected with the history of Chaul, as illustrated in the "*Vida de Dom João de Castro*," by one of the most elegant and popular, though by no means trustworthy, of the Portuguese chroniclers, Jacinto Freire d'Andrade, is the patriotic zeal of the matrons and maidens of Chaul, who, having heard that the Viceroy of India, Dom João de Castro, had requested the municipality of Goa to lend him 20,000 *pardaos*, for the use of his army of defence at Diu, which was being besieged by Khoja Sofar, sending at the same time a lock of his moustaches as a pledge for the sure and punctual repayment of the money, sent him their earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewellery, to be applied to the public service. The Governor, however, restored them all in the same condition in which they were sent, having been in the meantime amply supplied with funds by the capture of a rich ship of Cambay. This took place in 1546.

The above statement has been written and reproduced several times for more than three centuries, and, remaining uncontradicted, is universally believed. It was only lately that the discovery of documents that lay buried for years in the Government archives at Lisbon led some writers to cast a doubt on the veracity of that story. The truth is that when Dom João de Castro wrote a letter, dated the 3rd May 1546, addressed to the municipality, magistrates and inhabitants of Chaul, requesting their aid in the preparation of a fleet to resist the king of Gujarât, a reply, dated the 22nd of the same month, was sent, saying, "We are ready to aid you not only with persons, arms, horses, ships and states for all the time you wish; but if our states be not sufficient for that purpose, our wives will gladly offer us their jewels." The enthusiasm of the reply is so palpable that, caught by it, and faithful to the tradition of being the Spartans of the time, a lady from Chaul, who was then at Goa, sent to the Viceroy by her daughter a case of jewels, stating that

* This second treaty is found in Felner's *Subsidios, ut supra*, pt. ii., pp. 117-120.

having heard that the ladies of Chaul had offered their jewels to him, she was desirous to have the honour of sending hers. Another part of this curious letter worth noting is her allusion to the wealth of Chaul at that time. She writes :—"Do not think, Sir, that because my jewels are so few, there are not more at Chaul. I assure you that I have the least portion, having distributed them among my daughters. There are jewels in Chaul which alone are sufficient to carry on the war for ten years."*

During the entire period from 1540 until the Governorship of Francisco Barreto, in 1555, Chaul enjoyed the blessing of peace, which circumstance accounts partly for the amount of wealth above referred to. It was only in 1557 that the Governor having been informed of the death of Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the preceding year, and not being quite sure of meeting the same friendly treatment at the hands of his successor, expressed his desire to secure the promontory of Kôrlê (Môrro), and fortify it into an outwork of defence for the city of Chaul, when a scuffle ensued, as we shall see hereafter.

The Portuguese chroniclers of the time pass a glowing encomium on the memory of the deceased Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who, it is stated, was endowed with great natural and political sagacity, his court being an hospitable resort of the best men of the time. He had among his courtiers a Portuguese renegade, by name Simão Peres, who had embraced Mahomedanism, and was held in such high estimation by the king that he appointed him his minister and general of his army. Notwithstanding his apostacy, Peres was always friendly towards his countrymen, and entertained no respect for those who imitated his perfidy. The king, on his death-bed, recommended his successor to the good offices of this faithful servant, and Peres executed with fidelity all his charges.

Soon after the death of the king, the young prince had an unpleasant affray with Adil Khân, in which the old minister lost his life, and the new Nizâm-ul-Mulk was left to his whims, unguided alike by the advice of his sober minister and the example of his wise father. In reference to the latter, Diogo do Couto is the only chronicler who points out a trait

* *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iv., pp. 29 and 57. Dom João de Castro was often at Chaul, and a fourth treaty of alliance, confirmatory of all the three previous ones, was signed by him with Nizâm-ul-Mulk. *Subsidios*, *ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

in the character of the deceased king which really mars the effect of his otherwise eminently eulogistic memoir. He informs us, in his *Decada V.*, liv. viii., cap. vi., that this prince being affected by what he calls St. Lazarus' malady, *i.e.* leprosy, and all medical efforts to cure him having failed, was recommended by one of his court physicians to try as a last resource the effect of bathing in children's blood. Large tanks were filled, says the historian, with that liquid, but with no better result. This wanton immolation of innocent little lives on the altar of this prince's tyranny differs perhaps only in degree from the murder of the innocents by Herod. However, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, in spite of his leprosy, lived to the advanced age of ninety, having reigned for the unusually long period of fifty-eight years. The disposition of this prince was perhaps not dissimilar to that of Sultân Mahomed, king of Gujarât, who, like Mithridates, had accustomed himself to the use of poison, to guard himself against being poisoned. When any of his women, Faria y Souza tells us, happened to be nigh delivery, he opened their wombs to take out the fœtus. And being out hunting one day accompanied by some of his women, he fell from his horse and was dragged by the stirrup, when one of his female companions bravely made up to his horse and cut the girth with a scimitar; in requital for this service he killed her, saying that "a woman of such courage had also enough to kill him." He was at length murdered by a page in whom he had great confidence. "For tyrants," adds the historian, "always die by the hands of those in whom they repose most trust."*

When Barreto arrived at Chaul he had neither the friendly assistance of the old king nor the coöperation of the patriotic minister to back him in his project to secure and fortify the rocky promontory of Kôrlê, called by the Portuguese, as already stated "o Môrro de Chaul." It was really this friendship that had hitherto prevented the Portuguese from attacking Chaul, while the neighbouring city of Dâbûl had been between 1503 and 1557 four times burnt and plundered. The possession of the promontory of Kôrlê commanding the entrance of the harbour, would, he thought, compensate for all the drawbacks and imperfections of the fortress of Chaul, especially at a time when all the Mahomedan powers of India were,

* *Asia Portuguesa*, Spanish edition of 1874, vol. ii., p. 278.

conjointly with the Rûms,* striving to enlist the support of the natives of the country in their efforts to make the Portuguese abandon their conquests in India.

The project of fortifying the promontory had, however, according to the stipulations of the treaty, before being carried into effect, to be submitted to, and approved of by, the King of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk II. For this purpose an ambassador with rich presents was sent. The young prince regarded the proposal as an insult to his dignity, and as displaying an occult desire on the part of the Portuguese to undermine his independence. Then apprehending that such a project was a mere pretext to levy duties on merchandize leaving or entering his port, and thus deprive him of this important item of state revenue, he not only refused permission, but made the ambassador a prisoner, and despatched his General, Farate Khân, with 30,000 men, and instructions to build as speedily as possible an impregnable fortress there on his own account. He ordered his General at the same time not to show any hostility towards the Portuguese in the fort, nor to those who were settled in their city. Garcia Rodrigues de Tavora, the Governor of the fortress of Chaul, alarmed at this state of things, made representations to the Viceroy, and obtained a fleet, under the command of Alvaro Peres Souto Maior, to stop the progress of the work begun.

Soon after the Viceroy himself went in person to their relief with a numerous and well-manned fleet conveying 4,000 Portuguese troops, besides natives, who kept on pouring shells and bullets on the workmen, preventing progress being made with the fortifications. Whereupon Nizâm-ul-Mulk, unwilling to continue the conflict, sent a *parlementaire* with the following message :—" that he was a friend to the King of Portugal, having inherited that feeling from his predecessor, who had given them a place where they had already built a citadel, a gift which he certainly never thought of revoking, but that he had reasons to apprehend that by allowing them to build a new fort it would eventually lead them to place him under their yoke, and deprive him of the customs duties, which belonged, as hitherto, to him alone, as the sovereign of the place." The arguments being found convincing, the

* The European Turks were called Rûms by the Portuguese, from their occupying the seat of the Lower Roman Empire, just as the Asiatics used to call Franks all nations of the Latin race, from their first acquaintance with them in the time of the Crusades.

conflict ended in a pacific arrangement being made by both parties that Kôrlê should remain as it was.

During the above affray, the chroniclers add, a miracle was wrought at the promontory of Kôrlê, where the Moors, utterly unable to cut down with swords a small wooden cross fixed upon a stone, tried to remove it by the force of elephants, but without success. Faria y Souza adds to this miracle the following :—" Likewise about this time a Portuguese soldier bought for a trifle from a jogue (*yogî*) in Ceylon a brown pebble about the size of an egg, on which the heavens were represented in several colours, and in the midst of them the image of the holy Virgin with the Saviour in her arms ; this precious jewel fell into the hands of Francisco Barreto, who presented it to Queen Catherine, and through its virtues God wrought many miracles both in India and Portugal."*

This was also an occasion on which the Portuguese of Chaul, not yet intoxicated with the spirit of luxury or insolence of wealth, which rendered them in subsequent encounters as difficult to control within the bounds of prudence as to bring them under a moderate discipline, evinced such a zeal for the public welfare as to feed at their expense all the soldiers of the garrison. One of the inhabitants, by name Lopes Carrasco, a man of considerable wealth, placed daily at his door tables with every sort of eatables for the use of the garrison during the time the conflict with Nizâm-ul-Mulk continued, and his excellent example was followed by others with alacrity and praiseworthy emulation.

In 1570, five years after the famous battle of Talicota, in which the memory of the old empire of Narsinga was destroyed by the Mahomedan sword, a serious combination was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar, assisted by the Zamorin, to drive them out of India—not unlike the one that in 1857 was concocted against the British. This confederacy, which had been under negotiation for five long years with remarkable secrecy, flattered itself so much with the certainty of extirpating the Portuguese from this country that they agreed beforehand on the distribution of their expected conquests.

Princes are, however, more than ordinary individuals, apt, as M. de la Clède rightly observes, to mistrust each other, even when profess-

* *Asia Portuguesa*, loc. cit., p. 314.

ing apparently entire confidence.† In spite of the alliance being sealed with the most solemn oaths, each of the princes was disinclined to strike the first blow, suspecting his ally would not follow suit. Nizâm Shâh or Nizâm-ul-Mulk, anxious as he was to get rid of the Portuguese from Chaul at all hazards, and share their dominions as a part of his spoil, was on various pretences putting off besieging Chaul until Adil Khân had first invaded Goa.

The secret at last got out: Farate Khân being appointed the commander of Nizâm-ul-Mulk's army, advanced with it about the end of December, in fulfilment of the stipulations of his master. His army consisted of 26 elephants, 8,000 horse, and 20,000 infantry, men of courage and willing to fight, but wanting in one thing—discipline—to make them fine soldiers.

Their march into the environs of the old city was made amidst the deafening sound of cymbals, beating of drums, and a variety of martial music. Four thousand of the Ahmadnagar cavalry then marched along the north of Chaul to cut off the reinforcements and supplies from Bassein, and the small fort of Caranja with its garrison of 40 men under Duarte Perestrello. All this amazing ostentation did not, however, in the least alarm the Portuguese citizens, who, being fully awake as to what was to happen, displayed the same serene determination, intrepidity, and willingness to fight as their countrymen at Goa. The chroniclers attribute this disposition of mind to the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Athaide, the Lord Canning of those days, whose good example had, more than anything else, inspired them with confidence. He was recommended by many, especially the Archbishop, to abandon Chaul for the greater security of Goa; but he undauntedly resolved to defend both.

This was a time pregnant with grave events. Goa was then in the throes of a formidable invasion. However, those were the days in which the capital of Portuguese India had not entirely declined from its former proud eminence of luxury and power, and romantic incidents and deeds of valour were not uncommon.

Luis Freire d'Andrade, a man of acknowledged merit, was then the Captain of Chaul, which he hastily fortified, taking in all necessary provisions to last during a siege, which, it was feared, would be a long one. The fortifications were then in so contemptible a

* *Histoire Général de Portugal*, Paris, 1785, tome vi., p. 52.

condition that they well merited the hard epithet of "*un misérable bicoque*" applied to them by Lafitau. They gave, moreover, origin to that curious dialogue reported by chroniclers between Nizâm-ul-Mulk and his general Farate Khân, in which the former made use of the not very complimentary phrase "a stable of beasts" in reference to the Chaul fort, the general excellently retorting that "the beasts were lions." Some of the citizens of Chaul, however, enervated by luxury and abuse of the blessings of twelve years' peace, were every way thwarting the general Dom Francisco Mascarenhas' plans. They seemed to care more for their houses and gardens than the honour of the nation. The houses were, however, pulled down, some of the gardens outside the town fortified, and every nook and corner put in the best state of defence.

The Viceroy was in the meanwhile preparing to send him reinforcements after the 600 men, five foists and four galleys already despatched under the command of Mascarenhas, a gallant officer of his time, who had also brought with him some shiploads of ammunition and other supplies. These reinforcements were followed by others under the command of Ruy Gonsalves, who brought 200 men, and Dom Luis de Menezes Baroche, who eventually became captain of Chaul in succession to Freire d'Andrade.

Farate Khân, immediately on his arrival at Chaul, about the end of December 1570, marshalled his artillery and elephants in battle array, and having made sure that in pursuance of the league Adil Khân had taken the field before Goa, without awaiting further orders from the king Nizâm Shâh, who was himself expected to join the campaign, gave orders to carry the place by a *coup de main*. His attempt, however, proving unsuccessful, he retreated into the chapel of Madre de Deus and waited there until the king arrived, about the 16th January 1571, with the rest of his army, which, with that under General Farate Khân, amounted now to 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 30,000 pioneers, and 4,000 men consisting of smiths, masons, and other artizans, of different nationalities, such as Turks, Persians, Abyssinians, and a few European renegades. He had also 300 elephants with 40 pieces of artillery of enormous size with such names as 'the cruel,' 'the devourer,' 'the butcher,' 'the honour,' &c., and every kind of ammunition. This prodigious force was encamped in the environs of Chaul, which place, though but poorly fortified and with only a handful of men to carry on its defence, had a few officers of such extra-

ordinary courage, as Dom Luis de Menezes, who had earned through his exploits the appellation of *solus mundi*, and others, that one of them was surely worth a hundred of the enemy. The Nizâm-ul-Mulk had, besides, an auxiliary naval force to assist him from the Zamorin, which mustered twenty-two *paraus*, carrying 1,500 fusiliers; this fleet he ordered to engage the Portuguese in the port, and ascended the top of one of his own mosques to observe the progress of the action. He had, however, the mortification to behold from this place the crushing defeat of the Malabarese allies, in whom he had placed more dependence than in his own army.

"Thus," says Faria y Souza, "an army of 150,000 men sat down to besiege a town that was defended merely by a single wall, a fort not much larger than a house, and a handful of men. Farate Khân took up his quarters near the church of Madre de Deus with 7,000 horse and 20 elephants; Agalas Khân in the house of Joaõ Lopes with 6,000 horse; Nimiri Khân between that and Upper Chaul with 2,000 horse: so that the city was beset from sea to sea. The Nizâm encamped with the main body of the army at the further end of the town, where the ground was covered with tents for the space of two leagues; and 5,000 horse were detached to ravage the district of Bassein."*

Although at the commencement of the siege the Portuguese garrison was, as above stated, a mere handful of men, and the works being very slight no particular posts were assigned, all acting wherever their services were most wanted, yet soon afterwards, the news of the siege having spread abroad, many officers and gentlemen flocked thither with reinforcements, so that in a short time the garrison was augmented to 2,000 men. It was then resolved to maintain particular points, besides the general circuit of the walls. The monastery of the Franciscans was committed to the charge of Alexandre de Souza; Nuno Alvares Pereira was entrusted with the defence of some houses near the shore; those between the Misericordia and the church of the Dominicans were confided to Gonsalo de Menezes; others in that neighbourhood to Nuno Vello Pereira, and so on in other places. In the meanwhile the priestly party continued more than ever to recommend that Chaul should be sacrificed for the safety of Goa; but the Viceroy thought otherwise, in which opinion he was seconded only by Ferdinando de Castello Branco, and he immediately despatched succours under Ferdinando Telles and Duarte de Lima. Before their arrival, Nimiri Khân, who had pro-

* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*

mised the Nizâm that he would be the first person to enter Chaul, vigorously assaulted the posts of Henrique de Betancourt and Ferdinando de Miranda, who resisted him with the slaughter of 300 of his men, losing seven on their own side.

At last the reinforcements arrived, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy to intercept them. The enemy had erected a battery against the monastery of the Franciscans, where the Portuguese had some cannon ; and as the gunners on both sides used their utmost endeavours to burst or dismount the opposite guns, the cannon-balls were sometimes seen to meet by the way. On the eve of St. Sebastian the Portuguese made a sally upon some houses which were occupied by the Moors, and slew a great number of them without the loss of even one man. Enraged at this affront and the late repulse, the enemy made that same night an assault on the fortified monastery of the Franciscans with 5,000 men, expecting to surprise the Portuguese, but were soon undeceived by losing many of their men. This assault lasted with great fury for five hours ; and as the Portuguese suspected the enemy were undermining the wall, and could not see by reason of the darkness, one Christova? Corvo thrust himself several times out from a window, with a torch in one hand and a buckler in the other, to discover, if possible, what they were doing. During this assault those in the town sent out assistance to the garrison in the monastery, though with much hazard. When morning broke and the assailants had retired, the monastery was found all stuck full of arrows, and the dead bodies of 300 Moors were seen around its walls, while the defenders had not lost a single man.

The enemy renewed the assault on this post for five successive days, and were every time repulsed by the Portuguese with vast slaughter, the garrison often sallying out and strewing the field with slain enemies. It was at length judged expedient to withdraw the men from this place into the town, lest its loss should occasion greater injury than its defence could do service. Seventeen of the Portuguese were here slain. One of these used to stand on a high place to notice when the enemy fired their cannon, and on one occasion said to the men below, "if these fellows should now fire *Raspadillo* (a cannon 18 feet long to which that name was given), it will send me to sup with Christ, to whom I commend my soul, for it points directly at me." He had hardly spoken these words when he was torn to pieces by a ball from that very gun. On getting possession of the monastery of the Franciscans

the Moors fired a whole street in the town of Chaul, but on attempting to take post in some houses they were driven out with the loss of 900 men. At this time Gonçalo da Camara went to Goa for more reinforcements, as the garrison was much pressed, and brought a relief in two galleys.

About this period the 500 men that had been detached by the Nizâm to ravage the district of Bassein attempted to get possession of some of the Portuguese garrisons. Being beaten off at Assarin and Damaun, they invested Caranja, at this time commanded by Estevão Perestrello with a garrison of only 40 men, but was reinforced, on the reappearance of the enemy, by Manuel de Mello with 30 more from Salsette. With this small band of only 70 soldiers Perestrello sallied out against the enemy, and with such success that after covering the little island with dead bodies, the rest fled, leaving their cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions.

In the meantime the Moors continued to batter Chaul without intermission for a whole month with 70 pieces of large cannon, every day expending against its weak defences at least 160 balls. This tremendous cannonade did much damage to the houses of the town, in which many of the brave defenders were slain. On one occasion six persons who were eating together were destroyed by a single ball. This furious battery was commenced against the bastion of the Holy Cross, and was carried on for a considerable way along the defences of that front of the town, levelling everything with the ground. The besieged used every precaution to shelter themselves by digging trenches; but the hostile gunners were so expert that they elevated their guns and made their balls plunge among those who considered themselves in safety. On observing that one of the enemies' batteries beyond the church of the Dominicans never ceased its destructive fire, Perestrello detached 120 men under Alexandre de Souza and Augustinho Nunes, who drove the enemy, after a vigorous resistance, from the battery with great slaughter, set their works on fire, and levelled them with the ground, without sustaining any loss. Among the arms taken in this successful sortie was a scimitar inscribed 'Jesus salva me.'

Having ruined the defences of the town, the enemy attacked several large houses in which they endeavoured to establish themselves, but were repulsed from some of these with considerable loss, while the defenders lost but one man. On attacking the

house of Heitor de Sampayo, which was undermined by the Portuguese with the intention of blowing it up when occupied by the enemy, some fire was accidentally communicated to the mine during the conflict, and it blew up while still occupied by the Portuguese, by which 42 of their soldiers were destroyed, without the least injury to the Moors, who then planted their colours on the ruins. Nimiri Khân made an assault by night with 600 men upon the bastion of the Holy Cross, in which Ferdinando Pereira was posted with 30 men, reinforced by Henrique de Betancourt with a few more. The assailants were beaten off, and five of their colours taken which they had planted on the works. In this action Betancourt fought with his left hand, having previously lost the right ; and Dominico del Alama being lame caused himself to be brought out in a chair. April 1571 was now begun, and the enemy were employed in constructing new works, as if determined to continue the siege. Alexandre de Souza and Gonçalo de Menezes were appointed to head a sally upon these new works, but their men to the number of 200 ran out without orders and made a furious assault upon the enemy, whom they drove from the works after killing fifty of them, and losing a few of their own number. The two commanders hastened to join their men, and then directed them to destroy the works they had so gallantly won. Perplexed with so many losses, the Nizâm made a general assault at night with his whole army, attacking all the posts at one time. Every one almost they penetrated ; but the garrison exerted themselves with so much vigour that they drove the Moors from every point of attack, and in the morning above 500 of the enemy were found slain in and about the ruined defences, while the Portuguese had only lost four or five men. About this time the defenders received a reinforcement of above 200 men from Goa, Diu, and Bassein, with a large supply of ammunition and provisions ; but at the same time they were much afflicted by a troublesome though not mortal disease, by which they became swelled all over so as to lose the use of their limbs.

Having ineffectually endeavoured to stir up enemies against the Portuguese in Cambay on purpose to prevent relief being sent to the brave defenders of Chaul, the Nizâm made every effort to bring his arduous enterprise to a favourable conclusion. The house of Nuno Alvares Pereira, being used as a stronghold by the Portuguese, was battered during forty-two days by the enemy, who then assaulted it with 5,000 men. At first the defenders of this post were only forty

in number, but twenty more came to their assistance immediately, and several others afterwards. The Moors were repulsed with the loss of 50 men, while the Portuguese only lost one. The house of Nuno Velho was battered for thirty days and assaulted with the same success, only that the Portuguese lost ten men in its defence. Judging it no longer expedient to defend this house, it was undermined and evacuated, on which the enemy hastened to take possession and it was blown up, doing considerable damage among them, but not so much as was expected. The summer was now almost spent; above 6,000 cannon-balls had been thrown into the town, some of which were of prodigious size,* and the Nizâm seemed determined to continue the siege during the winter. About 200 Portuguese, appalled by the dangers of the siege, had already deserted; but instead of them 300 men had come from Goa, so that the garrison was even stronger than before. On the 11th of April, Gonçalo da Camara made a sortie upon 500 Moors in an orchard, only fifty of whom escaped.

Fortune could not be always favourable to the besieged. By a chance ball from the enemy, one of the galleys which brought relief was sunk with 40 men and goods to the value of 40,000 ducats. But next day Ferdinando Telles made a sally with 400 men, and gained a victory equal to that of Gonçalo da Camara, and brought away one piece of cannon with some ammunition, arms, and other booty. This action was seen by the Nizâm himself, who mounted his horse to join in it in person, for which purpose he seized a lance, which he soon changed for a whip, with which he threatened to chastise his men, upbraiding them as cowards. The Portuguese were now so inured to danger that nothing could terrify them, and they seemed to court death, instead of shunning it, on all occasions. Some of them being employed to level those works from which the enemy had been driven near the monastery of the Franciscans, and being more handy with the sword than the spade, drew upon themselves a large party of the enemy, of whom they slew above 200, yet not without some loss on their own side. About this time Farate Khân, one of the Nizâm's generals, made some overtures towards peace, but without any apparent authority from his sovereign, who caused him to be arrested on suspicion of being corrupted by the Portuguese, though assuredly he had secret orders for what he had

* Such balls, if they are the real relics of the siege, are still found scattered all over the area in the city of Chaul.

done. Indeed, it was not wonderful that the Nizâm should be desirous of peace, as he had now lain seven months before Chaul to no purpose, and had lost many thousand men ; neither was it strange in the Portuguese to have the same wish, as they had lost 400 men, besides Indians.

When the siege had continued to the beginning of June, the attacks and batteries were carried on by both sides with as much obstinacy and vigour as if then only begun. The house of Nuno Alvares was at this time taken by the enemy, through the carelessness of the defenders, and in an attempt to recover it 20 of the Portuguese lost their lives, without doing much injury to the enemy. The Moors, in the next place, got possession of the monastery of the Dominicans, but not without heavy loss, and then gained the house of Gonçalo de Menezes, in which the Portuguese suffered severely. The hostile batteries kept up a constant fire from the end of May to the end of June, as the Nizâm had resolved to make a breach large enough for the whole army to try its fortune in a general assault. On the 28th of June, everything being in readiness, the Nizâm's whole army was drawn up for the assault, all his elephants appearing in the front with castles on their backs full of armed men. While the whole army stood in expectation of the signal for the assault, an officer of note belonging to the enemy was slain by a random shot from one of the Portuguese cannon, which the Nizâm considering as an evil omen ordered the attack to be deferred till next day. On this occasion six of the garrison ventured beyond the works and drew a multitude of the enemy within the reach of the Portuguese fire, which was so well bestowed that 118 of the assailants were slain and 500 wounded, without any loss on the side of the defenders.

About noon on the 29th of June 1571 the Nizâm gave the signal for assault, when the whole of his men and elephants moved forward with horrible cries and a prodigious noise of warlike instruments. The Portuguese were drawn up in their several posts to defend the ruined works, and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief, placed himself opposite the Nizâm with a body of reserve to relieve the posts whenever he might see necessary. The day was alternately darkened with smoke and lighted up with flames. The slaughter and confusion were great on both sides ; some of the colours of the enemy were planted on the works, but were soon taken or thrown down, along with those who had set them up. The elephants were made

drunk by the naiks who conducted them, that they might be the fiercer ; but, being burnt and wounded, many of them ran madly about the field. One that was much valued by the Nizâm, having his housings all in flames, plunged into the sea and swam over the bar, where he was killed by a cannon-ball from one of the Portuguese vessels. The Moors continued the assault till night, unable to gain possession of any of the works, and then drew off, after losing above 3,000 men, among whom were many officers of note. On the side of the Portuguese eight gentlemen were slain and a small number of private soldiers.

Next day the Moors asked leave to bury their dead, and a truce was granted for that purpose. "While employed in removing their dead, some of the Moors," adds Faria y Souza, "asked the Portuguese what woman it was that went before them in the fight, and if she were alive. One of the Portuguese answered, 'certainly she was alive, for she was immortal.' On this the Moors observed that it must have been the Lady Mariam, for so they call the Blessed Virgin. Many of them declared that they saw her at the house of Lourenço de Brito, and that she was so bright that she blinded them. Some of them even went to see her image in the church of Chaul, where they were converted, and remained in the town."*

The Nizâm was now seriously disposed for peace, and the Portuguese commander equally so, yet neither wished to make the first overture. At length, however, advances were made, and a treaty set on foot. Farate Khân and Azaf Khân were commissioners from the Nizâm, while Pedro da Silva and Antonio de Teive were deputed by the Portuguese commander-in-chief, and Francisco Mascarenhas by the captain of the city. Accordingly a league offensive and defensive was concluded in the name of the Nizâm and the King of Portugal, which was celebrated by great rejoicings on both sides and the interchange of rich presents. This, however, might easily have been accomplished without the effusion of so much blood. The Nizâm now raised his camp and returned to his own dominions. Thus the simultaneous attacks or sieges of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân had failed to capture Goa and Chaul. The Zamorin scarcely kept his engagement, and the old jealousies between Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar soon began to revive. The most memorable of all the combinations among the native princes was now triumphantly defeated, a new lustre being added to the Por-

* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*

tuguese arms. Their power, it was thought, had never before been established on a firmer basis than now, and would assume larger proportions. But such predictions are apt to fail or mislead.

Chaul had now entered again into a period of peace and prosperity. Its trade was active, and the city improving in splendour and architectural beauty. Cesar Frederic, a merchant of Venice who visited the city in 1563, seven years before the siege, describes it from a merchant's point of view, thus:—

“Beyond this (Thànà) is Chaul on the continent, where there are two cities, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors; that which belongs to the Portuguese is lower than the other, commands the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly fortified. About a mile and a half from this city is that of the Moors, belonging to their king, *Zamaluco*, or Nizam-ul-Mulk. In time of war no large ships can go to the city of the Moors, as they must necessarily pass under the guns of the Portuguese castles, which would sink them. Both cities of Chaul are seaports, and have great trade in all kinds of spices, drugs, raw silk, manufactures of silk, sandalwood, *Marsine Fersine*,* porcelain of China, velvets and scarlets, cloth from Portugal and Mecca,† with many other valuable commodities. Every year there arrive ten or fifteen large ships, laden with great nuts called *Giagra*,‡ which are cured or dried, and with sugar made from these nuts. The tree on which these nuts grow is called the *Palmer* tree, and is to be found in great abundance over all India, especially between this place and Goa. This tree very much resembles that which produces dates, and no tree in the world is more profitable or more useful to man; no part of it but serves for some useful purpose, neither is any part of it so worthless as to be burnt. Of its timber they build ships, and with the leaves they make sails. Its fruits, or nuts, produce wine, and from the wine they make sugar and *placetto*.§ This wine is gathered in the spring of the year from the middle of the tree, where there is then a continual stream of clear liquor like water, which they gather in vessels placed on purpose under each tree, and take them away full every morning and evening. This liquor, being distilled by means of

* A species of velvet; but the words *marsine* and *versine* were inexplicable in the days of Hakluyt.

† The velvets and scarlet cloths from Mecca were probably Italian manufactures brought through Egypt and the Red Sea.

‡ These must necessarily be cocoanuts.

§ Possibly molasses is here meant.

fire, is converted into a very strong liquor, which is then put into butts with a quantity of white or black *Zibils*, and in a short time it becomes a perfect wine. Of the nuts they make great quantities of oil. The tree is made into boards and timbers for building houses. Of the bark cables and other ropes are made for ships, which are said to be better than those made of hemp. The branches are made into bedsteads after the Indian fashion, and into *Sanasches* (?) for merchandize. The leaves being cut into thin slips are woven into sails for all kinds of ships, or into thin mats. The outer rind of the nut stamped serves as oakum for caulking ships, and the hard inner shell serves for spoons and other utensils for holding food or drink. Thus no portion whatever of this *Palmer* tree is so worthless as to be thrown away or cast into the fire. When the nuts are green, they are full of a sweet water, excellent to drink, and the liquor contained in one nut is sufficient to satisfy a thirsty person. As the nut ripens, this liquor turns all into kernel.

“From Chaul, an infinite quantity of goods are exported for other parts of India, Macao, Portugal, the coast of Melinda, Ormuz, and other parts; such as cloth of *bumbast* or cotton, white, painted, and printed, indigo, opium, silk of all kinds, borax in paste, *asafetida*, iron, corn, and other things. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Moorish king, has great power, being able to take the field with 200,000 men and a great store of artillery, some of which are made in pieces,* and are so large that they are with difficulty removed, yet are they very commodiously used, and discharge enormous stone bullets, some of which have been sent to the King of Portugal as rarities. The city of *Abnezer* (Ahmadnagar) in which Nizam-ul-Mulk resides, is seven or eight days’ journey inland from Chaul.” Elsewhere he writes :—“The Portuguese trade all the way from Chaul along the coast of India, and to Melinda in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, on which coast are many good ports belonging to the Moors. To these the Portuguese carry a very low-priced cotton cloth, and many *paternosters*, or beads made of paltry glass, which are manufactured at Chaul, and from thence they carry back to India many elephants’ teeth, slaves, called *Kafrs* or *Caffers*, with some *amber* and gold.”†

* Probably meaning that they were formed of bars hooped or welded together, in the way in which the famous *Mons Meg*, long in Edinburgh Castle, and now in the Tower of London, was certainly made.

† Robt. Kerr’s *Collection of Voyages*, Edin. 1824, vol. vii., pp. 153 and 206.

About twenty years after the Venetian Cesar Frederic, the city of Chaul was visited by a party of English merchants, the first, so far as is known, who ever crossed overland to India. The party consisted of Ralph Fitch, John Newbery, William Leeds, the jeweller, and James Story, the painter. They visited Chaul in 1584. Their letters to their friends in London, though they relate chiefly to commercial subjects, are full of interest. Of Chaul Fitch writes :—"The 10th November we arrived at *Chaul* on the firm land, at which place there are two towns, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors. That of the Portuguese is nearest the sea, commanding the bay, and is walled round ; and a little above it is the Moors town, subject to a king called *Xa-Maluco*. At this place is a great trade for all kinds of spices, drugs, silk, raw and manufactured, sandal-wood, elephants' teeth, much China work, and a great deal of sugar made from the nut called *gagara* (cocoanut ?)." * He then goes on describing the customs of the natives of the country, and a variety of the articles of trade, in much the same style as Cesar Frederic. There is one part of it, however, which evidently strikes as a repetition of what Marco Polo wrote on *Thânâ* two hundred years before. He says elsewhere :—"They worship the cow, and plaster the walls of their houses with its dung. They will kill nothing, not so much as a louse. They will eat no flesh, but live on roots, rice, and milk. When the husband dies, his wife is burnt with him ; if she refuses, her head is shaved and she is held in no account. They will not bury their dead, because the body would generate worms, and when it is consumed the worms would starve." Then Fitch with his companions went to Goa, and returned to Chaul alone on the 2nd November 1590. Having remained twenty-three days there, he sailed homeward at last, arriving in London on the 29th April 1591.

Now we come to a curious incident in the history of Chaul, one that has often been described by historians and travellers. It occurred in 1594. This was a time signalized by events of no little historical interest. The seeds of European policy and Christian religion sown broadcast during the century which was coming to a close, by the Portuguese in India, were bearing fruit ; and, although the national power was on the decline, incidents of bravery and deeds of heroism among those who had adopted the creed of the Portuguese were not uncommon. The old city of Goa, the capital of the Portu-

* Hakluyt's *Collection*, vol. ii., pp. 382 *et seqq.*

guese establishments in the East, was now in the full zenith of fame and power.

"Opposite to our city of Chaul," says Diogo do Couto, "and running half across the mouth of the river, is a high and precipitous hill called the Rock (Môrro), which the forces of Melique (the Ahmadnagar king) had converted into a great fortress, as strong as any in the world. This Rock was surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth was a ditch which extended from the sea to the river, and which was crossed by a wooden drawbridge. On the inner side of the ditch was a high and strong wall, also extending from the sea to the river, and relieved by two great bastions. Between the bastions, and looking down from the wall, stood a bronze lion with this inscription—'None passes me but fights.'

"Crossing the Rock about the middle was another wall with bastions, and on the top of it a great and strong tower which commanded the summit, and was called the 'Tower of Resistance.' From the highest point of it looked down a bronze eagle with extended wings and with this inscription—'None passes me but flies.' At the point of the rock stretching further into the river was another great and strong bastion. There were thus seven in all, armed with more than 70 pieces of heavy artillery. Inside the walls the Moors had a deep cistern or tank, well built of costly cut stone, several magazines full of warlike stores of all sorts, and some good houses. The garrison consisted of about 8,000 troops, horse and foot, among whom were many rich and noble Moors, who were quartered outside the walls in costly tents of gay colours. Adjoining this camp was a bazar of nearly 7,000 souls, all engaged in trade, which contained everything necessary for the wants of such a population, and here also was great store of rich stuffs, money, and merchandize."*

It was from this place that the Mahomedans, notwithstanding the alliance that existed between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese, began to molest the latter by cannonading occasionally the Portuguese fort from so commanding a position as the Rock. The Portuguese had several encounters with them, and, though fortune was not always propitious, they seemed to have fought with some success, particularly on the occasion of the arrival of a party of Moguls who had come to witness the defeat of the Portuguese, which they considered a certainty.

* Couto, *Decadas*, II., cap. 30, vol. xiii., pp. 165 *et seqq.*

These hostilities were of course countenanced by Burhân Nizâm Shâh, though contrary to the peace which had been established when Francisco Barreto was Governor. They were said now to be justified by the conduct of Mathias d'Albuquerque, the present Viceroy. But this was a mere pretext. In addition to the troops ordered out to lay siege to Chaul, several military parties belonging to Nizâm Shâh were sent to infest the districts around the Portuguese forts of Bassein and Chaul, where they did their work spreading havoc and desolation in their train. As the Moors considered the capture of Chaul to be near at hand, seeing that their cannon had made considerable impression on its walls, fourteen Mogul chiefs, as above stated, came to be present at its reduction; but in a sortie made by the Portuguese nine of these were slain and two made captives, the remainder saving themselves by ignominious flight. The eunuch Thanadar, commander of the besiegers, was mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards, as did a Turk who was next in command. On this Farhad Khân succeeded in the conduct of the siege, and gave the Portuguese no respite by day or by night, continually battering their works with his powerful artillery. The garrison in Chaul consisted of 1,000 men, to whom Alvaro de Abranches brought an additional force of 300 from Bassein and 200 from Salsette; and being now at the head of 1,500 Portuguese troops and an equal number of natives, mercenaries so brave and faithful, however, that, says Faria y Souza, "they often voluntarily interposed their own bodies to protect their masters," Abranches appointed a day for making an attack upon the enemy. All the soldiers having on 2nd September attended mass and confessed before starting, and all the churches and convents being kept open for prayers, the Portuguese embarked in a number of small vessels and crossed the river, after which they forced their way to the Môrro, where the battle was renewed, Abranches having the vanguard, and Dom Cosme de Lafeitar the rear. Ten elephants were turned loose by the Moors, in expectation that they would force the Portuguese troops into disorder; but one of these being severely wounded by a Portuguese soldier turned back and trampled down the enemy, till falling into the ditch he made a way like a bridge for passing over. Another of the elephants forcing his way in at a wicket in the works of the enemy enabled the Portuguese to enter likewise, and they slaughtered the enemy almost without opposition up to the "Tower of Resistance," where they made their last stand. Some accounts say that 10,000 men were slain on this occasion, while others estimate

the loss at no less than 60,000; but this is a childish exaggeration. The Mahomedan historian, however, acknowledges the loss of 12,000 men. Farhad Khân with his wife and daughter were made prisoners, and only 21 Portuguese were slain. The principal booty consisted of 75 pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, a vast quantity of ammunition, many horses and five elephants. Farhad Khân became a Christian before he died; so did his daughter, who was sent to Portugal, but his wife was ransomed. This action, which was at first a pitched battle, eventually degenerated into an irregular fight of hand-to-hand conflicts, when the power of a little handful of disciplined men fighting against overwhelming odds was made patent in the crushing of the barbarous legions of the enemy. The result once more flattered the pride of the Portuguese of Chaul, and obtained for them privileges which up to that time the citizens of Goa only had enjoyed.*

We now enter upon a stage in the history of Chaul which, for want of a better designation, may be named the stage of decrepitude. Having spent the bloom of her youth, so to speak, in settling herself firm in the boggy marshes of Revadanda, surrounded by a host of treacherous enemies, and the vigour of her middle age in resisting the repeated incursions and sieges of her neighbours, the noble city of Chaul now falls gradually into a stage of dotage which forebodes proximate dissolution. The decade from 1590 to 1600 is spent in useless scuffles among the civil population and some parochial *brouillerie*, in which the inevitable priestly element occupies the foremost place. Surfeited with the rich endowments from the Portuguese *fidalgos*, and the not less welcome fees from the poor native Christians, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, the priests turned their energies from the field of evangelization and education of the people to the less congenial arena of athletes. Some of the friars at last, in opposing the establishment of a custom-house at Chaul, acted in a way so disloyal and disorderly as to provoke a rebellion, and compel the most priest-ridden of Spanish monarchs, Philip II., who was then also the King of Portugal, to write to the then Viceroy, Conde da Vidigueira, giving vent to his unfeigned regret and indignation at their conduct.†

Then followed a long interval during which Chaul enjoyed a state of comparative security, less from the terror inspired by the Portuguese

* *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. iii., pt. 2, pp. 593, 675, and 848.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 700-701.

power, or the good condition of its defences, than from the internecine feud between the Ahmadnagar sovereign and his subjects, and also from the menacing attitude assumed by the Mogul towards the Dakhaneze kings. This much-desired calm was, however, destined to last but for a very short time.

During this period Chaul was visited by the French traveller François Pyrard, who was in India between 1601 and 1608. He writes :— “The city and fortress of Chaul differs from others (Damaun and Bassein), in being extremely rich and abounding in valuable goods, which merchants from all parts of India and the East come here to seek for. But the principal article is silks, of which there is so large a quantity as to supply both the markets of Goa and India, and are far nicer than those of China. In Goa it is highly appreciated and they make fine clothing of it, besides of the cotton stuff which is also woven here.”

Then our author goes on describing the two cities of Chaul in much the same way as other travellers before quoted have described them. He alludes especially to the state of peace in the country, and to the manufacture of lacquered articles in Upper Chaul. He states that the reigning Prince of Chaul is called *Melique* (Malik), and is a vassal of the Great Mogul. The Malik, he adds, has a large number of elephants. When he dines he sends for many handsome women, who sing and dance during the meal. Then some of them cut a piece of cloth called taffety into bits so minute that they have no other use than that of being carried away by the spectators, who stick them on to their breasts as if they were so many medals. When the spectacle is over, the king remains alone in his palace, his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the vanity and uncertainty of life, until he goes to sleep at last.*

In 1609 the Mahomedan Governor of Chaul sent out a fleet of 30 *padãos* to cruise against the Portuguese, whose power being on the wane no redress could be got from the Ahmadnagar government, notwithstanding the act being in contravention to the articles of the treaty. In 1611, again, the natives of Chaul introduced into the Portuguese city some Mahomedan outlaws from the neighbouring island of Caranja, who murdered the Portuguese captain of the fortress, Baltazar Rebello d'Almeida. His vacant place was, however, soon filled up by Fernando Sampaio da Cunha. In the meanwhile Nizâm-ul-Mulk, al-

* *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard, Nova Goa, 1862, vol. ii., pp. 227-228.*

though much troubled at home, did not think it desirable at this juncture to leave the Portuguese and their subjects unmolested, and, taking advantage of the rebellion, sent an army to take possession of Salsette and Bassein. His object was, however, defeated.

The year 1612 saw the Mogul before Chaul, as well as before Damaun and Bassein, with the intent to set fire to it, in revenge for the injury done by the Portuguese to his fleet near Surat. He besieged the town, desolated the surrounding country, and when peace was purchased by concessions and presents the arrangements for the defence gave once more to Chaul the best governor it ever had, one whose name has already been mentioned as a valorous and genial officer—one of those who are, says Lafitau, destined to do honour to the nation in which they are born,—Ruy Freire d'Andrade.

On taking possession of the governorship of Chaul vacated by Manuel d'Azevedo, who was appointed to a similar post at Diu, his active spirit being unable to remain idle, Ruy devoted his time and attention, in the absence of military enterprise, in which he was as skilful as intrepid, to the study of the native courts of Chaul and the adjoining countries, their manners and customs, and made the native princes, by his behaviour towards them, so attached to the Portuguese, that it is said that during his governorship more solid conquests were made by his suavity of manners and thorough understanding of the peculiarities and interests of the native population, together with a display of fine diplomatic tact in his intercourse with them, than by the force of arms. Two treaties of peace were, during this interval, made with the Mogul and Nizâm Shâh. The former was signed by two commissioners from their respective governments, and the latter brought to a favourable conclusion by the intervention of Adil Khân.*

Such a state of things was productive of tranquillity and peace, and of this we have evidence in the writings of travellers who during the first quarter of the 17th century visited Chaul, and have left us a record of their impressions.

Of these travellers Pietro della Valle comes first in the order of priority. He visited Chaul twice, in 1623 and 1625. His accounts of the two cities of Chaul are, however, too long to enter here. But we shall have to refer to him hereafter again.

Now we come to a period in which Chaul is in a state of rapid de-

* See *Chronista de Tissuary*, tomo iii., p. 269, and tome iv., p. 6.

cline. Still, instead of being despondent at the gradual decline so obvious to every one's eyes, the Chaulese continue raising buildings, which serve perhaps the purpose of disguising all appearance of imminent ruin.* They seem, indeed, to be supremely indifferent to the inevitable decay and dissolution which awaits misgoverned settlements, and which overtakes them almost unawares. This is partly accounted for by the fact that while the military spirit of the Portuguese at Chaul declined, the ecclesiastical power went on ever increasing, and the native converts they made gave to the government a support scarcely to be surpassed by any of their political transactions.

The middle and end of the seventeenth century, which were marked in Western India, as in some kingdoms of Europe, by revolutionary events of vast and lasting importance, could not pass over without drawing Chaul into their turmoil. During this period a new empire was founded by the genius of one man, who has not unaptly been compared to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar, although his rival Aurangzebe nicknamed him "the mountain rat." The conquests which in the 14th century the King of Delhi had made in the Deccan, subsequently divided among his lieutenants, who established themselves as independent rulers, were in the course of this century absorbed into the dominions of Śivaji. Welding together into a powerful nation the people, who seemed to have lost, if they ever had it before, all sense of nationality, and who, although sturdy and enthusiastic under a fit leader, had never had any systematic training, Śivaji, himself rising to the position of a powerful Eastern monarch, raised his native subjects to so high a condition as even the Portuguese converts, in spite of their various privileges, never dreamt of. His dominions grew eventually to such a height as to create an empire that forty years after its founder's death was extorting at the gates of Delhi, from the Great Mogul himself, grants of revenue and privileges, which, to use Sir Henry Lawrence's words, "not only confirmed them in their own possession, but authorized their inquisitorial interference in every province of the Deccan," and "where," adds Captain West, "the Marāṭhā had the right of interference, he soon gained the sovereignty."† They had, in fact, by the year 1758 fulfilled the prophecy of Śivaji "that they should water their horses in the Indus and in the Hooghly." This state of things, however efficient

* See Inscriptions further on.

† *Diary of the late Raja of Kolhāpur*, by Capt. E. West, Lond. 1872.

at the time, could not last long. Their acquisitions proved only delusive. A soldiery, naturally of a predatory type, brought under discipline by the influence of a great man, was soon broken up into a mob on the death of their leader and of a few of his wise successors. Both in the rise and fall of their power Chaul's destiny was intimately involved.

If I were to enumerate their series of attacks or plundering expeditions in and about Chaul, it would carry me far beyond the limits assigned to this sketch, but I shall allude to a few salient points on the way as we proceed on tracing the sequence of events.

In 1664, while Śivaji was meditating a blow against Surat, whither he went, it is said, in disguise, and remained three days gathering information and marking the opulent houses in that city, Chaul was startled by the formation of his camp in its vicinity, as if his designs were against it. But this was a stratagem, for a similar camp was also formed before Bassein, both made with the object of concealing his intentions against Surat.*

About this time the Portuguese had to deal with, besides the Marāthās, two rival European nations, who were by degrees trying to deprive them of their former conquests. The English, after capturing Ormuz in 1622, which place was one of the principal ports from which Chaul imported horses, whereby at least a show of trade was kept up there, had the island of Bombay ceded to them, whose rising prosperity was soon destined to eclipse Chaul for ever. It is not really in the nature of things that two cities of any great pretensions, even if under two powerful rival nations, should at the same time flourish in such proximity as Bombay and Chaul. The Dutch had on their side captured Cochin in 1663 and deprived Chaul of one of her best fellow-seaports; and when in the following year peace was concluded, the Portuguese abandoned their claim to the monopoly of the Eastern trade, which had for about a century and a half been achieved "by the enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity of the officers who had supreme command in India, and who have a title to be ranked with persons most eminent for virtues or abilities in any age or nation."† Mr. Nairne writes: "A comparison between their (Portuguese) exploits and settlements in a hundred years and those of

* Orme's *Historical Frag.*, Lond. 1805, p. 12.

† J. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, Lond. 1809, p. 150.

the English in the first hundred years after their coming to India is as much in favour of the Portuguese as any one could wish.”*

In 1667 Śivaji was in possession of the whole sea-coast from the river of Rājāpur to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of Bombay, excepting Chaul.† During this time the Nizām Shāhī dynasty had ceased to affect the course of history at Chaul. Even in its declining days, when the Abyssinian minister Malik Ambar was patching up that kingdom, the jurisdiction of the King of Ahmadnagar is said by Ferishta to have extended to within eight *kos* of Chaul.‡ This statement leads one to suppose that the ancient Mahomedan city and creek had by this time glided away into the hands of a separate governor. Malik Ambar died in 1626, and in 1636, or ten years after, the whole of the Koīkana dominions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom were ceded to the king of Bijāpur, and then taken by the Mogul. About thirty years after they were in the possession of Śivaji.

On the 18th October 1679 a petty naval fight took place off Chaul between Daulat Khān's fleet and the English grabs under Keigwin, the commander of the Bombay garrison. The English lost the grab called Dove, but the enemy's gallivats, amounting to fifty, were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Nagōṭna, until several of them were captured, some sunk, and others put to flight.§

About this time three famous travellers—an Englishman and two Frenchmen—refer to both the cities of Chaul. The first in chronological order is M. de Thevenot, who was at Chaul in January 1666. He refers to the Portuguese city thus :—“Le Port de Chaoul est de difficile entrée mais très seur, et à l'abri de toute sorte de gros tems. La ville est bonne et défendue par une forte citadelle qui est sur la cime d'une montagne, appelée par les Européens *il Morro di Ciaul*.”¶ Fryer speaks of the Mahomedan city in 1672 as a city utterly ruined by the troops of Śivaji; while of the Portuguese city mention will be made further on. Carré visited Chaul in the same year, from whence he went to Upper Chaul, where he says he was treated with much civility by Śivaji's officers, and having received his pass, which

* The *Konkan*, Bombay, 1875, p. 43.

† Orme's *Historical Fragments*, Lond. 1809, p. 22.

‡ Briggs, *ut supra*, pp. 117, 315.

§ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 80-81.

¶ *Les Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, 1727, vol. v., pp. 248-249.

carried him without hindrance to the city of Bijâpur, he arrived there in January 1673.* About the same time Ogilby, in his *English Atlas*, a work of some merit, although his pictures of the cities of the coast, like those of Faria and Lafitau, could never have been the least like them, describes at length the fortifications of Chaul, and gives the following description of the temperature and natural products of the place:—"The air at Chaul is more hot than cold: the soil thereabouts produces all things except raisins, nuts, and chestnuts. Oxen, cows, and horses are here in great numbers." This vagueness about the agricultural products of the country strikes one as something similar to that of Varthema, who refers to them in almost identical terms. Ogilby's work in five volumes was published about 1670.

In 1676 Moro Pant was the Subedâr of Śivaji in Upper Chaul, from which place he despatched a letter in the beginning of December, through an agent named Nârâyaṇ Shenvi, to the Bombay Government to settle payment of what remained due from Śivaji on Oxenden's agreement.

Besides the Marâthâs, the Portuguese of Chaul had another enemy in the neighbourhood, who continuously harassed and worried them. This was the well-known Sidi.† This individual, about the middle of December 1681, without the least provocation, sent a large number of his gallivats down to Chaul, and, passing the Portuguese fort without showing any offensive sign there, ravaged unceremoniously the adjacent country, and proceeded to assault the town of Upper Chaul, which belonged then to Sambhâji, but was unable to do so. On this sudden appearance of the Sidi in the Chaul waters, Sambhâji, anxious for the security of his town, sent forthwith messages to the Bombay Government and the Portuguese of Chaul threatening the former with invasion of the English territory of Bombay if they continued to admit the Sidi's fleet into their harbour, and to fortify the island of Elephanta, which would then have divided the command of the harbour. To the Portuguese at Chaul he wrote upbraiding them for suffering the descent of the Sidi in his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their fort to build a fortification

* La Haye's and J. C. Carré's Travels, quoted by Orme, *ut supra*, p. 173.

† Yet only a few years before, the Sidi had entered into an alliance with the Portuguese. See *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 1873, pp. 358 and 363. About the same year—1670—another treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Śivaji.—*Ibid.*

which should prevent the landing of the enemy in future. In case his demand was not complied with, he threatened to take possession of the island of Angediva, and thus enthrall the trade at Goa.*

The Portuguese, thus forewarned of the intention of Sambhâji to take possession of Angediva, put that fortress into a good position of defence. In the meanwhile Sambhâji, regardless, like his father, of the unsuitableness of the season, came down the Ghâts in June with 30,000 men, and from his own town of Upper Chaul invested the neighbouring citadel of Chaul, but could make no progress, owing to the discipline and fortifications of the Portuguese. The Portuguese Viceroy, in the meanwhile, as if to divert Sambhâji's attention, laid siege to his castle of Ponda; but Sambhâji, although he set off from Chaul with the reinforcement of 8,000 horse and 14,000 foot in order to raise the siege, did not discontinue his own against Chaul.† This siege was again assisted by a fleet of Sambhâji, which kept cruising about Nagôtnâ, Kenery, and Chaul, but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions.‡ This siege was at last raised, and the troops of Sambhâji then marched off and took possession of the island of Caranja on the 24th December 1683. In September of the following year the latter island, as well as the hills of Santa Cruz and Assari, was surprised and retaken by the Bassein fleet, and although Sambhâji came down the Ghâts soon after with 15,000 horse to Callian to ravage the Portuguese territory around, from Chaul northwards to Damaun, he did not succeed in capturing either Caranja or Chaul.§ Thus the Portuguese of Revadañda, although submissively waiting their doom from the host of Marâthâs in the neighbouring city of Chaul, showed still a bold front, either from that innate feeling of superiority which did not desert them in the last extremity, or from the peevishness of decrepit old age, of which we have abundant illustrations at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century in repeated quarrels with the Marâthâs, the Angria, the Sidî, and last, though not least, the English, as opportunities were afforded them, supremely regardless alike of the imminent decay undermining their whole fabric, which at last tumbled down in the tremendous catastrophe of 1739, and the growing power of their European rivals in the East.

* Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 109-111.

† *Chronista do Tissuary*, vol. i., pp. 124, 175.

‡ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 122-123.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Add to all these neighbouring enemies the powerful Mogul ; and the Portuguese, between the Marāthās, the Angria, and the Sidi on the one side, and the Mogul on the other, must have really had a hard time of it.

In 1694 Aurangzebe declared war against the Portuguese, and during this and the following year treated their subjects with such cruelty that numbers were obliged to take refuge in the forts of Damaun, Bassein, and Chaul. Peace was at last concluded, with a view to obtain cannon from the Portuguese for the reduction of the Marāthā forts.* At the same time the Portuguese burnt three of the Marāthā ships in the Rājāpur river, the largest of which is said to have carried 32 guns and more than 300 men.†

About this time Chaul was visited by a very trustworthy traveller, Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. He was in Chaul in February 1695, and refers to it as follows:—

“Tuesday the 22nd, after sailing nine miles further, we anchored opposite to the city and fortress of Chaul. It is seated on a plain, six miles from the sea,‡ on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry any ships up to the city. It is enclosed with good walls, and other works, and furnished with excellent cannon. A fort, called *El Morro*, secures the entrance of the harbour, being built by the Portuguese in the year 1520,§ on the hill, by their General *Sequeira*, with leave of the tyrant *Nizzamaluc*; || who granted it upon condition they should bring him over three hundred horses of Persia or Arabia, at reasonable rates, because of the scarcity of them there was in India, to serve him in his war against *Hidalcon*.”¶

Then our author goes on relating how Malik Eyâz tried to obstruct the building of the Portuguese fortress of Chaul, and how the building was raised, their attack repulsed, and the fleets of the enemy disabled. He concludes thus:—“Afterwards the Portuguese made themselves masters of the city with ease. Its territory does not extend above six miles in length. On the south it borders on *Savagi*, and on the

* Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, Bombay, 1873, p. 168.

† *O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. ii., p. 201.

‡ This calculation is rather exaggerated.

§ This error has been corrected elsewhere.

|| Nizamaluco, the Portuguese equivalent for Nizām-ul-Mulk.

¶ *Hidalcaô*, another Portuguese designation for Adil Khān.

north with another fort belonging to the *Sydi*.* He stayed only one day at Chaul, sailing on the 23rd to the north.

The next writer—the last as far as is known—who refers to Chaul before its fall, is Hamilton, who writes: “And two leagues to the south of *Culabee* (Colâba) is *Caul*, a town belonging to the Portuguese, whose river affords an harbour for small vessels. The town is fortified, and so is an island on the south side of the harbour, called *Chaul Moar*, which may be known five or six leagues off at sea, by a white church built on it. *Chaul* in former times was a noted place for trade, particularly for fine embroidered quilts; but now it is miserably poor.”†

On the fall of Bassein in 1739, Chaul was still in the hands of the Portuguese, but when the Marâthâs threatened to besiege Goa it was surrendered to them as a sort of compromise.‡ The Marâthâs gladly took it and ceased to trouble the Goa people, but the unfortunate remains of the Portuguese armies, which were marching from Bassein and Chaul to Goa after the rains, were attacked by Khem Sanvat on the way, and numbers of them miserably perished. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* asserts that Chaul was delivered to the English for surrender to the Marâthâs. As his description of the events that followed the fall of Bassein is circumstantial and interesting, I quote the following extract from him:—

“The Marâthâs, on being invited to propose their terms, showed none of that moderation which had astonished even their enemies at the capitulation of Bassein, but assumed the haughty tone of Oriental conquerors, and treated the prostrate Portuguese with indescribable contempt. At first they not only demanded the cession of Chaul, but also of Damaun, and insisted upon having assigned to them a portion of the customs at Goa, which they were to collect by stationing a guard at the port,—thus hoping to insert the thin end of the wedge by which they would eventually obtain the whole of the small, but most fertile, territory. Captain Inchbird, however, having been deputed by the Portuguese, with the consent of the English Government, to treat for them, obtained for them more favourable terms, and induced their scornful enemies to show some forbearance. On

* Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1732, vol. iv., pp. 200-201.

† A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, Lond. 1744, vol. ii., p. 243.

‡ *Eosquejo Historico de Goa*, Nova Gôa, 1858, p. 51.

the 14th of October 1740, articles of peace were signed on behalf of Bâji Râo, the Peshwâ, on the one side, and the Viceroy of Goa on the other. The Portuguese engaged to deliver up to the Marâthâs the forts of Chaul and Mahim, which were to be temporarily occupied by the English until the Marâthâs should have fulfilled their part of the conditions by withdrawing their forces from Salsette in the Goanese province and Bardez. A brief delay occurred, in consequence of the repugnance which the Portuguese priests of Chaul felt for any measure by which the possessions of Christians would be delivered to heathens, and they seditiously excited their people to resist the transfer. Their own envoy, perplexed by their obstinacy, admitted that he had discovered in them 'a malignant spirit,' and Inchbird, throwing aside all restraint, exclaimed in disgust, 'Surely such unheard-of villains and inconsiderate men are hardly to be met with!' However, this clerical opposition was hopeless from the first; in November Chaul was delivered by the English to the Marâthâs, and all parties expressed themselves satisfied with the honourable manner in which the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled."*

The treaty of the capitulation of Chaul was drawn at Pupâ between Bâlâji Bâji Râo and the Portuguese Commissary, Dom Francisco Baron de Galenflès. Two copies of the treaty, one in Marâthi and the other in Portuguese, were sent for his sanction to the Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, who was residing at the time in the territory of Goa. The former copy was despatched to its destination by the English General, Stephen Law, of the Bombay garrison. His letter accompanying it is dated the 25th April 1741. The treaty consists of 14 chapters. The 11th chapter of the Portuguese copy states:—"The city and *Môrro* of Chaul shall be delivered over to the Marâthâ, with all the cannon and ammunition belonging to it. The gates of the city shall be garrisoned by English troops until the Marâthâ has evacuated the provinces of Salsette and Bardez (Goa). In the meanwhile the Marâthâ troops shall remain encamped at St. Joâo (St. John's Fields), one of the quarters of the city of Chaul. On receiving intelligence that the Marâthâ has withdrawn from the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, the English garrison will deliver over to the Marâthâ the city and *Môrro* of Chaul, after making a list, with the assistance of a Marâthâ clerk, of all the cannon, powder and balls, on their delivery to them."

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. iv., p. 89.

The 3rd chapter of the Marāṭhī copy is as follows:—"The Portuguese shall cease their hostilities against the jurisdiction of Bassein, Salsette, Damaun, Belâpur, Uran (Caranja), Revadaṇḍa (Chaul), and Corlâ (Môrro). The same will be observed by us (Marāṭhās) in the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, as well as in the Pragaṇâ Nahor, which shall be delivered over to Damaun, which latter place we will allow the Portuguese to possess as heretofore, without our ever molesting, disturbing, or showing any hostility towards them."

One chapter refers to the liberty allowed to the residents of the city of Chaul to remain in or quit the place with all the objects belonging to them, and the other to the assistance that will be afforded to the Portuguese in their contests with the Angria. Another clause binds the Marāṭhās to defend the Portuguese when provoked to a fight by Bounsulo (Bhonslê), and *vice versâ*.

This treaty was at last, after obtaining the approval of the Goa Government, signed at Puṇâ by Dom Francisco Baraõ Galenflês on the part of the Portuguese Viceroi, Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, and Captain Inchbird on that of the English General, Stephen Law.*

The inhabitants of Chaul who professed the Catholic religion, and had means to do so, emigrated in successive bands to Goa, and those who had no means still remain (their descendants, of course) in the neighbourhood of the fort, living in the miserable hovels nestled in deep and beautiful palm-groves round Kôrlê and Revadaṇḍa.

Chaul fallen into the hands of the Marāṭhās did not remain long in their possession. Amidst constant quarrels among themselves, an attempt was made in 1775, by an adventurous Frenchman named Chevalier Paillebot de Saint-Lubin, who landed at Chaul from a French ship and went to Puṇâ pretending to be an envoy from the Court of France, to negotiate for the surrender of Chaul and Revadaṇḍa or Lower Chaul, but he was discovered to be an impostor and his object defeated.† But even after the detection of St. Lubin the question of the cession of these ports to France was again under discussion in 1786, as was, some time in the 18th century, that of the cession of Bassein to the Dutch,

* *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, 1874, pp. 172 and 176.

† Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, *ut supra*, p. 399; and Wilks' *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, vol. ii., pp. 228-229. On the French side see Langlès' *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l'Hindoustan*, Paris, 1821, vol. i., p. 255, and Dubois de Jancigny's *Inde*, Paris, 1845, pp. 442-443.

who greatly wished to establish a factory there. These facts point to both these rival nations after the fall of the Portuguese trying to settle themselves near Bombay,—as desirous to share, perhaps, in the prosperous trade the English were carrying on in their settlement.

In December 1802 the Peshwâ Bâji Râo, on the army of Holkar pursuing him, put into Chaul, where he stayed some days and then embarked for Bassein. On his overthrow at last in 1818, Chaul and the districts around passed over to the British, in whose possession we find them at the present time.

The present condition of Chaul is that of an obscure little village, included in the tâlukâ Alibâg of the Colâba collectorate. The population consists principally of Bhaṇḍârîs, Parabûs, Bene-Israels, Musalmâns, and native Christians. The Bhaṇḍârîs often had their services recorded in the official documents of the Portuguese of Chaul as very praiseworthy in their contests with the Marâṭhâs and others. Some of the testimonials given them by the Captains of the Fort are still in the possession of their descendants. The Parabûs appear to have settled in the locality from a very remote time, and had some share in its government. They must have been characterized by some local peculiarity, for a colony of theirs having settled in Bombay in a lane parallel to the main road of Kâlbâdevî has been a sufficient *raison d'être* to designate that locality "*Chaul Vâḍi*," and their whole tribe with the patronymic of *Chaulkar*.* The Bene-Israels have settled in Chaul and its vicinity from time immemorial, while the Koṅkaṇi Musalmâns, from their distinctly Arab physiognomy, seem to be descended from Mahomedan settlers in Saimûr, referred to by Maśûḍi and other travellers of the Middle Ages.

The class of the native Christians is in all respects the poorest of all. I had occasion to meet only two of them. They had nothing striking about them ethnologically, except what I have already written on the native Christians of Bassein elsewhere; but pathologically they were excellent specimens.

Thus far the historical portion of my Notes. The facts relating to the Portuguese period from the day the factory of Chaul was erected—about the beginning of the sixteenth century—to its cession to the Marâṭhâs in the middle of the eighteenth, are drawn up from so large

* See जातिभेद विवेकसार, p. 49.

a number of chronicles and documents, both printed and manuscript, that it would but encumber the text with references and be a work of supererogation to cite them after each event recorded. I have, therefore, beyond the chief authorities mentioned in the body of the work and in occasional footnotes, reserved for the end to refer in brief to the various sources from which I have culled my historical information, in accordance with the division of time during which my authorities flourished, so as to obtain all the important and accurate details from a contemporaneous writing.

From the year 1448 to 1550 my authorities have been Barros' *Decadas*, Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*, Felner's *Subsidios para a Historia*, &c. These have been supplemented by the works of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, whose narrative ends at the first siege of Diu in 1538, and of Maffei, who stops his work at the death of Dom João III. in 1557.

From 1550 to 1640 I have followed Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, the hitherto published *Decadas* of Antonio Bocarro, and Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa*—the latter written in Castilian, from which edition of 1674 I have translated select extracts and compared them with the translation of Captain Stevens reprinted in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*.

These authorities have again been supported by consulting the excellent compilations of Lafitau and *Os Portuguezes*, as well as *Chronicas*, *Vidas*, *Historias*, and *Archivos*; such as *Historia das Inquisições*, *Chronica Serafica*, *Vida de D. João de Castro*, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, &c. All these authorities, however, have, with few exceptions, a style so replete with redundancies and exaggerations, that to prune here and retrench there has been not the least difficult part of my work.

In some places where more elucidation was desirable, amplification has been substituted for curtailing.

From 1640 downwards my chief authorities are Transactions and Journals of learned Societies of Portugal and other countries, too numerous to mention here. I must, however, particularize the *Chronista de Tissuary*, *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, and *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*.

The accounts of Chaul by travellers at various times, which are laid under contribution, have been referred to the original sources at their respective places.

One word more. As the chroniclers generally differ much in narrating events, some recording facts which others entirely omit, I have dovetailed them together, and formed them into as continued and complete a narrative as possible, without allowing a single event of the least historical importance to Chaul to escape.

Passing on now to describe the Antiquities of Chaul, we will begin with its fortifications. The Fort, whose circuit occupies about one mile and a half, is a fifteen-sided figure, its angles being formed by eleven bastions abutting in a semicircular outline from the walls, and four redoubts, which contain rooms large enough to hold a guard of twenty-five soldiers. Each of the bastions is, with the exception of one named Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross, dedicated to a saint, and is named after him—Sam Pedro, Sam Paulo, Sam Thiago, Sam Jacintho, Sam Luis, Sam Diniz, Sam Francisco, Sam Domingos, Sam José, and Sam Jeronimo. The walls are of varying height, being from twenty-five to thirty feet on the land, and from twenty to twenty-five on the sea side; the disparity is owing to the land side being more exposed to the enemy's attacks than the other. The walls have generally little appearance of strength, although possessing in some places the support of ramparts and terraces on the inner side, which seem to be well devised for the purposes of both attack and defence. The grim old crenellated battlements and embrasures of bulwarks, on which were mounted as late as 1728 fifty-eight pieces of cannon ranging from three-pounders to forty-pounders, or from the diminutive swivels to huge mortars and basilisks, are now in a dilapidated state, the only relics of their former greatness being a few rusty old pieces of ordnance lying about in utter neglect on the ramparts; while the walls themselves bear to the present day, besides signs of the ravages of time, the marks of having withstood the effects of a raking fire from outside. Several of the guns, which were once in considerable number, were carried away by Dom Martim Affonso to Malacca, and although Antonio Bocarro in 1634 recommended to have them replaced, it appears that this advice was not heeded at all. In 1728, about a century afterwards, the factor of Bassein, André Ribeiro Coutinho, was sent by the Government to inspect and report on the condition of the fort, and his recommendations to remedy innumerable defects about it seem also to have met with a similar fate.* The remaining guns were mostly taken

† *Chronista de Tisuary*, Nova Gôa, 1866, vol. I, pp. 35 and 59; and also vol. iv., pp. 17 *et seqq.*

possession of by the Maráthās on their occupation of Chaul, who carried them away for better use elsewhere, leaving behind only those that were found unserviceable.

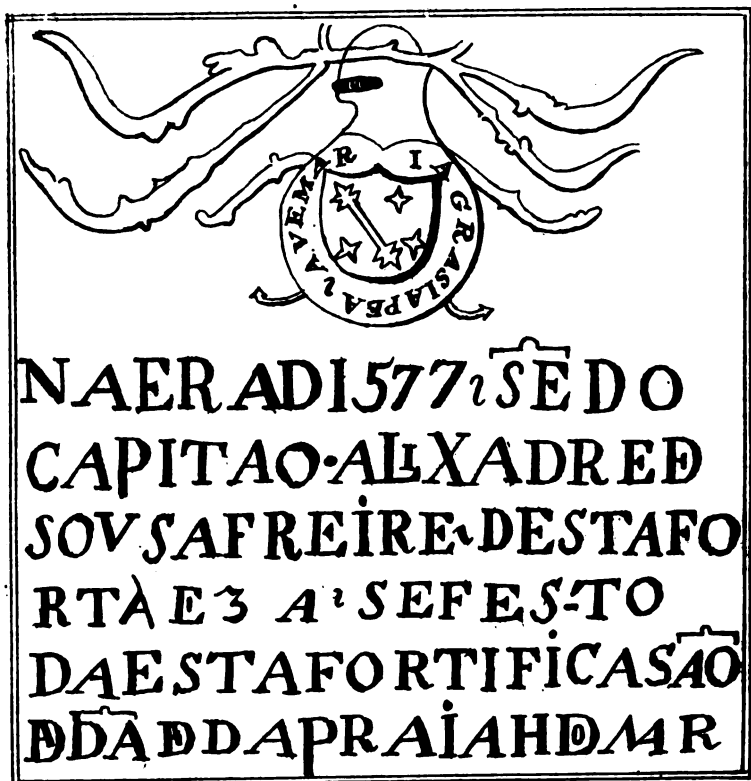
The same factor, who otherwise eulogizes the fort as "the most ancient, most celebrated, and most estimable fort of Chaul, which having been rebuilt by modern rules, and all the military usages punctually observed by the garrison, is now become the most important of all the other forts," finds fault with several parts of the fortifications, and recommends especially to have the bastions Sam Jacinto and Sam Luis, with the intervening wall, repaired; the adjoining moat, which was being rapidly filled with sand, dug up; and a stockade planted on the sea side to oppose the tidal wave, which was undermining their foundations. The changes which Nature has since wrought are really remarkable. Places where the sea surf was then but slowly advancing have since been completely encroached upon; the wall breached at five to seven different points along the beach; and the tidal current placidly enters into the fort and washes away the foot of the ruins of the monasteries within, which are in imminent risk of falling. A few of the bastions and a large portion of the wall have within the last twenty years tumbled down, and in a few years more the remaining portion facing the sea will perhaps be hardly visible. The sands that were once filling up the ditch have now formed a hillock of their own, so that the enemy, if there be one, would require no scaling at all. Stepping up the sands would easily place him at the top of the wall. On its inner side this part of the wall is surrounded by a small bamboo thicket, which probably dates its origin from the Portuguese period, and was devised, it would appear, as an outwork, to have a counteracting influence against the enemy using the encroaching sands as ladders for scaling.

The fort of Chaul has, like several others on the coast, two gateways, viz. a 'Porta do Mar' and a 'Porta da Terra,' or the sea and the land gateway; the former having, besides, a thin wall a few paces in front to screen it from the river-side, and the latter, which bears also the name of 'Porta de Casados,' or 'married men's gate,' having the remains of a drawbridge over the ditch, which is now completely filled up with sand, although formerly it was broad and deep, encompassing the whole wall towards the land, and could be flooded at pleasure. Each of these gateways consists of two gates, viz. interior and exterior.

The southern gateway is situated on the northern margin of the Chaul creek, where is also the *bandar*. The first object that strikes a tourist on landing here is an enormous Indian fig tree (*Ficus indica*), which has nothing unusual about it except its roots displacing and hiding some stepping-stones which have the appearance of having belonged to a pier which once led the way from the landing-place to the gateway of the fort. It appears that a jetty formerly stretched as far as the water's edge, on which, according to the testimony of Della Valle, Careri, and others, people used to disembark by means of a wooden plank thrown as a bridge from their galleys. The tree appears also to be an ancient one; for Lafitau, in his fantastic picture of the fort of Chaul, has not, apparently, forgotten to stick up just in the foreground a big tree, which is probably meant to represent the present Indian fig tree.

The southern gateway has now the thin wall to its right-hand side, which once screened it completely from the river view, partly knocked down. A slab 4 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by 2 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, containing the figure of a warrior in high relief in military uniform, with the insignia of the Order of Christ and with a helmet, is let into the remaining outer part of the wall, and was intended, it is believed, to represent one of the kings of Portugal, with the scarcely discernible legend of six letters in two lines O I O A and T O at the foot—the remains, perhaps, of the name of King Dom Joaõ or Dom Sebastião, during whose unhappy reign this wall was built. The figure is now converted by the devout villager into the idol of Khandobā, his face besmeared with oil, and the head daubed over with a thick coating of red paint. An altar to the *tulsi* is raised just in front of it, which receives the daily offerings of flowers and rice, and shares them with the warrior's figure. That the figure of one of the Kings of Portugal, who in days gone by made every exertion in their power and spent millions from their treasury to abolish idolatry in India, should now minister to the superstitious propensities of the descendants of their former subjects, is a very humiliating reflection indeed. There is one consoling trait in this whole transaction, however, Vandalism though it may appear to the sober imagination of an antiquarian: some conscientious iconoclast has clearly knocked off the hands, ears, and nose of the saintly warrior, and made the facial surface as smooth as a slab of marble. So strong was the stigma attached to representations of living objects by the professors of Islām, that the most disreputable prince among the Mahomedans felt a scruple

A



Translation.

In the year 1577 Alexandre de Souza Freire being Captain of this Fort, the whole of this fortification along the beach was built.

of conscience in showing even a tacit acquiescence in the naturally ignorant display of the religious zeal of the Hindus. Though politically commendable, their indifference towards such an object would be represented by their sanctimony as the mortal sin of encouraging idolatry ; hence this state of intolerance of these otherwise uncontrite individuals against innocuous images, resulting in the end in such irrational practices as the hideous disfigurement of the warrior-sculpture at Chaul.

The greater part of this outer wall is now demolished, only a small portion with a little oblong window above a well of water, and an open passage towards the west with the doorposts and lintel rapidly crumbling away, remaining.

The exterior southern gateway is built of black basalt, and is surmounted by a crown and armorial bearings carved in the same stone, but now almost entirely overgrown with rank vegetation. It is still in a fair state of preservation, although devoid of the massive teak gates cased with iron bars and spikes which once existed there.

On entering the gate the visitor finds himself in a little square area walled in on all sides except at the two gates. To the right is a stone 2 feet 3½ inches long by 2 feet and 2 inches broad, let into a hole, from which it is half-loose. The inscription on it, with an artistic attempt at heraldic ornamentation consisting of three stars and a mace—possibly a coat-of-arms of the Captain of the fort at the time this wall was built—and the motto of *Ave Maria, gratiâ plena*, slovenly carved around, shows plainly enough that there is not only no excellence of epigraphic art to be expected in this, as in other inscriptions of Chaul, but that they even fall far short in complying with the ordinary rules of caligraphy, especially in their absolute want of regard for the sense of the clause or sentence.

It may perhaps be necessary to mention that this, as every other of the inscriptions of Chaul, is written in Portuguese.

Here is a faithful copy of the inscription, which, like several others, was made by Mr. Hearn (see plate A).

Surmounting the interior gateway is observed the well-known D. Manuel's terrestrial globe to the left, three arrows in a sheaf to the right, and the Portuguese royal coat-of-arms in the middle, the whole placed under a Maltese cross of the Order of Christ. Each of these emblems is about 2 feet long by 2½ broad, and the circles about 2 feet in diameter. The stones are mouldering to pieces, and being

covered by vegetation are not so distinguishable now as when seen and described by Mr. Hearn, in 1954. The globe denotes power, the broad belt which encircles it being intended to represent the conquests and discoveries of the Portuguese throughout the world, and the three arrows tied together peace, which the Portuguese of Chaul had, before the building of this part of the fortifications, uninterruptedly enjoyed for thirty long years, which was an unusual occurrence in those troublous times. To the left are the remains of a staircase which once led, it appears, to the story above, which is now without both floor and roof.

On the opposite side of this gate are two other slabs 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, with inscriptions. One is towards the east (see plate B), and the other towards the west (see plate C). On the latter side a rampart leads to a terrace, where are found some old rusty cannon sheltering many a venomous reptile.

Having crossed the gates, the tourist has before him a scene which may be equalled, but not surpassed, by any of the ruined cities of the Portuguese on the coast, except the old city of Goa. A pretty large town surrounded on all sides, save where the sea has made some ugly breaches, by a high wall, regular though narrow unpaved streets, and huts of bamboo plastered with mud or cowdung and clay, and covered with a roof of palm-leaves and straw, ensconced in deep groves of trees, where many a carved stone and painted wood that once belonged to the Portuguese churches and monasteries is seen in grotesque patchwork. The natives of Chaul, like the modern Goanese and the mediæval Greeks and Romans, have found it cheaper to dig and carry away cut stones than to quarry them; but, unlike the inhabitants of the Eternal City of the day, they will never learn to have a grand object in preserving them.

At Chaul the material interests seem to have prevailed over the scientific, or the utilitarian to have got the upper hand of the artistic; for on no other ground could the presence there of the broken fragments of dispersed masonry be accounted for, as well as the heads of the little wooden cherubim with squint eyes, flushed cheeks, and elaborately curled wigs, which were once to be found in profusion in almost every village and hamlet, as they are still in some. All these things can suggest to the passing traveller no just estimate of the general strength and symmetry of the edifices wherein these fragments once

B

ESTAPORTA
COARDANS
DOR'OVEIF
SVA

Translation.

*This gate is under the protection of our Lady of Dolours
N.B. It admits of no other translation, mutilated as it is.*

C

NAERADE
1638 SERE

strength and symmetry of the edifices wherein these fragments once

occupied not only a definite though subordinate place, but some of which must have doubtless had assigned them a distinguished place in the Roman Catholic altars of Chaul. The villagers' utilitarianism is displayed, moreover, in some places in so debasing a form as to make the wall of a church or monastery serve the same purpose for his own snug little square hovel, where three walls are built of mud, and the fourth is part of a convent.

One does not meet at Chaul the indications of that power and influence which is conferred on a city by years of prestige and tradition; for Lower Chaul is, not unlike Bombay, a modern creation. It was first a low swampy ground reclaimed and converted into a town, and as such it soon took a high rank among the other numerous settlements on the coast. Its ruins, as the earliest Christian ruins, however, deserve special mention. They consist mostly of roofless churches and convents, and stately mansions of noblemen and merchants, embowered amidst pleasant gardens, now encumbered with the *débris* of fallen edifices, and overgrown with wild vegetation; lofty steeples soaring high in the sky, with arched belfries which once contained bells that sounded many a merry peal, now mute for ever—nay, the abode of the ominous owl, whose discordant screech simply adds to the desolation of the place. All these things have a melancholy interest of their own, which will make, I hope, the ruins of Chaul, for many a year to come, before they are quite swept off the earth's surface, a place worthy of a visit from Bombay excursionists, a class daily increasing in number.

A little active imagination will not fail to bring life back again into this ruined scene of the former power and glory of the Portuguese, where are still to be found the relics of their past heroism and memorials of their dominion—now, alas, irrevocably passed away!—and of their enterprises of piety and laudable zeal for the spread of Christianity, which they prosecuted with all mediæval enthusiasm. It would be easy, perhaps, to trace the footsteps of those who have, it seems, but lately deserted it; to recall for a moment the ancient aspect of the city; to reclothe the altars and walls of churches with their usual lively drapery, as they stood before the devastations caused as much by the sacrilegious Marâthâs as by the leaden hand of Time; to fill again the desolate naves and aisles with the sound of the grand Gregorian chant; and to impart to it that historical interest which, more than architecture itself, strikes the mind of the beholder with admiration and awe. I have often, while gazing on these ruins, felt

the necessity and fancied that the application of the words of Mr. Dyer on Pompeii to Chaul—to compare for a moment great things with small—would not be entirely inappropriate. “If the romantic fictions of the Middle Ages,” says that writer, “could be realized, which tell of mirrors framed with magic art to represent what had formerly passed or was passing in distant parts of the earth, the happy discoverer might soon make his fortune in this age of exhibition.” *

Chaul, long before Bassein rose to be “the capital of the North,” was the principal entrepôt of trade of the Portuguese in this part of India, as well as their chief naval station and arsenal. It was also a place from whence numerous missionary expeditions started almost every year, and was visited by many celebrated generals and saints, notably Affonço d’Albuquerque on his way to Aden, and St. Francis Xavier *en route* to Bassein, and whose presence more than once hallowed its soil. I have already said enough of the prolonged sieges, naval encounters, and other actions, in which, though engaged with hordes of the enemy who tried their best to crush it, the civic honour and the military reputation of Chaul until its ultimate downfall remained unsullied. A settlement so famous in the Portuguese annals could not easily escape the patriotic mind of the author of the great national epic, who in several stanzas refers to it as connected with only those events or thrilling episodes which display the heroic side of his countrymen’s nature and happened during his lifetime. He has thus immortalized the sad occurrence of the death of Dom Lourenço d’Almeida at Chaul, and the exploits of Heitor da Sylveira in the great naval engagement which took place in its neighbourhood during the governorship of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, in the two following stanzas :—

† XXIX.

Mas de Deos a escondida providencia,
(Que elle só sabe o bem de que se serve)
O porá onde esforço nem prudencia
Poderá haver, que a vida lhe reserve.

* T. H. Dyer’s *Pompeii*, Lond. 1867, p. 2.

† XXIX.

But God’s hidden prudence known alone
To Himself for His wise purposes intended,
Shall place him where no strength or prudence of his own
Shall avail, his life to save, doomed to be ended.

- * Em Chaul, onde em sangue e resistencia
 O mar todo com fogo e ferro ferve,
 Lhe faraõ que com vida se não saia
 As armadas d'Egypto e de Cambaia.

LX.

E não menor de Dio a fera frota,
 Que Chaul temerá de grande e ousada,
 Fará co' a vista só perdida e rota
 Por Heitor da Sylveira, e destroçada :
 Por Heitor Portuguez, de quem se nota,
 Que na costa Cambaia sempre armada
 Será aos Guzerates tanto dano,
 Quanto ja foi aos Gregos o Troiano.

Luiz de Camoens' *Lusiadas*, Canto X.

Now groping among the ruins, where there is still enough, in spite of what the Vandalism and cupidity of the natives could do to remove them, to repay for the trouble of the search, it is impossible, notwithstanding, to resist the first impulse of indignation at the culpable neglect with which the ruins appear to have been formerly treated, and at the havoc wrought by the natives, more so than by the destructive action of the weather or the prolific *pípál* tree. The display of bad taste, moreover, in daubing with red ochre and oil every striking piece of sculpture or masonry that pervades the whole desolate city, is really painful to behold.

Going now along a circuitous street flanked by low fence-walls of cocoanut gardens, and encumbered here and there with *débris* of ruined

-
- * In Chaul, where under fire and blood shall Ocean groan,
 And boil beneath two powerful armadas blended,
 Of Egypt and Cambaya, in desperate strife ;
 Fighting while able, shall the hero lose his life.

LX.

And not the less to Dio shall the fierce fleet,
 Which Chaul shall also fear as bold and grand,
 Do by its sole appearance, when these are beat
 By Hector da Sylveira, vanquished out of hand :
 The Portuguese Hector who must yet prove so great
 Along the Cambayan coast, where he shall plan
 As much mischief to the Guzerats he shall seek,
 As the Trojan formerly wrought unto the Greek.

—*The Lusiad*,

Translated by Lieut.-Col. Livingstone Mitchell, Kt., D.C.L., Lond. 1854.

buildings, a street that in its outline much resembles the tortuous course of the Chaul creek as it meanders through the extensive valley fringed with cocoanut trees and other palms, one is led at last to the eastern or land gate. Half-way between the two gates, where the street approaches the wall, a breach in an arched door about ten feet wide has been effected, through which the traffic from the *bandar* passes in a curved line to the north-eastern part of the district.

The land gateway, like its sea counterpart, has two doors, interior and exterior. The latter is half buried in sand, leaving the lintel still visible, where a crown and a few other royal emblems carved in *alto-relievo*, with an oblong vacant space for the insertion of an inscriptional stone, is observed. The inscription has disappeared; but it may be identical with the one discovered by Mr. Hearn in 1854 in the Agent's bungalow at Colaba, whither it had been carried from Revadanda some eight years before, and which is 2 feet 2½ inches long by 2 feet 6 inches broad, broken horizontally into two unequal parts. The stone eventually found its way to the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it is now lying. (See plate D.)

In the month of May 1868 a translation of this inscription by the Rev. Joseph Poli, S.J., was read at the monthly meeting of the Society. It runs thus:—

“This work was made during (in the lapse of) the year 1636 (5?)... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of *Chaul*” (here the Father adds a footnote stating that *Chaul* is at Mahim close to the bridge) “Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”*

This translation, as was to be expected, was found fault with by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Chief Secretary to the Goa Government, who sent his own translation as follows:—“This work was made at the end of the year 1635..... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of Chaul, Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”

The above translation was accompanied with a note correcting the misstatement made by the Jesuit Father Poli, thus:—“*Chaul* is not a place at Mahim close to the bridge, but is situated on the coast 23

* *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. xlvii.

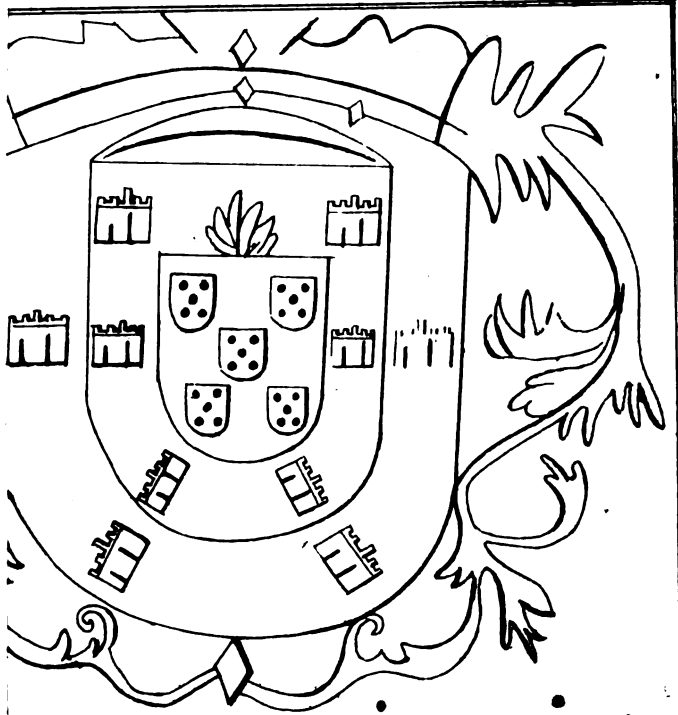
ESTA OBR
EDO AN N
NC I PO DE

ODESTA F
AV LIO A O
LAS COESE
ROEI RODI
RIOZOP^E S
VIER DACC

*This work was done at the
Thobar de Velasco being Captain of
city the glorious Father St. Fran*

DOCAPI TAO
 A. ECHAVLAN
 IDALSO DA =
 DS S^P POR O =
 M^o S^o R. FRANS^o
 CATRO REI E
 DIAP^A LEVN =
 ICAO CHAMDA
 AOS 25 DEM =
 RA A IMA. O

*or of this Fortress of Chaul Antonio
 c His Majesty, whom God may always
 Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro,
 v, this fortification, named N. S. da
 March of the abovementioned year*



DOVRDAINDIA
 DETAVOR·CON
 EAVOR:M^{PO}I^{OM}
 KODDITO

miles south of Bombay, and has been a remarkable town and port in the time of the Portuguese.”*

A round tower in the neighbourhood of the eastern gateway also bears an inscription, surmounted, as usual, by a coat-of-arms. It is cut out in the most confused manner, which makes the translation of it, in part at least, mere guess-work. (See plate E.)

This tower has four embrasures, and rooms for a guard of about twenty-five soldiers. From the top of this fortification the Portuguese cannon could sweep the whole plain outside the walls.

Another inscription, 2 feet long by 1 foot 9 inches broad, bearing a cross at the top, on the same side of the fort, refers to that part of the wall which was known by the name of N. S. da Conceição. It is the most recent of all, and withal the worst engraved. The decline of the power of the Portuguese in India seems now to be reflected even in their lamentable decay in epigraphy, which had otherwise never risen to any high degree of perfection. This stone was some years ago removed to the house of the medical officer of Alibâg, and faithfully copied by Mr. Hearn. (See plate F.)

Besides these, all the towers and bastions of the fort have the names of the saints, to whom they are dedicated, inscribed on them, although they have now become almost illegible. Outside the wall landwards there was a fortified camp, remains of which are still visible. It was named *O Campo de Sam Joã*, or “the Camp of St. John.” It was occupied by the Marâthâ troops before they got possession of the forts of Chaul and the *Mórro*, and was garrisoned and equipped with 30 cannon of from 2 to 40 pounders when inspected in 1728 by the above-mentioned factor of Bassein.† To the garrison of Chaul I shall have to refer hereafter, but in the meanwhile we will describe the adjacent fort of the *Mórro*, or the Kôrlê hill.

The fort of Kôrlê, both in its plan and works, is entirely different from that of any other fort on the coast. It has no traces of Marâthâ work in it, nor is it built quite after the Portuguese model. I have already referred to its general outline, and the battle that was fought for its conquest.‡ It appears to have been rebuilt on the

* *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, pp. lv.-lvi., and *Chronista ds Tissuary*, vol. iii., p. 165.

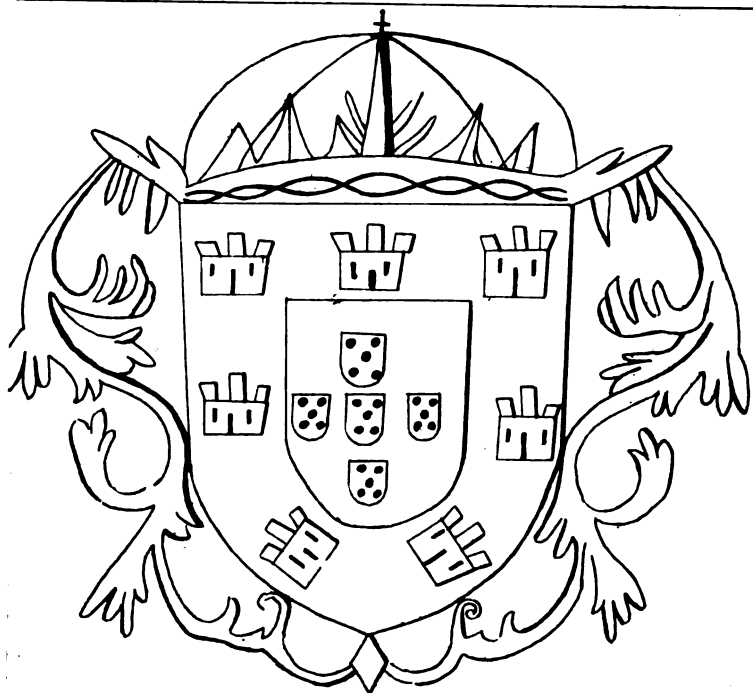
† *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. i., *ut supra*.

‡ See Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, vol. xiii., pp. 165 *et seqq.* See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 181, and Mr. Nairne's *Konkan*, p. 61.

Musalmân plan after the Portuguese had destroyed the first fortress. It is, though strong, of no great size or height compared with many hill-forts, and derives certainly its whole importance from its position. Nor could it possibly have held the garrison described by some of the chroniclers at any time, although a considerable auxiliary force could have lain outside it, as stated by Diogo do Couto and others. It is nevertheless a very striking monument of the Portuguese, and unlike anything else in the district.

The fort stands on a narrow ridge of the rock which stretches across the mouth of the river opposite to the fort of Chaul, and is completely surrounded by a strong wall. The Water Battery, named Santa Cruz, lies lowest of all the works, and vessels of over fifty tons must enter the river almost within pistol-shot of it. Inside the wall there are two other walls crossing the ridge at the top, each being protected by towers and bastions, and dividing the whole virtually into three different fortresses. The bastions are seven in number, and, like those of Chaul, were dedicated to saints, whose names engraved on them are still faintly visible. The names of Sam Thiago, Sam Francisco Xavier, Sam Pedro, and Sam Felipe, over both the bastions as well as gateways, are still legible, others being entirely worn out. There is, besides, a bastion about the centre, with a parapet all round; this, being the highest, was named by the Portuguese *baluarte cavalleiro*. On the north side the hill slopes gently down to the water's edge, and this slope, being enclosed, like the rest of the rock, by the fortified wall, forms a broadway, which is also crossed by walls and bastions, and ends at the bottom in a wide level space. Here were the quarters of the garrison of the Cuirass, or Water Battery, above noticed. On the most prominent point of the hill stood a large cross, and there are still existing in the highest part of the fort, close to the ruins of a magazine, the remains of a chapel, which in 1634 had only the chancel of stone and mortar, the nave being built of bamboo mats and palm-leaves, and the roof thatched with straw, while that of the chancel was tiled. It appears that, later on, the whole of the chapel was built of stone, the walls of which are still standing, although now entirely roofless, and the sacred precincts converted into a cattle-pen. There are, besides, the ruins of a large rain-water cistern, which, according to Diogo do Couto, dates from the Mahomedan period.

The following was the garrison of the fort of the *Mórro*, with their corresponding military pay :—



.ECASTELOMANDOVEAZER
 ZORIDAINDIADEFELIPHE
 SEDNOVBROE1646ANOS9
 NDCAPITAONECHAVLFE

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| One captain..... | 60,000 reís a year.* |
| One constable | 50,000 do. |
| Fifty soldiers, who were altogether paid... | 2,772 xerafins.† |
| Ten do. who had only provisions, amounting to | 288 „ |

A chaplain, or a priest, who used to be supplied by the neighbouring city of Chaul, to perform mass in the chapel of the *Mórro* every Sunday and holyday, had five *larins*‡ for each mass. The garrison had besides at their service a passage rowing-boat equipped with seven rowers, including the *muccadam*, each rower being paid at the rate of five *larins* and a maund of rice a month, the *muccadam* having double the amount of both money and rice. The hire of the passage-boat was three xerafins a month. Then the cost of maintenance of the *Mórro* fort, excluding the expense of ammunition and provisions, repairs and improvements, and masses said in its chapel for the souls of those who had died in the fort, amounted to 3,426 xerafins, 3 tangas, and 20 reís a year.

Of inscriptions in the fort of the *Mórro* there are only three remaining. One is placed over a doorway in the centre and highest part of the fort, about 400 feet above the sea-level. (See plate G.)

The armorial bearings at the top of the above inscription consist of the Portuguese *quinas* in the centre and seven castles around, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross upon a disproportionately long pedestal.

There are two other inscriptions in this fort: one is situated over the principal entrance, and the other is over an altar in the chapel before described; but both are worn away and illegible, and even the process of *estampage* or rubbing would not, I believe, be as successful as the eye has been.

The fort of Kôrlê is still in a perfect state of preservation, with the exception of an outer wall on the eastern slope, which has almost disappeared. Its situation on a hill is, however, so favourable to its preservation that the fort, it is presumed, will probably be standing quite perfect when not a vestige of Chaul or Revadaṇḍa is remaining, owing to the encroachments of the sea, and other causes before adverted to.

* One thousand reís are equivalent to rupees two, annas two, and pies four.

† A *xerafim* is equal to about half a rupee; so is a *pardao*.

‡ Each *larim* was worth ninety reís.

There is another remarkable change in this fort which remains to be noticed, although in no way affecting its integrity and preservation. The names of Christian saints, after whom the bastions were named, have all been changed into Marāṭhā names. The last Marāṭhā commandant of the fort, a Wanjāri by caste, who died a few years ago, must, like his predecessor, have wrought this nationalization of Portuguese names. A very large gun belonging to this fort is said to have been given as a present by the English Government to the Habshi of Jinjīrā, from the Pusanti Burj, or South-East Bastion. The Pâtīl family of Kôrlê still worship the remaining guns once a year, as they worship every material and mortal thing there, from the red-ochred idol to the bat-haunted cavern.

Returning once more to the ruins of Chaul, the first object to attract one's attention is the gateway which leads to the stately enclosure, half palace half fortress, which was the house of the captain of the fort, one of its apartments being set aside for the *tronco*, or jail. This was the first building constructed in Chaul, and is often named 'the Chaul Castle.' It was first erected as a factory in 1516, and when fortified in 1521 was set apart for the captain's residence, the factor being lodged in a private house rented by the Government specially for that purpose. The gateway has the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul in two conspicuous niches on either side over the entrance, and the royal arms of Portugal and the Maltese cross in the middle, carved in alto-relievo, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross. The whole façade is ornamented with designs of more or less artistic merit, and is flanked by two little obelisks on the sides. The figures of the saints have been sadly injured either by rough weather or by still rougher natives, and in a few years more there will, perhaps, remain no traces of them.

The garrison at the fort of Chaul varied constantly, in accordance with the exigencies of war and peace. In 1728 it consisted of three companies of 62 men each. The fortified camp of St. John, outside the wall, was also garrisoned by companies of the same strength, and equipped with nineteen cannon. It had, besides, an auxiliary force of 234 Bhaṇḍāris, who were paid four xerafins, or nearly two rupees, a month. Although poorly paid, the Battalion of the Bhaṇḍāris, as it was called, proved a valuable aid to the Portuguese in many a pitched battle, and especially in their contests with the Angria and other recalcitrant neighbours. The service rendered to the State by this class

of mercenaries was duly appreciated by Viceroys and Captains of Chaul, whose testimonials on rags of mouldering paper are still preserved as inestimable heirlooms in many a Bhaṇḍārī family of the district. Two of these, with *facsimiles* of the signatures of Dom Rodrigo da Costa dated the 13th July 1711, and of Caetano de Souza Pereira dated the 21st January 1737, are published by Mr. Hearn.*

The fort of the Môrro was garrisoned in 1634 by 50 soldiers, increased to 130 in 1728, besides a detachment which was daily sent from the opposite fort of Chaul. The Captain or Governor of Chaul, usually a nobleman of the King's household and appointed by him to that important post, was the head of the settlement, and as such had a large establishment under him paid by the State. Some of the appointments are now obsolete and deserve to be recorded. Their salaries were paltry sums, and every officer, from the highest to the lowest, was paid in Portuguese reis, one thousand of which, in round numbers, are equivalent to a little more than two rupees. There are only two printed documents besides some manuscripts existing, from which we glean the following information. One of these works was written in 1554, and is entitled *Tombo da Estado da India*,† by Simão Botelho, and the other was written in 1634 by Antonio Bocarro, and styled *Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas da India*.‡ Although there are some discrepancies—occasioned, doubtless, by the long interval of almost a century which elapsed between the two writers,—they agree tolerably on the main subject of appointments in each of the military, civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical departments, and their respective salaries. Here is the salary list:—

| | | |
|---|---------|----------------------|
| The Captain..... | 400,000 | reis a year. |
| His Naik | 600 | „ a month. |
| His two Naffars and fifteen peons § . | 300 | „ each „ |
| His Oriental translator..... | 600 | „ „ |
| Three torch-bearers, usually African negroes \|\| ..... | one | pardao each a month. |

* Colaba Report, *ut supra*, pp. 86 *et seqq.*

† *Subsidios*, *ut supra*, pp. 126 *et seqq.*

‡ *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 19 *et seqq.*

§ This number was by the celebrated financier Martim Affonso de Souza reduced to nine, and in 1634 there were only eight.

|| The number of torches and the maunds of oil were eventually reduced to two.

Three maunds of cocoanut oil for the
torches 3 tangas a maund, or about
6 annas.

Six bombardiers 1,200 reis each a month.

The gatekeeper of the fort, whose pay,
at first 7,200 reis per year, besides
his military pay and allowances, was
eventually raised to 15,600 „ a year.

Next to the Captain, the Factor was the *grand seigneur* of Chaul.

His establishment was as follows :—

The Factor, who was also an *Alcaide*
mór, or police magistrate 100,000 reis a year.

His two clerks, at 30,000 reis each..... 60,000 „ „

(This number was eventually reduced to
one).

His Oriental translator 7,200 „ „

Nine peons (this number was in 1634
reduced to four) 300 „ each a month.

Two torch-bearers, also negroes 1 pardao each „

Two maunds of oil. (The maunds, as well
as the torches, were reduced to one.)... 3 tangas a maund.

The 'Almoxarife dos Almazens,' or re-
ceiver of customs. (This appointment
was eventually absorbed into that of
the Factor, without any further in-
crease of pay) 20,000 reis a year.

His clerk (eventually abolished) 15,000 „

Constable of the Fort had at first 24,000
reis, raised to..... 30,000 „

'Sobre-rolda,' or chief of the night-
watch department 18,000 „

'Alcaide do mar,' or sea magistrate (also
abolished) 12,000 „

Tinoeyro, besides his military pay and
provisions 21,000 „

It is not clear what the duties of this last high functionary were, but
that he was found to be more ornamental than useful, and that at last
the sinecure was suppressed, there is every evidence in the documents
above quoted from to prove.

The Administration of Justice had the following staff :—

| | | |
|--|---------|-------------------|
| One 'Ouvidor' or judge..... | 100,000 | reis a year. |
| One 'Meirinho'—a sort of bailiff, or an officer to apprehend criminals and serve summonses, &c. | 15,000 | „ „ |
| His six peons..... | 300 | reis each a month |
| The 'Alcaide da cidade,' or police magistrate..... | 15,000 | „ „ a year. |
| His six peons..... | 300 | „ „ a month. |
| The 'Tronqueiro,' or jailor, raised from 7,200 to | 15,600 | „ „ a year. |
| One maund of oil for do. | 3 | tangas a maund. |
| The Government also contributed for the monthly rent of a house for the Factor eight patacoons of 360 reis each, the total being | 34,560 | reis a year: |

But to go back once more to the description of the ruins. Half-way between the southern gateway and the newly-made breach in the wall towards the land side, the visitor finds himself confronted by the magnificent ruins of two churches. The highly ornamented façade of Corinthian columns to the left are the ruins of the Church of the Jesuits, while the thin wall with the friezed and columnar porch to the right are the only remains of the 'Matriz' or Cathedral standing. This stately building has almost entirely disappeared, every square yard of the available space being now occupied by cocoanut and other trees.

The 'Matriz' was one of the earliest ecclesiastical institutions of Chaul. It was built soon after the conquest of Bassein in 1334, by that indefatigable Franciscan friar Antonio do Porto, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. He built it on the eastern margin of the river, and named it 'Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Mar,' or 'Church of our Lady of the Sea.' It was then a small church, but became by degrees the centre of a considerable parish, and was affiliated to the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which was dedicated to St. Barbara. Some time after, the connection between the two ceased, and the 'Church of our Lady of the Sea' was increased in dimensions, assuming at last the proportions of a Cathedral, and was then raised to the dignity of 'Matriz' or 'Sé' of Chaul, as it was styled.

Some of the travellers have mistaken this Sé for an extramural church, when the Sé ought to be always placed, from the nature of its foundation, as in all fortified cities of the Portuguese in India and elsewhere, within the walls. Pietro della Valle, who visited this church in 1662, says of it:—"Scesi, che fummo in terra, poco lontano dalla casa della Dogana, che stà fuor delle mura, la prima cosa ch' io vidi, fù la Chiesa maggiore, ò Cathedrale, che pur fuori delle mura stà sù la riva del mare," &c.* John Ogilby, who wrote in 1670, refers to Chaul in his *English Atlas*, and as his short description of the harbour and fort of Chaul appears to have been principally drawn from the accounts of Varthema and Della Valle, he falls into the same error as Della Valle in saying that the cathedral was situated on the margin of the river, outside the walls. This misstatement may perhaps have arisen from there being, besides the two principal gateways, a postern on the river-side, through which the population outside the fort could easily communicate with the cathedral within the wall. This postern was a little behind the Custom-house, or Toll-house as Ogilby calls it, the latter being always placed outside the wall, about the very spot where the modern dingy little Custom-house is situated. Ogilby, however, does not rest contented with copying this erroneous statement of Della Valle, who in other respects is admirably accurate. He must add something new of his own. So he informs his readers that the "Morro di Ciul" means in the Portuguese tongue "A member of Ciul"; but Mórro simply means a hillock.†

The following list of salaries and other disbursements and charges paid by the State in connection with the Cathedral is extracted from the before-mentioned documents. There being no bishop at Chaul, the vicar of the cathedral, with the exception of the episcopal functions, which were naturally denied him, was to all intents and purposes the head of the ecclesiastical establishment of Chaul.

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| The vicar | 20,000 reis a year. |
| Four "beneficiados" or canons | 12,000 „ each. |
| One treasurer | 6,000 „ a year. |
| Two 'meninos do coro' or choir-boys. . | 400 „ each a month. |

* "The moment we landed at a short distance from the Custom-house, which is outside the walls, the first thing I saw was the Great Church or Cathedral, which is also outside the wall, on the sea-shore."—*Viaggi, ut supra*, vol. ii., p. iii., p. 134.

† Ogilby's *English Atlas*, vol. i., pp. 243-244.

| | | | |
|--|--------|-------|---------|
| Two maunds of wax for candles..... | 14,400 | reis | a year. |
| „ „ of oil for lamps | 4,320 | „ „ „ | |
| One candie of wheat for wafers | 1,860 | „ „ „ | |
| Wine for masses | 4,320 | „ „ „ | |
| Palm-leaves, &c., for the ornaments of the church on festive occasions..... | 2,100 | „ „ „ | |
| It appears that in later years the above five items were brought under the heading of “serviço da sachristia,” or the vestry service, and reduced to... | | | |
| | 37,400 | „ „ „ | |
| Eight surplices to the above-mentioned eight members of the cathedral were usually presented to them on Easter Sunday, at the outlay of .. | | | |
| | 300 | „ „ „ | |

A few yards behind the space once occupied by the building of the Cathedral are the ruins of the “Misericordia.” This was an old Portuguese charitable establishment under the management of a religious brotherhood named “a Irmandade da Misericordia.” The documents relating to its first introduction into India are now no longer extant, the oldest being a provision of the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, dated the 18th June 1532* ; although tradition ascribes its foundation to the great Affonso d’Albuquerque in the year 1514, with all the rights and privileges belonging to a similar institution in Lisbon after the pattern of which it was instituted in Goa. From the latter place it soon spread over every important settlement of the Portuguese in India. That of Chaul is one of the oldest of the kind, and had an hospital and a chapel, as is usually the case, attached to it. The State contributed annually the following sums of money and articles of food, &c. for its support :—

Thirteen candies of rice—in pardaos 566, tanga 1, and reis 20.

To the hospital, including the pay of one physician, one surgeon, and one barber— pardaos 666, tangas 3, and reis 20.

In time of war the allowance was increased to 2,000 pardaos, on account of the larger number of admissions into the hospital, as in the year 1546, when the second siege of Diu brought crowds of the wounded and sick to the hospital of Chaul.† The Chapel of “the

* *Bosquejo Historico de Goa*, by M. V. d’Abreu, Nova Goa, 1858, pp. 175-176.

† *Subsidios, ut supra*, p. 129.

Misericordia," which was first in the charge of the Franciscans, eventually passed over to the Jesuit Fathers on their landing at Chaul, where they won the reputation of good nurses to the sick and excellent comforters to one's troubled soul, and thus gained a number of contributions to build their own church, as we shall see hereafter.

The ruins of the "Misericordia" consist now of a few mouldering walls mercilessly invaded by the rank vegetation, which makes its approach repulsive, and of an underground apartment which was probably the store-room of the hospital in connection with it, but now the abode of a great many offensive creatures. The visitor who would find out the place has simply to ask the natives where the '*Misri*' or '*Misri Kot*,' is ; for such is the phonetic degeneration to which the sublime name of 'Misericordia' has now been reduced.

Opposite the ruins of the 'Matriz,' on the other side of the main street, are the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits. Its front resembles, mutilated as it is, the façade of the church "de Santo Nome" (Holy Name) at Bassein, or the church "de Santa Fé" (Holy Faith) and that of "Bom Jesus" (Good Jesus) at Goa, all of which were built after the model of the mother-church of the Jesuits in Rome. The Jesuits' church at Chaul was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and was built in 1580. We are told by the Jesuits' chief chronicler in India* that as early as 1552 St. Francis Xavier was requested by the pious inhabitants of Chaul, who already had the Franciscans and Dominicans among them, to found a Jesuits' College there ; but as only thirty Jesuits were then in India, and the saint was desirous of multiplying, as he was wont to say, 'missions rather than colleges,' the request could not be complied with. The saint sent them in his reply the following characteristic bit of advice :—"It is not so good to have many persons engaged in one fortress, as to have many fortresses given to the missionary work of one man."† However, the efforts of the Chaulese to have the Jesuits among themselves did not cease until they actually had them, although not without some opposition from both lay and religious bodies. The Jesuit chronicler thus narrates circumstantially all that happened at the time the Jesuit missionaries were first introduced into Chaul. He tells us that in 1580 two Jesuit Fathers

* *Oriente Conquistado*, by Pe. Francisco de Souza, Liebon, 1708, vol. ii., p. 156 et seqq.

† *Resumo Historica da Vida do S. Francisco Xavier*, by F. N. Xavier, Nova Goa, 1861, p. 179.

and two Brothers were sent as missionaries to Chaul. The names of the Fathers were Pe. Christovaõ de Castro and Pe. Miguel Leitaõ. The names of the Brothers are not known, for which the author expresses his great regret, it being "desirable," he says, "to have the names of such able coadjutors in that mission duly recorded;" and the omission, I dare say, is really to be regretted. On their arrival at Chaul these missionaries were soon placed in charge of 'the Royal Hospital of Misericordia'—as it was styled, the one above mentioned, to minister both spiritual and bodily solace to the sick and wounded there. This their truly pious work soon attracted to them the sympathy of the inhabitants of the city of Chaul. The Fathers were besides in the habit of preaching, every Sunday and holyday, in the chapel of the 'Misericordia.' Their sermons were so highly appreciated that crowds of people flocked to listen to them.

In the 'Matriz' or Cathedral they were not allowed to preach by the jealous members of other religious orders, who had long settled themselves in Chaul, and considered this to be a privilege appertaining to priority. But this, like every other short-sighted policy, was suicidal. The right of exclusivism was defeated in its purpose by the people crowding to the chapel of the 'Misericordia' to hear the Jesuit preachers, either for piety or novelty's sake, the other churches—and especially the Cathedral—being left empty. The consequence was that the Jesuits were at last allowed to preach also in the Cathedral. The fruit of their preaching was so profitable that they resolved to remain at Chaul. This was bad news for those who did not like their presence in the city, and unfair means, such as the stoppage of provisions that had been given them daily at the hospital, were soon had recourse to in order to compel them to abandon the place. In this object, however, their enemies did not succeed, for the moment their provisions were stopped D. Jeronimo de Menezes and his wife, Dona Maria de Castro, came forward to supply them with their own provisions, which were, the chronicler says, a great luxury to them, and in this comfortable state they continued to carry on their ministrations until in the month of July, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen, the Jesuits were invited by the Prior of the Dominicans to preach in their church. The invitation being accepted, the Father Christovaõ de Castro preached an excellent sermon, explaining to the immense auditory assembled there the institution of the Society of Jesus, and entreated them to contribute their mite towards

the erection of a residence for the Jesuits. The effect of the preaching was magical. No sooner was the sermon over than contributions began to pour in from all sides, and the Captain of Chaul, Dom Fernando de Castro, son of Dom Garcia de Castro, alone, contributed a large sum, and promised to bequeath to them his valuable library in Evora, which eventually on his death was divided between the Jesuits' college in that town and their residence at Chaul. In a very short time the church was built, which was then followed by the building of a college, which was attended by above three hundred alumni. The number of the Jesuits was increased from two to seven, and their collegiate institution divided into two sections—the upper, which taught Latin, logic, theology, &c., having 40 boys on its roll; and the lower one 300, in which the rudiments of Portuguese grammar, music, and Christian doctrine were taught.

The Kings of Portugal made to the Chaul Jesuits many valuable donations and conferred on them high privileges. One of these was to receive every year five hundred ducats from the customs, but as these duties were not collected, for several reasons, until the year 1633, as we shall see hereafter, the grant was exchanged for a daily pension of one *larim*, a silver coin worth ninety reis, to each of the Fathers. The decree of this exchange of allowance is dated 11th May 1607, before which year they were paid, it appears, five hundred ducats from the Royal Treasury. They were, besides, the builders of a great portion of the Chaul fortifications, and this was not quite a profitless work.

Among the subscribers to the fund for building the church and school of the Jesuits, which latter was some time after raised to the dignity of a college, are found the names of the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Athaide; Dom Jeronimo de Menezes, brother-in-law to Padre Christovaõ de Castro; Jorge Neto, and several others. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief in the siege of 1571, made a donation to the church of two thousand *pardaos*, the interest of which was destined to be applied to the repair and maintenance of the church, a fund which was known by the Portuguese under the name of “*Fabrica da Egreja*.” But the principal contributor was Sebastiaõ Pinto, Knight of the Order of Christ, whose portrait is still to be seen in the convent of ‘Bom Jesus’ at Goa.*

Several other facts in connection with the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul are mentioned in detail by their chronicler,

* *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier, ut supra*, p. 180.

Pe. Francisco de Souza, but the limits I have assigned to these "Notes" prevent me from drawing further from so rich a fountain of historical facts. There is one fact, however, which deserves special mention, and that is the church and college of the Jesuits of Chaul were under the immediate superintendence of the Jesuit church and college at Bassein.* In later years, about three-quarters of a century before their expulsion from the Portuguese dominions in 1759, the Jesuits at Chaul suffered great losses. The English Government seized their lands on account of their being active in promoting the views of the Sidi during the invasion of 1688.

Of the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul there are at present only the handsome façade already referred to, and a few low walls surrounding a garden where wild plants now grow thickly, but signs are not wanting of its having once contained some choice fruit and flower trees, for which the Portuguese Jesuits had earned once a really enviable reputation. Among the remnants of those trees I observed the guava (*Psidium pyrifera*), the rose-apple (*Jambosa vulgaris*), the custard-apple (*Anona squamosa*), the jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), and several others.

The natives of Chaul point out to the visitor the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits as 'St. Paul the Small' and 'St. Paul the Great,' the former being the church, and the latter the convent and the college ruins.

Leaving now the remains of the buildings of the Jesuits, and proceeding on northward along the main road as far as the recently made arched breach in the wall, about ten feet wide, and then turning to the right, the visitor is shown by the village *cicerone* into a little, dark, square room overgrown with rank vegetation. In one of the corners of this room a door leads to an intramural gallery which is almost blocked up by *débris*, and is disagreeably tenanted by that species of bat (*Rhinolopus tridens*) which seems to take special delight in living in desolate places, such as the tombs and the recesses and chambers of the pyramids of Egypt, and also find a congenial retreat in the caverns of Chaul. The villager does not know the use of this little labyrinth; but there is no doubt it had some military purpose of attack and defence for its object.

* I must here acknowledge with grateful thanks the assistance I have derived from the notes and extracts, some of which were expressly made for me, by the Rev. Theodore Hauser, S.J., whose zeal in studying the chronicles of the religious order of which he is an ornament is really commendable.

Then going along the road that runs parallel to the wall, and turning to the first street to the right, the visitor is confronted by the ruins of a church and convent, of which the façade and the belfry are still preserved, but the walls lowered to form a fence to the coconut trees which now occupy the former nave and aisles of the church. This was the Church of the Augustins. The chancel is still traceable, but the little oval niche over the altar, the sacrarium, is now broken into a round hole for an irrigation pipe to fit in ; and, to make this sacrilegious operation still more shocking, the pedestal, which once evidently served to hold a cross close by, is now converted to the use of an altar to the *tulsi*. But in this the Portuguese have merely met with a tardy retribution for what they did in their own days with the Hindu temples.

By the side of this church is now a new Hindu temple, with its indispensable *dipamâhars* or light pillars, having an old *pîpal* tree on one side, and a well of water, to the bottom of which leads a still well-preserved flight of stone steps, on the other.

But to return to the Church of the Augustins. This order was the fourth that came to Goa. They came first in 1572, under the guidance of their Provincial, Fr. Antonio da Paixaõ, and it was not until 1587 that they had a branch of their church and convent at Chaul. This church was erected in the latter year by Fr. Luis de Paraíso, under the invocation of *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, or 'Our Lady of Grace,' and their convent contained from twelve to sixteen monks, including their superior, which number in the last century dwindled down to only two. In 1841, when Chaul was taken possession of by the Marâthâs, this was one of the best-preserved buildings, and they were not slow to take advantage of the circumstance, occupying it the moment they entered the Virgin Fort, the Metz of the Portuguese in India. The State used to contribute an annual pension of 500 xerafins to the Augustinian convent at Chaul, besides several other donations, and the monks were apparently leading a very easy life on them.

A little in front of these ruins are the remains of the Court-house of Chaul. It must have been a large building, and its *Ouvidor*, or Judge, was elected by the people of Chaul,—a privilege which was conceded to them, after the fashion of that enjoyed by the inhabitants of Goa, in 1697.

The duties and rights of this obsolete order of judicial functionary are graphically described by my learned friend Senhor Abranches

Garcia, one of the Judges of the High Court of Goa, in the *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iii., p. 162.

Then going to the end of the street are observed, close to the sea-beach and almost parallel to the promontory of the Môrro, the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which played always so conspicuous a part in the numerous sieges that the city of Chaul underwent. This was a fortified convent, and some of its cloisters still remaining are remarkable for their castelline appearance. This was after the Matriz, the earliest church and convent of Chaul, built by that remarkably active Franciscan, Fr. Antonio do Porto, under the invocation of St. Barbara. It was the next in chronological precedence to their church and convent in Goa, which was built soon after the conquest of that place in 1510. That of Chaul was built in 1534, and the church of N. Sra. do Mar, which was eventually raised to be the Matriz, was, when a mere parish church, subject to it.

The Franciscans were the second religious order that came to India after the discovery of the Cape route. On the first expedition of Vasco da Gama two monks of the order of 'the Blessed Trinity,' by name Rodrigo Annes and Pedro Covilham, were, at their own request, brought over to India. The former died at Melinde, and the latter while preaching on the shore of Calicut was murdered by the natives. Then Pedro Alvares Cabral brought with him in 1500 nine secular priests and eight Franciscans, whose names were Henrique Alvares, the Superior, F. Gaspar, Francisco de Cruz, Simaõ de Guimaraes, Luis de Salvador, F. Massen, Pedro Neto, and the Brother Joaõ de Victoria. They had with them as interpreter the Jew Gaspar de Gama, of whom I have spoken more at length in my *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the Island of Angediva, ut supra*.

These Franciscans preached at every place they touched at on their way to Calicut. At Quiloa, on the African coast, they had a narrow escape from being murdered by the savages, several of them being badly wounded. In the island of Angediva, where Cabral first landed on Indian soil, they are said to have made twenty-two converts. At Calicut three of the Franciscans were killed, and F. Henrique severely wounded. The latter after his recovery returned home to inform the King of the state of religious affairs in India. He was made Bishop of Ceuta, and then of Evora, where he died on the 24th September 1532. From that time, year after year, every fleet that came to India brought from Portugal a certain number of these Fran-

ciscan missionaries. The fleet under the command of Joaõ da Nova, and that under Vasco da Gama on his second expedition, had a pretty large number of them. On their arrival in India these Franciscans met their four fellow-missionaries who had been left by Cabral, two at each of the stations of Cochin and Cannanore, on his way to Europe.

But to write the Franciscan Chronicles, very interesting though they are, is not within the scope of these "Notes."

Now the only striking object amidst a vast mass of ruins of the Franciscan church and convent at Chaul that exists at the present day is the tower, which, it appears, served for the double purpose of a church steeple, and of a beacon for ships entering the harbour. It is about 96 feet high, and the natives, to express their admiration of its height, name it *Sât Khanî*, or the 'seven-storied.' The staircase of the steeple has been removed, and there is now no means of access to the belfry, from which a most delightful view might be obtained of all the ruins around and the beautiful scenery in the background. The tower threatens to fall down, and its top is now a little forest of the prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*), and other parasitic plants, which seem simply to hasten its decay. In spite, however, of the invasion of all these enemies of its security and duration, the '*Sât Khanî*' has been for more than three centuries there on the sea-beach; the waters have encroached upon the walls surrounding it; but notwithstanding the periodical wave at the spring-tide enters there and almost washes its foot, it still bids fair to weather the storms of many years to come.

The arched roof of the church has now fallen in, and the heap of *débris*, which is many feet high, would perhaps, if removed, disclose many a grave-stone of no little local interest to the history of Chaul. I had, however, no time nor inclination to excavate. This church when visited by Mr. Hearn in 1847 "was perfect, and there were many little figures standing out in relief from the roof—for instance, those of the Crucifixion, the Ascension, and Incarnation;" but in 1854, when his Report was written, it was "completely choked up with ruins." Mr. Hearn then thought, and rightly, that "before long they (the ruins) will all disappear, and cocoanut plantations and Bhaṇḍâris' houses will rise in their stead. Even now," he adds, "it is becoming a famous nursery for cocoanut plants, owing to the place being so well protected by walls from the strong south-westerly winds during the monsoon."* Mr. Hearn's prediction has been fulfilled, and the things

* Colaba Report, p. 113.

CONSACRAT
 CALEMAS
 FESTIBUS
 PENCAIM
 SENIORA. EO
 DEFENDERAD
 ESEVIMPEHD
 EPECCADOE
 ZAVIVESSEN
 EMBRANCANO
 1655

*Consecrated to Eternity, & with
 an annual pension, to the Immaculate of his
 empire, has been preserved from
 this stone in the 15th year of his*

that he saw are now no longer there. The principal arched door, for instance, "with an aperture in the wall agreeing in size with the stone" which "was lying in the Agent's bungalow," and is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, does not exist. The inscription had, like the other stone above referred to, the deciphering abilities of Father Poli bestowed upon it, and his decipherment then, not unlike the other, was found faulty and corrected in the same way as the other by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara.* The stone, which is 5 feet 11 inches long by 2 feet 2½ inches broad, is broken longitudinally into three unequal parts (see plate H).

This inscription testifies to the vow made by King Dom João IV. of Portugal in the Cortes in the year 1646 to defend by all means in his power the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, for which purpose a decree was passed with an order to carve such inscriptions in every city and fort of the Portuguese in India. That of Diu is in Latin.†

The Franciscans of Chaul had from the royal treasury 371 xerafins and 3 tangas for the purchase of the following articles:— A candie of wheat, 6 candies of rice, 2 packs of sugar, 50 dimities, a certain amount of linen, 6 maunds of butter, 12 do. of cocoanut oil, 7 do. of wax, 2 do. of raisins, 1 maund of almonds, ½ do. of dry plums, and 6,000 reis for medicines.‡

Now turning from the west, where the ruins of the Church of the Franciscan friars are situated, towards the south, one meets the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Dominicans. The area occupied by the ruins of this church and the adjoining monastery is immense, but of the ruins the only part recognizable is the chancel and a portion of the steeple, all the rest being a hideous mound of rubbish.

The Church and Monastery of the Dominican friars were built in the year 1549 by Fr. Diogo Bermudes, under the invocation of 'Our Lady of Guadalupe.' The Dominicans, who came first to India in 1513 and landed at Goa, did not build their church and convent there until the year 1548. Fifty Dominicans were once brought by Affonso d'Albuquerque's fleet, and placed in charge of the first wooden church built by Albuquerque in St. Thiago's fort at *Cochin* and dedi-

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, and *Chronista de Tissuary*, *ut supra*.

† See *Inscripções de Diu*, by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1865, p. 28.

‡ *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 20-21.

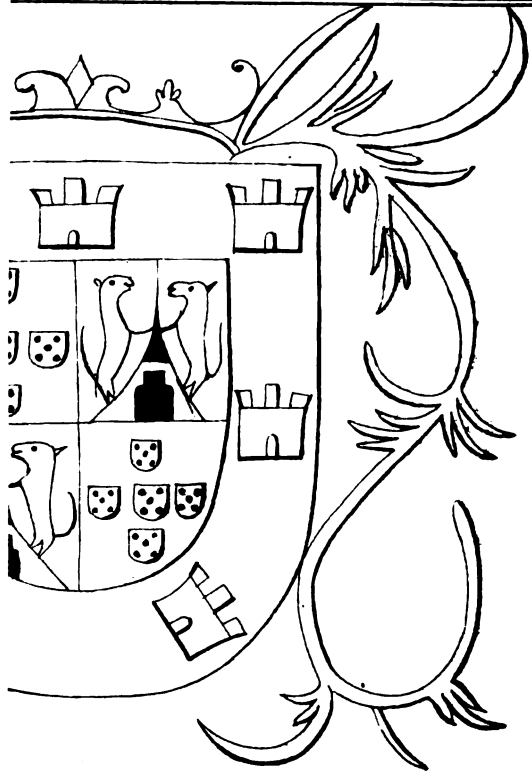
cated to St. Bartholomew. However, although built one year later than that of Goa, theirs was the richest and most extensive priory at Chaul, containing between thirty and forty monks. It had also a noviciate attached to it, the novices being elected under the careful scrutiny and searching inspection of the Prior, and after obtaining special permission from their Vicar-General at Goa. The Government used to grant them yearly the sum of 904 xerafins for buying the following commodities:—23 candies of wheat, 8 do. of rice, two barrels of wine, and 7 *cantaros* (a kind of pot) of olive oil. They had also 60,000 reis in cash.

Governor Duarte Menezes gave to this order the privilege of electing from among themselves the *Pay de Christãos* or *Pater Christianorum* at Chaul, whose business it was, besides many other things, to take care of the neophytes. Juvencius explains all these functions in short thus:—"Præest rei Christianæ promovendæ, Christianos jam factos fovet, et omnem dat operam ut ad Christum alii aggregentur."*

The office of the *Pater Christianorum* was, like the *Misericordia*, to be found in almost every one of the numerous settlements of the Portuguese in India. But it was not confined to one religious order. It was given to several of them at different places: thus the Jesuits had the field of Goa and Cochin exclusively for themselves; Salsette and the island of Caranja were given to the Franciscans; Negapatam to the Augustins; and, lastly, Chaul, Diu, and Macao to the Dominicans. This was a dangerous appointment, and the indiscreet zeal of many of the *Patres Christianorum* often led them into unseemly affrays. The State used to contribute 20,000 reis a year towards the maintenance of this dignitary at Chaul.

But to return once more to the ruins. The next object to attract one's attention is a little chapel, scarcely larger than a vestry-room; but it is now well known as a site consecrated by many a Roman Catholic pilgrimage. This place has been rendered famous as the residence of the great missionary St. Francis Xavier during his stay at Chaul. His numerous biographies are silent on the dates on which he visited Chaul; but it appears that during the three visits which he paid to Bassein he must have halted at Chaul. The fact of his having resided there is, however, plainly recorded by an interesting little tablet of white marble, emblazoned with a coat-of-arms, about 4 feet

* See Juvencius' *Epitome Historiæ Soc. Jesu*, tome 11, ad annum 1560.



ORADONESTELVGAR
 O^{CO}PASSOVAONOR
 STAËRMIDADO

1 inch long by 2 feet 9½ inches broad, with an inscription. It would be far better to have this slab removed to one of our Museums, if not carefully looked after, as the natives are allowed to do whatever they like with the ruins; and this was also the opinion of Mr. Hearn. (See plate I.)

The author of the *Oriente Conquistado* informs us that this chapel was built by contributions of the inhabitants of Chaul, that every Friday a Jesuit Father used to say mass in it, and that on the octave of the feast of the saint a solemn mass, with the accompaniment of music and a sermon, was performed, all the expense being defrayed by the senate or municipality of Chaul.*

Close to this was another small chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius, but it has now entirely disappeared.

The space of ground in front of the chapel of St. Francis Xavier and the southern gates on one side, and the gate of the Captain's palace to the eastward on the other, was once occupied by *almazens*, or store-rooms; it is now but a vast cocoanut garden intermingled with some fruit trees and much rank vegetation.

Thus far the intramural public buildings, or their ruins; besides which are the remains of numerous private mansions and houses, whose outlines are barely traceable, their sites being now almost entirely occupied by cocoanut gardens. Among the extramural buildings the first place deserves to be assigned to the Custom-house, the establishment of which began to be talked about in the year 1585, but it was not constructed until 1633. It was situated in just about the same place as the present little Custom-house, to the right of the southern gateway. That building was however, much more imposing in appearance than the modern one, which is no better than an ordinary police *chauki*.

Although the average revenue yielded by the customs at Chaul hardly exceeded the expense first incurred in maintaining it, the custom-house having been established too late to be of any great use, when the trade at Chaul was declining, still it yielded a pretty good sum. But there were other sources of revenue from which a constant supply to the coffers of the King was derived. Deducting all expenses, the budget showed annually, until the year 1634, a balance of about 27,000 xerafins, which was sent to the royal treasury at Goa. To enter into details would be contrary to the design of my "Notes;" but the reader will find

* *Conquista*, I., Decada 1., p. 95.

them in the *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, pt. ii., p. 123 *et seqq.*, and in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 33-35. I give, however, only a *résumé* of it in the footnote below.*

The other ecclesiastical buildings *extra muros* were the churches of St. Sebastian, St. John, and *A, Madre de Deus*, or 'the Mother of God.'

* Before the Custom-house of Chaul was established several articles of trade were taxed, as well as a certain class of professions from which almost all the revenue was derived, besides the tribute of 7,000 xerafins paid by the Nizâm. Chaul being, unlike Basscin and Damaun, a settlement that depended more on the sea trade than landed property, it was entirely supported by the yield of those taxes.

| | | | | |
|--|---|-------|------------|---|
| The traders from Ormuz and Cambay at Chaul | | | | |
| | used to pay annually | 700 | patacoons. | } Each patacoon of the value of 360 reis. |
| „ | revenue from opium, &c., as well as <i>bangue</i> | 500 | „ | |
| „ | and soap, amounted to..... | | | |
| „ | „ „ the bazâr (this tax was by D. João de Castro, during the Captainship of Vasco da Cunha, ceded to the Chaul Municipality as a remuneration for their help to the State during the siege of Diu, subject to the approval of the King | 335 | „ | |
| „ | „ „ from brokerage and weight of merchandize | 3,330 | „ | |
| „ | „ „ tobacco, which was until lately a royal monopoly..... | 9,714 | „ | |
| „ | „ „ <i>urracas</i> , or spirit distilled from palm juice, which was once given, at an insignificant quit-rent, as a reward for her relatives' service to the State, by the Viceroy Francisco Mascarenhas, to Dona Catherina de Castro, daughter of Dom Garcia de Castro, but the King would not sanction such an arrangement. | | | |

This tax yielded in 1593 more than 2,250 patacoons of 4 larins each, and in 1634 1,000 patacoons. (See *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. 3, pt. ii., pp. 393 and 476-477.....)

The revenue derived from shroffs at Chaul amounted to 450 „

There was, besides, a tax called *Guanguaô*, which was paid by a gambling-house for the African slaves, but D. João de Castro suppressed it as immoral.

The King had also some revenue derived from ground-rent, such as the *ribeira* (dockyard), *cordoaria* (rope-yard); but, as no ships were built here, these places were eventually given over for a mere nominal rent, during the Captainship of Francisco da Cunha, to officers to build houses on, subject to certain rules. See *Archivo, ut supra*, p. 503.

The Church of St. Sebastian was built about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was situated somewhere between Upper and Lower Chaul, but there is no trace of it now. The vicar of this church had from the royal treasury 30,000 reis a year, besides the sum of 12,000 reis for vestry expenses. It was neither a rich nor extensive parish. Fryer informs us that when in 1675 an English embassy was sent to Šivaji, the ambassador, together with two English factors, embarked on a 'Bombaim Shebar,' and, "about nine o'clock at night arrived at *Choul*, a *Portugal* city on the main, into which he could not enter, the gates being shut up, and watch set; so that they passed this night in the suburbs, in a small church called *St. Sebastians*, and the next day about three in the afternoon receiving advice that Šivaji was returned to *Raires* from *Chiblone*, departed thence to Upper *Choul*, a town belonging to the *Rajah*, about two miles distant from the *Portugal* city," &c.*

The Church of St. John belonged to an important parish. Its vicar had the same pay and emoluments as that of the Church of St. Sebastian. Its ruins are still visible.

The church of "A Madre de Deus" was the centre of a rich and large parish. It was in charge of the Capuchin friars, who had, besides emoluments and revenue derived from parishioners, 7,300 reis under the heading of *mesinhas da botica*, or medicinal drugs. This church is now in ruins. The only church that forms a nucleus of a small community of native Christians at the foot of the Kôrlê promontory is dedicated to "Our Lady of Carmel," and appears to be a recent building. There is also one small chapel, outside the fort, dedicated to 'A Madre de Deus,' which is at the same time a cemetery. It is a very poor little chapel, of the size of an ordinary vestry-room.

The other remains of the Portuguese in Chaul are three inscriptions, which require yet to be noticed, although they are insignificant. One is that of a gravestone, on which are the following nine words:—"Sepultura de Luis Alvares Camello e de seus herdeiros," i.e. "The grave of Luis Alvares Camello and his heirs." It is found in the house of a Bhaṇḍāri, who uses it to sharpen his knives on.

* John Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Lond. 1698, p. 77. Elsewhere this traveller writes:—"In whose opening arm, that is, from *Choul* Point to *Bagein* [two famous cities belonging to the *Portugals*] some 30 leagues distance, lie those spots of ground, still disputable to which side to incline," &c. And again—"Bombaim is the first that faces *Choul*," which indicates that even in Fryer's time Chaul was an important place : p. 62.

The other inscriptions are on two bells. The one runs thus :—

“AO PR' DEIANR DE 1720.” Translation :—“The 1st of January 1720.”

This bell is now in the Mâmlatdâr's Kacheri at Revadañḍā.

The other bell has the date of 1739 A.D. engraven on it, and the following inscription in Latin, surmounted by the monogram I.H.S. :—
“Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.” It is now in the temple of Ambâbai or Mahalakshmi at Kolâpur.* There are reasons for supposing that this bell was carried away by the Marâṭhās from one of the churches of Chaul to Kolâpur.

The antiquities of Upper Chaul, or Chaul Proper, are of quite a different nature. There is not a single Christian inscription there, all the ruins belonging either to the Hindus or the Mahomedans.

The Hindu antiquities consist mostly of temples and tanks. There are no inscriptions or copper-plates to trace their origin or foundation, but there are legends in hundreds about gods which are recorded in their *purāṇas*, and piously believed by their votaries. Two or three traditions about the foundation of the defunct city, and some of the buildings of temples there, are really worth translating from amongst a large mass of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Marâṭhī† which I have been able to collect.

One of the traditions is to the effect that in the *Dvâpara Yuga* the name of this place was Champâvatī,‡ when the king was called Nagara. His successor, Pithora Râja, had a minister by name Chava, who, having murdered the king, established his own rule, and changed the designation of Champâvatī into Chaul. This name, again, on the

* Major D. C. Graham's *Statistical Report of the Principality of Kolhapoor*, Bombay, 1854, p. 319.

† I am indebted for the collection of these MSS. to the diligent care of Messrs. Eshvant F. Danaite and Koshaṇṇarao Mâdhavrao, the latter a native of the place.

‡ I have already given different conjectural meanings of this word; there is one more, which, although not so plausible as the others, it may be worth while to give as well. In Kṛthiâvīd “the people along the shores use a peculiar sort of net for catching fish, called *champa*. It is made of six sticks 3 feet 6 inches in length, all secured at the upper end; the net is fastened to the lower end of the sticks, and it is spread like an umbrella when ready for use, and covers a circle of six feet in diameter.”—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 114. May not the manufacture of this *champa* at Chaul have given it the name of Champâvatī? One cannot tell whether in olden times there was any fishing in Chaul, but at present, since the city once so famous has shrivelled up to a small village it has become a fishing village.

conquest of the place by the Emperor of Delhi, was changed into Māmalē Mortezābād, a name that is said to be still found recorded in various ancient manuscripts and records in possession of the natives of the district.

The ancient city of Chaul was divided into sixteen equal parts, called *pākhādyas*, or rows of buildings separated by paved alleys, and were named thus :—

| | | | |
|----|---------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Pākhādyā or Pākhāḍī | Prathama. | Out of these the three |
| 2 | „ | Mokhava. | pākhādyas of Dakhavāḍa, |
| 3 | „ | Veshvī. | Muraḍa, and Doḍ were ced- |
| 4 | „ | Dakhavāḍa. | ed to the Portuguese. At |
| 5 | „ | Bolāvê. | the present day the Fort of |
| 6 | „ | Tuḍāl. | Chaul has for several pur- |
| 7 | „ | Usavê. | poses been marked out into |
| 8 | „ | Muraḍa. | forty different gardens, and |
| 9 | „ | Ambepurī. | named in Marāṭhī. There |
| 10 | „ | Vejāī. | are, however, some traces of |
| 11 | „ | Koparī. | the Portuguese language |
| 12 | „ | Peta. | among them, though sorely |
| 13 | „ | Bhovaśī. | mangled. Such names as |
| 14 | „ | Zivaḍī. | Sam Pāl Diul (Igreja de |
| 15 | „ | Doḍ. | Sam Paulo), Misri or Misri- |
| 16 | „ | Kasabê. | Kot (Misericordia), Padri |
| | | | Vigar (Padre Vigario or |
| | | | Matriz), Manel Coterel |
| | | | (Manuel Cortereal), Ales |
| | | | Perer (Aleixo Pereira), Mām |
| | | | Gonsāl (Simaḍ Gonsalves), |
| | | | and several others, are |
| | | | derived from the names of |
| | | | the Portuguese, who were |
| | | | probably in former times |
| | | | owners of those places. |

The tradition continues that when the Portuguese applied for a piece of ground to build their factory, the sovereign of Chaul granted their application, provided the space ceded did not exceed that covered by a certain number of cow-hides, a system of mensuration that really admits of equivocal interpretation. The consequence was that the Portuguese were not slow to profit by so vague a formulation.

of the grant; they got the desired number of cow-hides, cut them into thin strips and then measured the ground, thus occupying an amount of land that far exceeded what was originally intended by the donor. The sovereign of Chaul got alarmed at this usurpation, but the Portuguese stuck firmly to the letter of the gift, which could not be revoked. This is the way they invent history in India, and that is, moreover, the credulous silliness with which it is recorded in the papers in my possession. We know better; the cession of Revadaṇḍa to the Portuguese had nothing to do with cow-hides.

The ground thus acquired by the Portuguese occupied, we are told, the following *pākhādyas*, viz., Doḍ, Dakhavāḍa, and Muraḍa. The tradition does not stop here; it goes on to assert that these facts are recorded on the foundation-stone of the fort of Chaul, a name that was then given to it by the Portuguese, and changed into Revadaṇḍa on its occupation by the Marāṭhās.

The old city of Chaul, the *bakars* or Hindu chronicles tell us, had, besides 360 tanks and 360 temples, 1,600,000 public buildings and private mansions. This is another instance of the fondness of the Hindus for multiplying objects, as they have done their gods, whose number now exceeds the whole population of the globe. But how to account for the disappearance of this immense number of buildings? They inform us that in the year 1513 of the Śālivāhana era a fisherman by name Parasubhagela, a native of Kolvān Salsette, conquered Chaul, and the war that he waged with that object, and which lasted for a long time, caused the destruction of all these buildings by fire, &c.

The temples of Chaul were really numerous, and of these twelve are dedicated to Śiva, nine to Viṣṇu, seven to Durgā, eight to Gaṇapati, eight to Bhairava, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and four to different *Rishis*.

Those dedicated to Śiva are named thus:—

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Śac'iramana. | 7. Nāmeśvara. |
| 2. Someśvara. | 8. Muraḍeśvara. |
| 3. Revaneśvara. | 9. Hareśvara. |
| 4. Amṛiteśvara. | 10. Sidheśvara. |
| 5. Vaijanātha. | 11. Maleśvara. |
| 6. C'ivaleśvara. | 12. Kāśivīśveśvara. |

Those dedicated to Vishṇu are the following :—

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Keśava Nārāyaṇa. | 6. Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa. |
| 2. Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa. | 7. Udāra Nārāyaṇa. |
| 3. Mādhava Nārāyaṇa. | 8. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. |
| 4. Suṇḍara Nārāyaṇa. | 9. Adhya Nārāyaṇa. |
| 5. Narasiṁha Nārāyaṇa. | |

Those dedicated to Durgā are :—

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Champāvatī. | 5. Kaḷālagī. |
| 2. Śitalādevī. | 6. Hingulzā. |
| 3. Bhagavati Yekavirā. | 7. Chatursitī. |
| 4. Padamāvatī. | |

The temples dedicated to Gaṇapati are as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sidhivināyaka. | 5. Tṛi Gaṇeśa. |
| 2. Dhuṇḍivināyaka. | 6. Chintāmanivināyaka. |
| 3. Mukhyavināyaka. | 7. Hari Gaṇeśa. |
| 4. Bodhyavināyaka. | 8. Samayaharavināyaka. |

The following are dedicated to Bhairava, an *avatār* of Śiva :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kālabhairava. | 5. Hatabhairava. |
| 2. Ādyabhairava. | 6. Śivabhairava. |
| 3. Samayasidhabhairava. | 7. Dinabhairava. |
| 4. Budhabhairava. | 8. Kolātabhairava. |

Places, or rather hermitages, dedicated to *Rishis* are :—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Kapilamuni. | 3. Datātrayamuni. |
| 2. Śakuni. | 4. Yādnyavalkyamuni. |

Several of these temples and hermitages are no longer traceable ; but the following are not only existing, but are renowned places of pilgrimage among the Hindus :—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Rāmeśvara. | 4. Kudeśvara. |
| 2. Maleśvara. | 5. Hingulzā. |
| 3. Sidheśvara. | |

The temple of Rāmeśvara is mentioned in the *Maṅgesha Māhātmya*,* a section of the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. It is

* इति संक्षिप्तं मनसा सर्वसंगविर्जितः । तदाहं पार्वतीं त्यक्त्वा जगाम तपसे वनं ॥ १ ॥
तस्मात्स्थानादिनिर्गत्य कृष्णवेण्याश्च संगमे । तपश्चकार भगवान्संगमेधरनामतः ॥ २ ॥ सुत
उवाच । इति प्रचोदिता ताभ्यां सखीभ्यां पार्वती तदा । गमनाय मतिं चक्रे ताभ्यां सह द्विजोत्तम
॥ ३ ॥ भगवानपि विधेःशङ्कपावत्यां समाययौ । तत्र किञ्चित्स्थितः कालं तपस्तप्तुं महेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

therein recorded that Śiva having been laughed at by Pārvatī for having lost a game of *saripāta* in Kailāsa, his paradise, in the presence of several of her maid-servants, the god became so annoyed that he left her company and went to a place where the river Kṛishṇā meets the Venā. He lived for a considerable time there, and to commemorate 'his stay his liṅga was established,' which in after-years became famous as Saṅgameśvara, or 'lord of the junction of the two rivers,' a place that is considered to be holy, and is resorted to by a great many pilgrims.*

The legend then adds that Śiva left Saṅgameśvara for the Bhargava Kshetra, or the Koṅkan Proper. Pārvatī, who was all the while anxious to meet her husband, followed him to this place; but Śiva had in the meanwhile left for Champāvatī. Now there is no doubt that the connection of places so close to each other as Saṅgameśvara, Bhargava Kshetra, and Champāvatī points out the last as the modern Chaul. Śiva lived for a very long period at Champāvatī, and during his residence caused a *liṅga* of his, by name Rāmeśvara, to be placed in it, whence arose the temple which still exists there. This is, then, one of the three Rāmeśvaras, which are celebrated places of worship in India, viz., one between Ceylon and Cape Comorin, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and several Purāṇas; the second near the frontier of Goa, between the latter territory and the British district of Carwar; and the last that of Chaul. It is said that around this temple there are three *kundās* dedicated to the three Vedic elements, *vayu*, *agni*, and *parjanyā*, or air, fire, and water.

Pietro della Valle has left us a description of this temple of Rāmeśvara at Chaul as it was in his time, and given a plan of the building with its tanks and other works around. It is a faithful representation of

तपस्तत्वाय विपुलं त्रिगं कृत्वा स्वनामकं । रामेश्वरेति नाम्ना वै प्रथितो न्यवसन्मुने ॥५॥ म०
म० स० स्क० अ० २-३.

Another *Māhātmya*, by name *Manjuleśvara Māhātmya*, chap. 2—म० म० अ० १—२—also refers to the temple of Rāmeśvara at Chaul in the following śloka, the purport being that Rāghava, i.e. Rāma himself, was the god who first established the liṅga or phallus called Rām-ēśvara, that this *śhetā* as a place of pilgrimage is soul-saving, and that to all the best and greatest *tīrthas* in the world the Rāmātīrtha excels.

Here follows the text :—

रामेश्वरं महात्रिगं स्थापयामास राघवः । त्रिपुलिंगान्तरालं यत्सा तत्र मणिकर्णिका ॥
तारकं तन्महाश्वेन सर्वत्रागिविमुक्तिदं । रामतीर्थमिति ख्यातं सर्वतीर्थोत्तमं महत् ॥ १ ॥

* A notice of some inscriptions of this place by the Hon'ble Rāo Sāheb V. N. Maṇḍlik is found in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., pp. 101 *et seqq.*

what it is at the present day. This is at least the one advantage of the Hindu conservatism. While the changes and innovations going on in European society have upset the Portuguese government of Chaul, and reduced to ruin its numerous and excellent buildings, the Hindu temples of Upper Chaul are still left in a good state of preservation, and, what is more to the purpose, are preserved in just the same state as they were found centuries ago.

But to return to our Roman traveller: he informs us that having started on the 2nd December 1624 for what he calls *Ciaul de riba*, or Upper Chaul, he visited on his way to it the *Bazar*, Mahomedan mosques, Portuguese gardens, and Hindu temples. Close to the *Bazar* of Upper Chaul he saw a large tank which he names *Tanlè Nare Naghèr*, probably the Tank Nagersî, which is still extant. Then he relates that he visited several of the Hindu idols in Chaul, among which he mentions that of *Zagidanbâ*, another name for Durgâ, which he takes care to inform his readers is the same as *Leksemi* (Lakshmi), wife of Vishṇu; then the idol of *Amrût Suér* (Amṛiteśvara), which, he tells us again, is identical with that of Mahâdeva, the round stone phallus. He then refers to the different temples of Nârâyana, and at last to that of Râmesvara, which he says is "the largest, and the principal among all others." He describes its tank very minutely, and the figure of an animal which is called, he says, in Canara *Bassuand* (Basvâ), and *Nandî* in Chaul, i.e. the bull of Siva.*

The celebrated tanks of Upper Chaul, which are still in a good state of preservation, are the following:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Bhavalè Talè or Tank. | 8. Bhivalè. |
| 2. Giryachî. | 9. Shâraji. |
| 3. Sarai. | 10. Majid. |
| 4. Kaji. | 11. Khabâlâ. |
| 5. Nârâyana. | 12. Tragaris. |
| 6. Shahachî. | 13. Nagersî. |
| 7. Jânnavi. | |

Some of these tanks have their own curious legends; for instance, the tank of Jânnavi, which is said to be very deep and to possess the magic power of dissolving the bones of cows, which disappear the moment they are thrown into it.

* *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Venetia, 1667, vol. ii., pp. 410 et seqq.*

Another curious thing about these tanks is that there is one which is supposed to contain milk, and is hence called 'Dudhâli' 'or milky tank.'

Other objects of antiquarian curiosity about the place are the *yâtras* or fairs held in honour of the Hindu gods. These are as follows :—

1. Śhrīpanta, a place where a *yâtra* or *jatra* is held every year on the 14th of the month Margāśirsha Śudha, which corresponds to a date between September and October.

2. Śrībhagavatī, a place where a feast for nine days, called *Nahuratra-utsâha*, is held in honour of the goddess after which the place is named, once a year, in the month of Āśvina Śudha, corresponding to a date between July and August.

3. Śrī Rāmeśwara, where also yearly, on the 15th of the month of Kārttika, about the phase of the new moon, an illumination is made in honour of Kṛishṇa.

Where the temple of Hingulzâ is situated on the slope of a hill is a *kunḍa*, or small square well, built under that goddess's *āsana* or seat. The belief is that when fruits or flowers are thrown into this well they go direct to Kâśī or Benares. There was an old *pīpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) near this place, which was supposed to have always had leaves of a golden colour. It is now quite dried up. This is now the great place of worship of the Khole tribe.*

The remaining object of worship is a *Sona Champaka* tree (*Michelia Champaca*), each of whose flowers is said to weigh exactly one tolâ, or three drachms. In connection with this flower there is a legend current among the people to the effect that the Kalâlâgī Devī, whose temple is at Chaul, was so fond of this flower that a wealthy man, whose name is not given, made a vow to indulge this caprice of the goddess by throwing every day around her neck garlands of this flower of the value of one thousand rupees, without redeeming which promise he would not eat his food. But one day it so happened that there were no *champa* flowers to be got in any bazâr or market, when the opulent devotee of Kalâlâgī, instead of throwing the garland of flowers round her neck, got only one, for which he paid the same price,

* A tradition is current among the people at Chaul to the effect that about fifteen years ago a Sanskrit inscription being discovered on the wall of the *kunḍa*, or as some people say, under the *āsana* of Hingulzâ, it was reported to some of the *savants*, who wished much to see it; but a Bhangasali, indignant at the outsiders' inquisitiveness, to prevent their ever coming to the temple, removed the inscription, and nobody knows what became of it.

which acted as if a string of a thousand rupees had been placed round her neck, and from that date her neck became bent downwards as if by the weight of the silver. The effect was most unpleasant: the goddess grew vexed with her devotee, and from that fatal moment the rich man became poor.

Of the Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul, there are the remains of a mosque, which appears to have been of good size and design, on the banks of the creek. It was once a massive structure; but "the Portuguese cannon," Hearn tells us, "made sad havoc of the whole of the western side and the minarets," by which means a whole line of arches was swept away, and were it not that peace was soon made, the remaining portion would have been levelled with the ground. There is also, not unlike the Hindu system, a legendary tale connected with the erection of this masjid, but the Mahomedans themselves seem to disbelieve it. The dimensions of this building, which was built of black basalt, were 88 feet long and 45 broad. Its height is not known.

At a little distance from this place are the remains of an apparently strong Mahomedan fort, partly invaded by a mangrove swamp, which cuts off the village from the creek. The walls that remain now are not more than three or four feet high.

The other prominent architectural remains of the Mahomedans in Chaul are those of a striking building called Hamâmkhânâ, which is still in a fair state of preservation. It was a bath-house; the interior is divided into three circular chambers, the central being the largest, and each lighted by a circular opening in the cupola above. The walls, it is said, have been nearly undermined by people, who are digging for treasure, under the impression that the Mahomedans deposited here large sums of money on their evacuation of the fort. The pavement, which was almost all of marble flags, has thus been removed, and the impression that money is hidden there has found confirmation in the fact of some persons having got some large sums in it from time to time.

The other Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul are tombs of the ordinary and domed variety. One of these, called Dadî-Pamâli Pîr, belonging to a saint, is held in high veneration, and an *urus* or annual feast is celebrated in his honour on some variable date between the months of Ramzân and Shawâl, corresponding to our September and October.

Besides these there are the remains of large houses and buildings, of which, however, only the foundations, and in some cases the plinths, are now observed. It was thus thoroughly destroyed by Śivaji and his successors. From the large area over which these ruins are scattered, it appears that this city must really have been a very large and remarkable one, as described by mediæval and other writers.

ART. III.—*Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History.* BY E. REHATSEK.

Read 11th March 1876.

There exist no written documents of the ancient Arabs older than the *Ḳorân* except some poetry, composed not very long before the time of Muḥammad, and the Sabæan inscriptions, many of which appear indeed to be of considerable antiquity, but those hitherto found and deciphered have as yet not yielded results of any great importance; they, moreover, refer only to the southern part of Arabia. Whatever concerns pre-Islamitic times has, partly on account of the religious bias of the Moslem authors who have handed records of them down to us, and partly on account of their indifference about such subjects, reached us neither in very trustworthy nor in very copious accounts, as the imagination appears to have been largely at work with some of the writers, who instead of transmitting to posterity the unvarnished accounts of earlier times from the ancient sources at their disposal, have not seldom in many ways altered them considerably—by distortions, enlargements, and abbreviations.

Some Beliefs of the Arabs.

An opinion appears to have been current among the Arabs that every man had two souls—the one to encourage, and the other to depress his hopes.* They are alluded to in a piece of the *Ḥamasah*, in some verses to which the commentator observes *هذا على طريقتهم في*

* Thus a poet said, in the *Rajaz* measure:—

شاور نفسي طوع و خيبة تقول هاتي لا و هاتيك بلي فشجعته نفس
حرص طمعت و حذرته نفسه الاخري الردى

He consulted the two souls, avidity and disappointment: the latter said "By no means," and the former, "Yes, indeed;" so that the soul of avidity, being greedy, emboldened him; and the other warned him of his perdition.

A man slain unavenged, and buried, was considered to have no rest, and an owl issued from his skull which croaked "Give me to drink;" nor could the bird be appeased until its thirst was quenched, either symbolically by pouring wine on the tomb, or by actual vengeance; and this no doubt the poet means, who is dying of love for Layla, when he says that no sepulchre is more thirsty than his own.*

At present, on account of the absence of written information, and the general reticence of authors on subjects connected with paganism, it cannot be ascertained whether or how the various tribes differed in pre-Islamitic times about this owl, or whether the ideas concerning it originated among themselves or were borrowed from other nations, but it is not improbable that they were derived from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which has even to our times survived among some polytheistic nations. The words designating this remarkable owl are the synonyms *Çada* and *Húmet*, which even the Arab lexicographers explain through each other, so that no difference appears to have existed between them; although the first-mentioned word is said to mean also a cricket different from and larger than a locust, a man of slender stature, a human corpse or brains. After all, however, no other opinions seem to have been current among the ancient Arabs than that the bird in question was generated in the head, as the seat of the soul, or from the bones of the corpse. The owl thus representing the soul after death, was believed to be conscious of any words addressed to the corpse in the tomb, and to reply to them

(٥٤١) * فَيَا رَبِّ اِنْ اَهْلَكَ وَلَمْ تُرَوْ هَامَتِي بَلِيلِي اِمْتِ لَا قَبْرًا عَطَشَ مِنْ قَبْرِ
وَ اِنْ يَكْ عَنْ لَيْلِي سَلَوْتُ فَاَتَمَّا تَسْلِيْتُ عَنْ يَاسٍ وَلَمْ اَمَلْ مِنْ مَبْرِ
وَ اِنْ يَكْ عَنْ لَيْلِي غَنِيٍّ وَ لَجَدُ فَرَبٍ غَنِيٍّ نَفْسٍ قَرِيبٍ مِنْ الْفَقْرِ

O Lord ! If I perish and thou quenchest not the thirst of my owl by [killing] Layla, I die ! No sepulchre is more thirsty than mine !

And if perhaps I have consoled myself for [the loss of] Layla, I consoled myself from despair, and not from hope.

And if I seem independent of Layla and proud, often independence of mind is closely allied to destitution.

from it.* Aman wishing to know how his son will behave after his death, asks what reply will be given on the subject by the owls when his own makes inquiries on it; † these birds were supposed to fly about and take interest in human affairs, down to the time of Muḥammad, who prohibited any belief in them and denied their very existence.‡ The owls of the departed took cognizance of the acts of the living.§

When the Arabs fought much among themselves, and slaughter was constant, even women who were deprived of their husbands or relatives ceased to mourn;|| in more peaceable times, however, both sexes manifested their grief. When a message of death arrived, the men strewed dust on their heads, and when the husbands of women had been slain they came out without veils on their countenances, uttered various

لَوْلُو اَنْ لَيْلَى الْاَخْيَلِيَّةُ سَلَمَتْ عَلَيَّ وَدُونِي تَرْبَةً وَمَقَابِرَ (٦٨٥)

لَسَلَمْتُ تَسْلِيمَ الْبِشَاشَةِ اَوْ زَقَا إِلَيْهَا صَدَى مِنْ جَانِبِ الْقَبْرِ مَا بَعِثَ

If Layla Allakyalīyah were to salute me, I, being covered by earth and the stones of the tomb, I would greet her with the salutation of joy, or the owl would croak at her from the side of the sepulchre, giving forth its voice.

أَلَيْتَ شَعْرِي مَا يَقُولُنْ مَخَارِقُ إِذَا جَاوَبَ الْهَامُ الْمَصِيحُ هَامَتِي (٢٤٣)

Would that I knew what Mukhārik will say when the owls who are addressed will reply to my owl.

فَقَالَ لَاهَامَةً وَلَا عَدُوِّي وَلَا صَفَرٌ †

He said "There is neither *Hāmet* nor *A'da* nor *Çafir*."

عَقَائِدُ النِّجْمِ الدِّينِ أَبِي حَفْصٍ النَّسْفِيِّ ١٢٣٣ p.

فِي فَأَوْصِيكُمْ يَا ابْنِي نَزَارٍ فَنَابَعًا وَمِصَّةً مَقْضَى النَّصِيحِ وَالصِّدْقِ وَالرَّوَدِ (٣٥٠)

فَلَا تَعْلَمَنَّ الْحَرْبُ فِي الْهَامِ هَامَتِي وَلَا تَرْمِيَا بِالذَّبْلِ وَيَحْكَمَا بَعْدِي

I enjoin you two, sons of Nezar, to follow his advice who exhorts you with sincerity, truth, and love.

That my owl may not witness combat among the owls, do not ye two—woe be to you!—shoot arrows after my demise.

مَعَاذُ الْإِلَهِ إِنْ تَفُوحَ نَسَاوُنَا عَلَى هَالِكٍ أَوْ إِنْ نَضِجَ مِنْ الْفَتْلِ (٢٣٦)

God forbid that our women should mourn for a slain man, or that we should shout on account of the combat.

shouts of sorrow, rent their garments, scratched their faces,* and appear to have been in the habit of shaving off their own hair, as Lebid prohibited his daughters from doing so.† Before the time of Muḥammad a wife who had lost her husband, or was otherwise suffering great anguish, dyed some wool in her own blood and carried it on her head, so that it could be seen in spite of the veil; and this wool was called *Sikāb*. Women were also in the habit of actually wearing dust on their heads, and A'átikah expressly swears that she will never cease to do so.‡ Also mourning women were hired, who chanted and replied to each other in their lamentations,§ holding meanwhile in their hands strips of leather, called *Mijled*, with which they flagellated their own faces. The case was, however, quite different with a man who died unavenged,—he was not only not mourned, but even left

(٣٧٣) * عَشِيَّةٌ قَامَ الْإِنْسَانُ وَشَقَّقَتْ جَيُوبَ بَايَدِي مَا تَمَّ وَخُدُودُ

In the evening the wailing women stood, and the breasts as well as the cheeks were lacerated by the hands of the mourners.

† This is not from his *Mo'allaḥah*, but from a longer poem:—

تَمَنِّي أَبْنَتَايَ أَنْ يَعِيشَ أَبُوهُمَا My two daughters wish their father to live [for ever].

وَهَلْ أَنَا إِلَّا مِنْ رِبْعَةٍ أَوْ مَضْرُورٍ And am I different from the sons of Rebya'h or of Maḍar?

فَإِنْ حَانَ يَوْمًا أَنْ يَمُوتَ أَبُو كَمَا Then if one day your father should happen to die,

فَلَا تُخْمَشَا وَجْهًا وَلَا تُحْلَقَا شَعْرًا Disfigure not your faces nor shave off your hair.

(٤٩٣) † أَلَيْتَ لَا تُنْفَكْ عَيْنِي حَزِينَةً عَلَيْكَ وَلَا يَنْفَكْ جِلْدِي أَغْبَرًا

I made an oath that for thy sake neither should my eye cease to grieve, nor my skin to be soiled with dust.

(٣٩٣) § كَانَ لَمْ يَمُتْ حَى مَوَاتٍ وَلَمْ تَقَمْ عَلَيَّ أَحَدٌ إِلَّا عَلَيْكَ الْوَرَايِمُ

لَيْنَ حَسَنَتِ فَيْكَ الْمَرَاثِي وَذِكْرُهَا لَقَدْ حَسَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِ فَيْكَ الْمَوَدَايِمُ

As if no living being had died except thee, and wailing women had not stood near any one except thyself.

If threnodies about thee and their eulogies were beautiful, indeed ere this laudable virtues of thine were beautiful.

unburied; so that an individual who knew that no one would avenge his death actually bids the hyenas to rejoice at their coming repast.*

In pre-Islamitic times all sepulchres appear to have been mere heaps of earth on which large stones were placed;† under these the grave itself, four ells long and five spans broad, was situated;‡ the spot where the corpse was inserted being dug at the bottom into the side of it—very likely in order to shelter it better from wild beasts—was called, on account of its curved form, *Lahd*,§ and closed with a large rock named *Hemiret* (a she-ass). It is doubtful whether destitute persons also were always interred in such a grave, and whether at the burial some friends descended into the pit to have a last look at the corpse and to see how it was finally disposed of, as was the case at the interment of Muḥammad, who was likewise buried in this ancient man-

(۲۴۲) * لَا تَقْبِرُونِي إِنْ قَبِرِي مُحَرَّمٌ عَلَيْكُمْ وَلَا كُنْ إِبْشَرِي أُمَّ عَامِرٍ

Bury me not, because my grave is illicit to you; but rejoice, mother of A'amer [i.e. hyena].

† *Tarafa*, 64 and 65:—

ارِئِ قَبْرِي نَحَامٍ بِخَيْلٍ بِمَالِهِ
كَقَبْرِ غَوِي فِي الْبَطَالَةِ مَقْصِدِ
تَرِئِ جَثْوَتَيْنِ مِنْ تَرَابٍ عَلَيْهِمَا
صَفَائِحُ صَمٍّ فِي صَفِيحٍ مَنْصُودِ

I see no difference between the tomb of the anxious miser gasping over his board, and the tomb of the libertine lost in the maze of voluptuousness.

You behold the sepulchres of them both raised in two heaps of earth, on which are elevated two broad piles of solid marble among the tombs closely connected. (Transl. Sir W. Jones.)

(۲۴۱) † عَجَبًا لَارْبَعٍ أذْرَعٍ فِي خُمُسَةٍ فِي جَوْفِهَا جَبَلٌ أَشْمٌ كَبِيرٌ

O wonderful! That a hole of four ells by five [spans] should contain a mountain high, large [a hero]!

(۲۴۶) § إِيَّاهِ أَنْ تَصْبِيحَ رَهْدِينَ قَرَارَةً زَلْجِ الْجَوَانِبِ قَعْرُهَا مَلْحُودٌ

O Obayyu! If thou art in the morning pledged to a habitation the sides of which are smooth, and whose bottom has an excavation curved laterally.

ner. When obstacles intervened or the soil was too rocky, so that the just-described lateral hole could not be dug, one was excavated at the bottom in the middle of the pit and called *Zaryh*, by which name all other kinds of graves were called; in course of time, however, both came to be used promiscuously to designate any kind of sepulchre. When the burial was completed, the earth was heaped up on the grave, not only by the men, but also by the women,* and last of all a stone called *Qafyrah* † was placed on the top of it. After the time of Muhammad more ornamental tombs were constructed, and often contained epitaphs; he also introduced prayers at burials. Coffins were never used, and are generally dispensed with to this day by all Muhammadans; the body was simply washed, anointed with aromatic substances, wrapped in a white sheet named *Kafan*, and thrust into the grave by friends who relieved each other in carrying the bier; ‡ it appears that even foes of the deceased laid aside their enmity and also shouldered his corpse by turns.§

(٢٢٣) * يَهْلِنُ عَلَيْهِ بِالْأَكْفِ مِنَ الثَّرَى وَمَا مِنْ قَلِيٍّ يَعْثِي عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الثَّرَى

The women throw dust on him with their hands, but it is not shed on him from hatred.

(٣٩٢) † وَمَا كُنْتُ أَدْرِي مَا فَوَاضِلُ كَفِّهِ عَلَيَّ أَلْتَأَسُّ حَتَّى غِيْبَتْهُ أَصْفَائِي

فَأَصْبَحَ فِي لَحْدٍ مِنْ أَلْأَرْضِ مَيْتًا وَكَانَتْ بِهِ حَيًّا تَضِيقُ الصَّحَامِصُ

And I knew not what the merits of his hands towards men were, until the stones of the tomb concealed him.

He was in the morning dead in a *Lahd* of earth, whilst when he was alive the plains were too narrow for him.

(٤٧٠) ‡ وَكَنْتُ أَرْجِي مِنْ حَكِيمٍ قِيَامَهُ عَلَيَّ إِذَا مَا النُّعْشُ زَالَ أَرْتَدَانِيَا

فَقَدِمَ قَبْلِي نَعْشُهُ فَأَرْتَدَيْتُهُ فَيَا وَبِحَ نَفْسِي مِنْ رِدَاءٍ غَلَانِيَا

I hoped that Hakym would stand near me when the bier departs and would carry it;

But his bier was brought before me and I carried him, and woe to my soul for the bier I carried!

(٣٧٧) § وَكُلُّ أَمْرِي يَوْمًا مَيْرَكَبٌ كَارِهًا عَلَيَّ النُّعْشِ أَعْنَاقُ الْعَدِيِّ وَالْأَقْرَابِ

And every man will one day be carried unwillingly on a bier, on the shoulders of friends and foes.

Ghouls were by the ancient Arabs considered to be demons living in deserts, leading men astray and killing them. Demons could assume various shapes, and there are stories of men having been married to some who had assumed the form of women; thus, for instance, A'mru Ben Yárbuh had one who had become a dutiful wife to him, but she having one day by the negligence of her husband looked at lightning with uncovered head, which was contrary to her nature, took flight. Genii sometimes appeared in the desert in the form of ostriches; thus, for instance, when Murarah and Murráh, the two brothers of Morayr, had been snatched away by demons, he swore that he would neither drink wine nor wash his head until he had searched for his brothers. Accordingly he took his bow and arrows, went to the mountains where his brothers had perished, and sought them for seven days, but in vain. On the eighth day he at last beheld an ostrich, which he shot, wounded and caused to fall; after sunset, however, he perceived the same ostrich standing on a rock and addressing to him the following words:—"O thou shooter at the black ostrich, may thy ill-directed arrows perish."* Then Morayr replied in the following verses:—"O thou who fliest away above the rock, how many tears hast thou caused! By thy killing Murarah and Murrah thou hast dispersed a company, and left sighing."† The demon remained concealed during a part of the night and then snatched away Morayr, who being weakened by fever had fallen asleep. On being asked by the demon how he could fall asleep in spite of his vigilance, Morayr replied, "The fever subjected me to sleep,"‡ and these words afterwards became a proverb. According to another account, however, Morayr recited on that occasion also the following verses:—"Alas, who will convey to the youths of my people the tidings of what befell me after separating from them? I waged war against the genii, seeking to avenge myself, to give them pure venom

* *Arabum Proverbia*. Freytag, tome i., p. 364:—

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّاغِبُ الظَّلِيمُ الْأَسْوَدُ ثَبَتَ مَرَامِيكَ أَلْتَنِي لَمْ تَرُدَّهُ

† *Ibid.*, p. 365:—يَا أَيُّهَا الْهَائِفُ فَوْقَ الصَّخْرَةِ كَمْ عِبْرَةٍ هَيَّجَتْهَا وَ عِبْرَةٍ

بَقَتْلِكُمْ مَرَارَةً وَ مَرَّةً فَرَّقْتَ جَمْعًا وَ تَرَكْتَ حَسْرَةً

‡ *Ibid.*: أَلْهَمِي اضْرَعْنِي لِلنُّوْمِ

to drink, and after seven days one appeared to me in the form of an ostrich, whom I slew and left prostrate.”*

Some poets also suppose that every man had a genius, or familiar spirit, and even beautiful women were supposed to enjoy the privilege of being taught by one.†

A man could also invoke the aid of his genius, and on becoming unlucky or weak was considered to have been abandoned by him. Not only tribes of pure demons, but also such as occupied an intermediate position between men and genii, were believed to exist; there were also weak and low ones, and to this species entirely black dogs, as well as certain reptiles and scorpions, were considered to belong. Some genii live also in the air; this belief survived till the time of Muhammad, is countenanced by the Korán,‡ and has been perpetuated down to

* *Arabum Proverbia*, tome i., p. 365:—

ألا من مبلغ فتيان قومي بما لا قيت بعد هم جميعا
غزوت الجن اطلبها بئاري لا سقيهم به سما نقيما
فيعرض لي ظليما بعد سبع فارميه فان تركه صريعا

† *Hamasah*, Freytag, p. 593

جنية او لها جن يعلمها رمي القلوب بقوس ما لها وتر

“She is a genius, or has a genius who teaches her to shoot at hearts from a bow which has no string [i.e. from her eyebrows].”

‡ Besides the whole *Surah* LXXII., entitled *The Genii*, there are numerous passages in which they are mentioned, and the invocation of them reproved; they are considered to interfere a great deal in human affairs, and according to VI. 128 God will assemble them all and address to them the words, “O company of genii, ye have been much concerned with mankind,” &c.

Some rebellious devils were even in the habit of listening to the conversation of the angels in heaven, and guards were placed to keep them off:—

انا زيننا السماء الدنيا بزينة الكواكب وحفظا من كل شيطان مارد لا
يسمعون الي اهل الا على ويقذفون من كل جانب دحورا ولهم عذاب
واصب إلا من خطف الخطفة فأتبعه شهاب ثاقب

“XXXVII. 6. We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornaments of the stars, 7. And we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, 8. That they may not listen to the discourse of the exalted princes (for they are darted at from every side; 9. To repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them); 10. Except him who catcheth a word by stealth and is pursued by a shining flame.”

our times. Genii are afflicting men with various diseases, which it is usual to remove by incantations; they are also exorcised, and the ancient Arabs used certain plants, especially the *Hūza*, to smoke them out, wherefore the very smell of it was considered to be a bad omen, and was figuratively used to designate any impending misfortune.* Valiant men were ~~not~~ seldom compared to demons,† to whom not only the common people, but also literary men, attributed anything extraordinary;‡ even cows, when they refused to go to their watering-place, were supposed to do so from the fear of genii, and lest they should perish of thirst a bull was driven before, in order to cause them to follow him.

Many things were believed to be unpropitious by the Arabs, whilst certain birds were also considered to portend evil, and others good. When an Arab augur, who was called *Zájar* (literally meaning 'a driver away,' because by doing so the direction of the flight of a bird, from which nearly everything appears to depend, is ascertained), began his soothsaying operation, he drew two lines called eyes, as if he could by means of them observe anything he liked; and when he had through these perceived something unpleasant he used to say, "The sons of vision have manifested the explanation." § It is natural that birds which were known to settle on the backs of wounded camels and to hurt them should have been considered unlucky; such were the crow, and a kind of woodpecker, || but the former was also con-

* *Arab. Prov.*, ed. Freytag, tome i., p. 524:—

رِيحُ حَزَاءٍ فَالْتَجَاءُ

"Here is the odour of the *Hūza* plant; flee therefore."

رَبِّتْ عَلَى مَذُونِ الْخَيْلِ جِنًّا تَفِيدُ مَغَايِمًا وَتَفِيتْ نِيْلًا (p. 316 *Hamashah*.)

"Thou sawest demons on horseback, who gain booty but lose it by gifts."

‡ *Ibid.*:— اِبْنِي عِيَانَ الظُّهْرَا اَلْبَيَانَ مِنْ صِنْعَةِ الْجِنِّ

"And also those endued with eloquence; whenever they saw anything beautiful, they accounted it to be the workmanship of genii."

§ *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 605, اِبْنَا عِيَانَ الظُّهْرَا اَلْبَيَانَ In the beginning of the operation they were also in the habit of addressing an invocation to these two lines, or eyes:— اِبْنِي عِيَانَ الظُّهْرَا اَلْبَيَانَ "O sons of vision, manifest the explanation?"

|| *Ibid.*:— اَشَامُ مِنْ اَلْاَخْيَلِ "More ill-boding than the woodpecker."

sidered so for another reason—namely, because it implied separation. When a tribe strikes its tents and departs to new pastures, the crows alight on the spot of the abandoned encampment in search of food, and there is nothing passing in front, or crossing over from the right side to the left, and no beast with a broken horn or any other object more unlucky than a crow,* but the omen was increased when it happened to sit on a *Bán* tree and pulled out its own feathers.† As the *Bán*

* *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 695:—^{أَشَامُ مِنْ غُرَابٍ أَلْبِينِ} “More ill-boding than the crow of separation.”

The left side was considered of sinister import, as with the Hindus, Romans, &c., thus:—

Ibid., tome ii., p. 709:—^{مَرَلَهُ غُرَابٌ شَمَالُ} “The crow of the left side has passed him.”

(*Hamasah*, p. 103) ^{أَلَا أَيُّهَا الْبَيْتُ الَّذِي أَنْتَ هَاجِرُهُ فَلَا الْبَيْتَ مَنْسَى}
ولا أنتَ زَايِرُهُ يَقْرَعُ بَيْنِي أَنْ أَرَى قَصْدَ الْقَنَا وَصَرْعَى كَمَاةٍ فِي وَغَايَا
حَاضِرَةٍ فَإِنْ أَنْجَ يَا لَيْلَى قَرَبَ فَنَى نَجَا وَإِنْ تَكُنِ الْآخِرَى فَبَيْنِ
أَحَازِرَةٍ رَايْتَ غُرَابًا وَقَعَا فَوْقَ بَانَةٍ يَنْشَنُشُ أَعْلَى رِيشِهِ وَيَطَايِرُهُ فَكَانَ
اغْتَرَابًا بِالْغُرَابِ وَنِيَّةً بِالْبَانِ

“Alas for the house which thou art about to leave! Neither shall the house be forgotten, nor thou its visitor. My eye will rejoice to behold the splinters of lances, and the armed warriors prostrated in the combat where I am present. Should I come out unhurt, O Layla, such will be the case also with many others; should, however, the contrary be the case, I apprehend separation from thee! I saw a crow alighting on a *Bán* tree which pulled out its upper feathers and scattered them into the air; but the crow portends removal, and the *Bán* separation.”

Also *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 697:—

| | |
|---|---|
| ^{أَصَاحُ غُرَابٍ فَوْقَ أَعْوَادِ بَانَةٍ} | ^{بَاخْبَارِ أَحِبَّابِي فَقَسَمَنِي الْفَكْرُ} |
| ^{فَقُلْتُ غُرَابٌ بِأَغْثَرَابٍ وَبَانَةٍ} | ^{بَيْنَ أَلْفَوَى تِلْكَ أَلْعِيَاةِ وَالزَّجَرُ} |
| ^{وَهَبْتَ جَنُوبَ بَاغْتِنَابِي مِنْهُمْ} | ^{وَهَاجَتْ صَبَا تِلْكَ أَلْمَبَابَةِ وَالْهَجَرُ} |

“Has the crow croaked on the branches of the *Bán* tree giving news about my friends? It suggested thoughts, and I said, The crow means travel, and the *Bán* separation, such is the augury. The south wind blowing pointed out my departure from them, and the morning zephyr brought me longing and exile.”

tree* also implies separation,† the omen is taken from this signification, and applicable not only when a crow, but also when a dove, a bird of good luck, is perched on it;‡ but poets like plays on words, and hence the lapwing, whose name is *Hudhud*, also indicates the direction *Huda*; § whilst the eagle called *U'káb*, being nearly homophonous with *U'kb*, “the end,” and the dove *Hamám* with *Humma*, “it was decreed,” are on these accounts respectively considered to put an end to separation, and to imply that the meeting of friends is decreed. ||

* حَبُّ الْبُلْبُلَانِ et بَانُ Glans unguentaria, nux myristica, Hyperanthera Moringa. Sprengel, *Hist. rei Herb.*, p. 261. In Avicenn. lib. II., p. 139 describitur Et Salix Egyptiaca à Forsk. بَانُ et خَلَّافُ et appellatur. *Fl. Æg. Ar.*, p. lxxvi.

† بان *F, i, n, a*, بين, يورن, بنوئية (*de separatione longinqua*). *l*, Distitit et segregata et distincta fuit res a re, &c. (Freytag.)

٤ اَقُولُ يَوْمَ تَلَاقِنَا وَقَدْ سَجَدْتَ
 ٥ حَمَامَتَانِ عَلَي غُصْنَيْنِ مِنْ بَابِ
 ٦ اَلَا اَعْلَمُ اَنْ اَلْغَصْنَ لِي فَصَصَ
 ٧ وَانَّمَا الْبَابُ بَيْنَ عَاجِلٍ دَانٍ
 ٨ فَكُلْتُ تَخَفُضَنِي اَرْضًا وَتَرْفَعُنِي
 ٩ حَتَّى وَنَيْتَ وَهَذَا السَّيْرُ اِرْكَانِي

"I say on the day we met, and two doves cooed on two branches of the Bán tree, Now I know that the branch is anxiety to me, and verily separation among the hastening ones is approaching; then I again said, The earth abases and exalts me [as the ground falls or rises in travelling] until I get tired, and the journey has broken my supports."—*Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, tome i., p. 697.

فَقُلْتُ هَذِهِ نَعْدُو بِهِ وَنُرُوحُ

"They said, The lapwing sings on the Bán tree; and I replied, It is a direction by which we travel in the morning and evening."—*Ibid.*

وَقَالُوا عِقَابٌ مِّنْ أَلَّهِ دُونَ هَٰذَا ۖ وَتَوَلَّىٰ وَوَجَّهْنَا بِلِقَاءِ رَبِّهِمْ أَصْوَاحًا
وَقَالُوا حُمَاقٌ لَّا يُفْقَهُوْا ۖ وَعَادُوا لِذُنُوبِهِمْ وَلَأِنَّ أَوَّلَ الْآيَةِ لَلْكَافِرِينَ

They said, An eagle. I replied, By it absence is terminated. She [the lady] approaches after separation from them, and comes. They also said, A dove. I replied, To meet her is decreed [by God], and again the odour of conjunction is perceived by us."—*Ibid.*

Many Arabs were from the most ancient times in the habit of burying their female infants alive, and a girl thus interred was called *Mauwudah*.^{*} This inhuman custom, which was even considered to be honourable,[†] was no doubt the result of poverty, which compelled some to do away with their male offspring also in the same manner. The observance of female infanticide, however, declined gradually, and appears during the time of Muḥammad to have been confined only to the tribe Tamim, where it still lingered because a certain Ḳays, whose daughter was captured and afterwards refused to return, had sworn that he would bury alive any female infants which might thereafter be born to him, and he actually thus destroyed ten daughters. The first man who opposed the sepulture of little girls was Ḥa'ṣa'h Ben Najjah, the grandfather of Farazdaq, who having one day gone in search of two stray camels happened to fall in with some people about to bury an infant girl alive, and ransomed her with his two camels. He was a contemporary of Muḥammad, and when the latter was promulgating Islam he had thus redeemed already three hundred girls, wherefore Farazdaq sang, "It is my grandfather who impeded the burial of girls and saved their lives, lest they should be interred."[‡] The custom of female infanticide by burial is strongly reprobated in the Ḳorān,[§] and

* *Arab. Prov.* tome i., p. 16:— أَضَلُّ مِنْ مُوَدَّةٍ

"More lost than a female infant buried alive [or more astray than a *Mauwudah*]."

† دَفَنُ الْبَنَاتِ مِنَ الْكِرَامَاتِ "The burying of girls is a noble act."

Also تَقْدِيمُ الْحَرَمِ مِنَ النِّعَمِ "To send females in advance [into the next world, by burying them alive] is a benefit."—*Ibid.*, tome i., p. 228.

‡ *Ḥamasah*, p. 118 l. 6:—

وَجَدْتِي الَّذِي مَنَعَ الرَّايداتِ وَ أَحْبَا الرِّوَيْدِ فَلَمْ تَوَدِّ

§ (٦٠) وَإِذَا بَشَرُ أَحَدِهِمْ بِالْأُنْثَى ظَلَّ وَجْهَهُ مَسْوُودًا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٌ ٦٠

يَتَوَارَى مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مِنْ سُوءِ مَا بُشِّرَبِهِ أَيَسْكُنُهُ عَلَى هُونٍ أَمْ يَدُسُّهُ فِي
الْأُتْرَابِ إِلَّا سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ

Jazu Ben Kulayb Alfaka'sy, in whose time women had become more plentiful, and who lived shortly after the time of Muḥammad, advised a man not to marry a certain girl, saying, "Do not therefore covet her, O son of Kuz! Because from the time the prophet arose, men have brought up girls."*

The pilgrimage to the Ka'bah of Mekkah, the kissing of the black stone, the running between Ḥafa and Merwah, the sacrificing of cattle, &c., were in use long before the time of Muḥammad, and, as is well known, only retained and assimilated to Islamism, but not introduced by him. Some customs, however, he thought proper to abolish, *e.g.*, the *Nasi*, which meant first the addition of an intercalary month, but afterwards also the transference of a sacred month to another month.†

"60. And when any of them is told the news of *the birth of a female*, his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted. 61. He hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; *considering within himself* whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment?" (XVI.)

اِذَا الشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ ۲ وَاِذَا النُّجُومُ انْكَدَرَتْ ۳ وَاِذَا الْجِبَالُ
صُيرَتْ ۴ وَاِذَا الْعُشُورُ غُطَّتْ ۵ وَاِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ ۶ وَاِذَا الْبِحَارُ
سُجِّرَتْ ۷ وَاِذَا النُّفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ ۸ وَاِذَا الْمَوْءِدَةُ صَلَّتْ ۹ بَايَ ذَنْبٍ
قُتِلَتْ

"1. When the sun shall be folded up, 2. And when the stars shall fall, 3. And when the mountains shall be made to pass away, 4. And when the camels ten months gone with young shall be neglected, 5. And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together, 6. And when the seas shall boil, 7. And when the souls shall be joined *again to their bodies*, 8. And when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked, 9. For what crime she was put to death." (LXXXI.)

فَلَا تَطْلُبْنَهَا يَا بَنِي كُوزٍ فَإِنَّهُ غَدَا النَّاسُ مِنْ قَامِ (Hamasa, p. 117)*

الَّذِي الْجَوَارِيَا

† Korán, IX. 36. "Moreover the *complete* number of months with God is twelve months, *which were ordained* in the book of God, on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of these four are sacred. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in *all the months*, as they attack you in all; and know that God is with those who fear him. 37. Verily the transferring of a *sacred month to another month* is an additional infidelity. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby. They allow a *month* to be violated one year, and declare it *sacred another year*, that they may agree in the number of *months* which God hath commanded to be kept sacred," &c.

The origin of the *Nasi*, literally "retardation," was as follows:—As the lunar year, unlike the solar, does not mark the seasons, it happened that the time of pilgrimage fell in one in which the harvests of the preceding year had almost been consumed and those of the current one had not yet been gathered in, so that the pilgrims experienced much difficulty in procuring food. To remedy this evil it was considered proper to fix the time for the pilgrimage, i.e. the 12th month of the year, to fall in the autumn, the season of the year when all provisions are more abundant; and this was done by adding a month at the end of every third year. The arrangement was sufficiently clumsy for an approximative concordance of the lunar with the solar year, because after each series of three years the beginning of the Arab year was now not in arrears as before, but 3 days 12 hours 18 minutes and 15 seconds in advance of the solar year,* but was serviceable enough for some time. The season of the pilgrimage did not shift so quickly as before, and coincided during the first few years with October and November. In the fifty-first year of the *Nasi* it fell still nearer autumn, in the beginning of September, when the harvests are gathered in Arabia. Thus the object sought was attained during at least half a century. Afterwards the time of the pilgrimage advanced gradually till it reached August, then July, June, and was in the 129th year of the *Nasi* (A.D. 541) in the summer solstice, so that gradually the purpose for which the *Nasi* had been instituted was entirely lost, and the perseverance of the Arabs in maintaining this defective luni-solar calendar, which can be explained only on the supposition that it had attained the force of a religious custom, required for its abolition nothing less than the establishment of a new religion and the authority of a prophet, who ordered the *Nasi* intercalation to be discontinued, and commanded a return to the old calendar in vogue before its adoption, according to which the year is eleven days shorter than by the solar reckoning, and therefore the months rotate through all the seasons of the year, and also the mean-

| | | | | |
|---|--------|------|------|------|
| • Because 3 solar years make | 1095d. | 17h. | 18m. | 15s. |
| Three Arab lunar years—2 of 12, and 1 of 13 | | | | |
| months—make..... | 1092d. | 5h. | 0m. | 0s. |
| Difference..... | 3d. | 12h. | 18m. | 15s. |

The institution of the *Nasi* began, according to Caussin de Perceval, A.D. 413, and terminated with the mission of Muhammad, who abolished it. More on the subject may be seen in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, tome i., pp. 240 *seqq.*, but especially in the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1834, p. 342.

ing some of the months bear with reference to them become inapplicable,* whilst the rest, having no bearing on the season, present no incongruity.†

The men who enjoyed the privilege of announcing the *Nasi* at the end of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage just when the pilgrims were about to leave Mekkah were on that account called *Nasú*; on such occasions they announced likewise the transference of a sacred month to another month when they considered it proper. This has already been alluded to, and verses (IX. 36, 37) of the *Korán*, according to which the year is to have only twelve months, and no transference to take place, quoted. This transference was a later institution than the *Nasi*, but was called by the same name, and is said to have been introduced in order to accommodate the warlike Bedawi or nomadic Arabs, who considered the succession of three sacred months—*Dulka'dah*, *Dulhejjah*, and *Muḥarram*, during which all hostilities were forbidden—to be a grievance of such magnitude, that it was considered suitable to empower the *Nasú* men sometimes to transfer the sacredness of *Muḥarram* to the month *Ṣafar*, so that the latter became sacred and the former profane, whereby an interval of one profane month was secured for fighting.

That there can have been no great uniformity in the names of the months among the pre-Islamitic Arabs may be surmised from the absence of unity of government, although there can be no doubt that at least in the district of Mekkah the names still current were used, and also the Sabæan inscription of *Hiṣn G'huráb* interpreted by Lévy ‡ bears the date *Dulhejjah* 640 of an era approximately fixed by Halévy at 115 years before Christ; and therefore the date would be A.D. 525, which designates an event known also from other data to have taken place in that year. Halévy discovered the names of ten months in the Sabæan inscriptions; § not one of them, however,

* e.g. ربيع *Rabi'*, the 1st and 2nd (spring freshets, verdure); جمادى *Jumáda*, the 1st and 2nd (cessation of rain, dryness); رمضان *Ramaḍán* (great heat); ذولقعدو *Dulka'dah* (opening of the soil); and ذولحجه *Dulhejjah* (time of the pilgrimage).

† It need scarcely be observed that the designations of our own months are also incongruous enough in our times, since the 8th, 9th, and 10th are actually the 10th, 11th, and 12th, not to mention others.

‡ *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* xxvi. p. 436.

§ See my "Sketch of Sabæan Grammar," *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1875, p. 40.

bears the least resemblance to the names purporting to be pre-Islamitic and given in the *Núsekh al-towarykh* as follows, and said to begin with the month Muḥarram :—Mutamiz, Nájiz, Khowwán, Wabḥán, Ḥanyn, Hinnyn, Aḥm, A'ázel, Nátek, Wa'l, Warnah, Burak,* but those said to have been in use by the ancient race of the Šamudites, and to have begun with the month Ramaḍán, which they called Daymar, are :—Mújab, Muwajer, Maulad, Mulzam, Muḍdir, Hubar, Haubal, Muwáhá, Daymar, Aber, Khayfal, Minbal.†

The eras according to which the pre-Islamitic Arabs counted their years appear neither to have been current in the whole peninsula, nor to have been of long duration. Any important event, such as the reign of a king, a great war, or catastrophe of nature, served as an era till another event of great importance occurred, but Muḥammad ordered all acts and records to be dated from the year of his exile. Perhaps more light will be thrown on this subject when the great ruins of Yemen are excavated, and for the present only such dates as “the year of A'mmīkarib, son of Samhīkarib, son of Hatfarm^m,” or “the year of Samhīkarib, son of Tobba'kerib, son of Faḍḥ^m,”‡ and the like, have been discovered by Halévy. Strangely enough, it is always ‘the year,’ without specifying its number, so that the information must be considered rather scanty. Tabari§ knows of no other events except the appearance of Adam on earth, of the deluge of Noah, and of Abraham's passage through the fire, from which eras were counted, but as the precise years when these events had taken place were not known, much confusion arose. He also states that afterwards every important event among the Arabs served as the starting point of an era. Thus at the time of Kossayy B. Keláb a memorable event took place among the Beni Nezár and the Beni Ma'add B. A'dnán. At that time there was a yearly fair of seven days held at O'kaz, where Arabs from the Ḥejáz, from Syria, from Baḥrayn, from Yemama, and from all the other countries congregated. During a certain year at the time of this fair a war broke out among them, in which many people were killed. This was an important event, the rumour of which had spread over the whole world as far as the country of

* مومتز ناجز خوان وبمان حنين اسم عادل ناتق وعل ورنه برك
† موجب موجر مولد ملزم مصدر هو بر هو بل مواها ديوا بر خيفل منبل

‡ See my “Sketch of Sabæan Grammar” in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1875, p. 41.

§ Zotenberg's *Tabari*, ii., pp. 453 seqq.

Rúm, to Persia, and to Mesopotamia. The Arabs called this year *d'm*, and began to count from it. When the Abyssinians came with an elephant to destroy the Ka'ba, and perished, the *year of the elephant*, being the birth-year of Muḥammad likewise, was the beginning of another era. Also the time when the Mekkans undertook to demolish and to rebuild the Ka'bah, when Muḥammad was fifteen years old, was the beginning of a new era among them, whilst the other Arabs continued to count from the year of the elephant.

Polytheism.

As in ancient times no other portion of Arabia had become powerful or had attained a high degree of civilization like Yemen, the history of which bears testimony to the prowess, and the inscriptions as well as the remains of aqueducts and buildings to the progress of the Hemyarites, it is natural to suppose that they must in various ways and also in a religious point of view have influenced other parts of Arabia. Yemen is said to have been colonized soon after the confusion of languages and the dispersion of the sons of Noah, by Koṭṭān the son of Eber;* and some of the Sabæans, *i.e.* Hemyarites, became eventually not only settlers in the territory of Mekkah, but even the guardians of the Ka'bah. When the tribe Khoza'h separated (*inkhaza'et*) from their fellow-countrymen after emigrating from Yemen in consequence of the rupture of the dams in the second century of the Christian era, they established themselves in Boṭn-Morr, near Mekkah, and obtained the name Khoza'h;† their power there appears soon to have declined; they are reproached with having sold the Ka'bah for a skin filled with wine when drunk,‡ and, having been expelled from Mekkah, were restricted to Boṭn-Morr. By this and similar intermixtures of the Arabs, their religious tenets were also propagated among each other, but no general form of religion appears to have prevailed over the whole peninsula; various forms existed by the side of each other, the chief being a vague polytheism based on no fixed system, except as far as suggested by the awe in which human beings generally stand of

* *Abulfedæ Historia Anteislamica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 114.

† *Ibid.*, p. 186.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 186:—

باعث خزاعة بيت الله اذ سكرت

بزق خمر فبيست مفة الادي

supernatural and invisible powers, and by a desire for protection. Simple stones, like the rural Lingams of India, and in some instances even trees, enjoyed divine honours, which were by more advanced communities bestowed on statues of various forms, not seldom enshrined in temples and served by priests. Idols were sometimes made of ivory,* they were sometimes adorned with gold and precious gems, and for this reason beautiful women were often compared to them:—“And fair ones who strut about; they are like idols with long garments, and gilded; costly ones.”†

It appears to me that astrolatry could not have been one of the first stages of religious worship, although there is no doubt that as a whole the firmament, being at all times a magnificent and tremendous spectacle, but especially so in the unclouded regions of the East, must have made a deep impression on mankind; it required, however, some knowledge of astronomy and a great deal of observation to pick out even the brightest stars, to follow all their motions, and to constitute them objects of separate worship. Hence their adoration must have been introduced by learned men, and cannot have originated with the multitude; were this not the case, we ought even in India—where many kinds of aboriginal races, as yet uninfluenced by later systems of religion, still exist in a comparatively primitive state of nature—to meet with some forms of star-worship, but we find most of them adoring stones, like the ancient Arabs. The worship of the sun is much more intelligible, and must have preceded the adoration of particular stars in Arabia likewise, and the same holds true also of the moon. Besides the old names of men and places known to us from Arabic authors, such as “slave of the sun,” “house of the sun,” &c., also the Greeks have preserved several important ones, and Krehl‡ refers among others even to as ancient an author as Herodotus, who mentions *Nur-ullah*, “Light of God,” for the sun, as well as the moon-goddess, *Alilāt*, which is no other than the Arabic “*Al-ilahat*.”

The notices concerning the various stars worshipped by a few Arab tribes in pre-Islamitic times are extremely scanty, and the number of

* *Hamasah*, ii. 248.

† *Ibid.*, p. 506

والبيض يرقان كالدمي في الريط والمذهب المصون

‡ *Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, pp. 40 seqq.

stars thus honoured appears never to have exceeded ten or twelve. Here follows a list of them :—

Al-Dabaran (Hyades), said to have been worshipped by the extinct tribes Tasm and Jadis, for their power of procuring rain.

Al-Mushtari (Jupiter), considered to be a well-boding planet, and chiefly worshipped by the tribes Lahm and Juzám. Jupiter was called the greater, and Venus (Zohrah) the smaller luck.

Sa'd and *Sa'id* were worshipped not far from Madinah, but nothing certain is known about them, and they may have been only synonyms of Jupiter, whose epithet was *Sa'd*, "luck."

Al-Ukaiqir was an idol of four tribes, but no reliable information exists about it. The shaving of a man's head in honour of it was observed also towards other idols, is enjoined in the Korán to pilgrims to Mekkah, and is still kept up on that occasion.

Sohail (Canopus) was a deity of the tribe Tayyi, which also emigrated from Yemen after the inundation of Al-A'rem, and this star was, perhaps also on that account by later Arabs, considered ill-boding.

Al-Fuls in Najd was also worshipped by the just-mentioned tribe, and its territory was a kind of asylum for all sorts of criminals, like the cities of refuge among the Jews (Josh. xx. 7, 8).

Shi'ra (Sirius) was worshipped by the Kais Ben A'ilán, one of the largest Arab tribes in Najd and in the Hejáz. The words of the Korán (LIII. 50), "He [Allah] is also the lord of Sirius," allude to this deity.

U'tarid (Mercury) was the deity of the Tamimites.

Surayya, i.e. the Pleiades, were worshipped by the Maḍhij, the Kuraish, and the I'jád.

Kaşra has come down to us as a mere name, and nothing else is known about it.*

The tradition that A'mru Ben Lahy, who lived during the fourth century of the Christian era (as will afterwards appear), was the first who introduced idols into Arabia, and especially into the territory of Mekkah, is nearly as great an absurdity chronologically downwards as that according to which the Ka'bah was built by Adam himself is one upwards. On these and on many other subjects connected with the history and

* More about these stars may be seen in Krehl, pp. 9-27, who quotes authorities, none of which tend, however, to show that the worship of even one of these stars was current among many tribes. In Arabia, where no political union ever existed, a strong power like that of Muḥammad was needed to attempt a religious one.

religion of the pre-Islamitic Arabs no certainty exists, but we possess valid testimony that up to the present time idolatry has existed, and to some extent still exists, in Arabia; and Sir Lewis Pelly, who went in 1865 to Riyaz, says, "I gathered from roadside conversations to-day that there is an outcaste tribe on the desert-borders of Yemen, who have a religion apart of their own. They are called Awazem. The Muhammadans designate both them and the Selaibeas as outcastes, in that they have no chiefs or tribal organization or recognition. On asking why the Musalmáns, while forcibly converting the majority of the Arabians, spared the Selaibeas, the reply was that conversion is brought about by means of the heads of tribes, but that the Selaibeas having no chiefs, they could have been converted only by individual compulsion or persuasion, an operation which the Musalmáns were too impatient to put into practice. Moreover, the Musalmáns found the Selaibeas so useful as guides, and so harmless and subservient as a race, that it would have been bad policy to force or expel them. From what I have since learnt, I am inclined to infer that the Musalmán religion has not been accepted by the tribes of Central Arabia, as a whole, from any very remote date, and that some of them have been converted from idolatry to Wahabeeism without passing through any intermediate phase of Muhammadanism, and this within the last century, or even half-century. For instance, I am assured by a good Arab authority that the people of El-Howtah in Sedair were converted by the late Amír Fysul from idolatry to Wahabeeism direct within the last forty years; and there exist now, at the present time, sculptured caverns excavated in the Towey hills overlooking Sedair which formed the temples of the old Howtah religion. The Howtah people, it is added, still maintain these caverns inviolate from the intrusion of strangers. The same and other authorities assure me that near the town of Jelajel, a little to the northward of Howtah in Sedair, is a hill on the summit of which are the sculptured remains of an ancient place of worship. Again to the southward the El-Morreh tribe are very recent converts, and even now their Wahabeeism is admittedly forced, and their adherence to the prophet unstable. It is said that when irritated by the dominant government, the El-Morreh threaten to go over to what they call the religion of the Syed, that is to say, the religion which obtains in Nejrán, a province of Yemen."*

* Extract given from Sir Lewis Pelly's work in "*The Times of India*," March 18th, 1876.

In a large country like Arabia, where, moreover, one portion of the population is settled whilst another is nomadic, there must always have been a vast difference of customs and beliefs, until the power which Muḥammad gradually attained enabled him to induce the majority of the inhabitants, partly by persuasion and partly by terrorism, to make profession of one and the same religion. Some tribes were also more civilized, and some were subject to influences from which others remained free. Hence some professed polytheism, some Judaism, and some Christianity, all of which finally gave way to Islām. But the Arabs of the desert have never been remarkable for their religious zeal, and are great latitudinarians to this day; they are indeed monotheists, but know little of their religion beyond that there is no God but Allah and that Muḥammad is his prophet. This is no doubt owing to their predatory and migratory habits, as well as to the aversion to any kind of restraint or serious task manifested at all times by wild children of nature. Some tribes entertained a belief in the resurrection; even that, however, they associated, like the American Indians, with gross ideas of physical life, and got their camels buried with them lest they might arise unmounted; whilst others did not indeed bury the camel with the deceased person, but tied it to the grave and cruelly allowed it to perish of hunger.* It was also customary when a man died or divorced his wife, for his eldest son to throw a cloth over her if he wanted her, or to give her in marriage to one of his brothers, but with a new dowry.†

The tradition has already been alluded to above according to which all Muhammadans believe that Adam himself built the Ka'bah or holy house of Mekkah, afterwards annihilated by the deluge, but again reconstructed by Noah; and it is said that A'mru Ben Lahy, who had obtained supremacy in Mekkah, went to Syria, where he saw the people worshipping idols; they gave him a statue of Hobal,‡ which he carried back and placed on the top of the Ka'bah. It was the figure of a man, made of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows without heads, such as the Arabs used in divination. A hand was lost by accident, and the Kuraish replaced it by one of gold. Every

* *Shahrastāni*, p. ۳۴.

† *Ibid.*, also *Kitāb Allāghani*, i., p. 10: — بتزوج الرجل امرأة ابنه بعدد

‡ Strangely enough, one of the sons of Yoktan bore a similar name, according to Gen. x. 28, עֹבָל, rendered "Obal" in the English version.

tribe had its own deity,* and among the 360 idols—equalling the number of the days in the pre-Islamitic year—which were placed in and about the Ka'bah, Həbal (“the god of chances :” conf. Hebr. חֶבֶל “lot, part”) was the chief, which also Abu Sofyan consulted before the fight of Ohod, and on gaining the victory over Muhammad he exclaimed, “Be thou exalted, Hobal, thy religion has conquered.”† The pre-Islamitic Arabs swore not only by their gods and goddesses, but also by the stones each tribe had set up around the Ka'bah ; thus we find one of the tribe Wáyel swearing, “By the stones of the Wáyel.”‡ All the exclamations used on approaching these stones were ordered by Muhammad to be superseded by the words, “There is no God but Allah,” whilst with reference to the idols the words uttered even in common conversation and mentioning them were abrogated, and such as “God is the greatest,” “May God be exalted,” &c. substituted. The ancient Arabs had also their animal sacrifices of cows, camels, &c. to their idols, which were abolished, and those now in vogue at the time of the pilgrimage introduced. Before the time of Islām camels were sacrificed also when the people swore an alliance in certain localities appointed for the purpose, and they used to dye their hands with the blood of the slaughtered camel, which custom appears to have given also origin to the name of the tribe Khoṣa'm.§ The Arabs dedicated camels to certain deities, allowed them to roam about freely, and marked them by cutting their ears, which custom is in the Korán (IV. 118) said to have been introduced by Satan. The names of the camels thus dedicated were Baḥyrah, Saybah, Waḥylah, and Hami (V. 102). The polytheistic ordinance of sacrificing camels was retained after the establishment of Islām, but as a symbol of obedience to God (XXII. 37), just like many other pre-Islamitic customs, e.g. kissing of

* If we are to believe the proverb, “When thou enterest a village, swear by its god,” ^{اِذَا دَخَلْتَ قَرْيَةً فَخَلِّفْ بِاِلٰهِهَا} there must have been a separate tutelary deity in every hamlet.

† ^{اعل هبل ظهر دينك} *Hamasaḥ*, ii., p. 3, note.

‡ *Hamasaḥ*, p. ۴۲۱ ^{وانصاب وایل}

§ *Ibid.*, p. ۷۴ :—

زعم قوم انهم سموا بذلك من التحنم وهو اللطخ بالدم ويذكرو انهم
نحروا بعيرا وغسوا ايديهم في دمه

the black stone, the running naked, the throwing of stones, &c., still observed in the pilgrimage.

A'mru Ben Lahy had with him also Asáf and Naylah in the shape of husband and wife. He invited the people to magnify them, to offer sacrifices to them, and to approach Allah through them,* and this was during the reign of Shápúr Zu-allaktáf.† Yaḳut states that A'mru Ben Lahy did not bring these two statues, but merely ordered the people to adore them.‡ Also this appears extremely absurd to me, as adultery was at all times among the majority of civilized and uncivilized nations considered to be a crime striking at the root of conjugal happiness, and was punished among the Arabs; and as according to all the authorities the man Asáf had committed adultery with the woman Naylah within the Ka'bah itself, and both had on that account been transmuted into stone images, they could scarcely have been set up as objects for adoration; and had Yaḳut, instead of making the above statement with reference to A'mru Ben Lahy, simply stopped short with the announcement that the statues had been set up to serve as an example how the crime was punished, the story would not be so absurd.

The god *Ares* was, according to Suidas,§ worshipped at Petra in the shape of a quadrangular stone four feet high and two broad; it stood on a golden pedestal; victims and libations of blood were offered to it. The whole temple was adorned with gold and filled with votive offerings. This god is called Δουράρη by Hesychius, and Δουραρή by Stephanus Byzantius, and was, on the authority of Bochart, identified by Pococke, in his *Specimen Hist. Ar.* (2nd ed., pp. 106 *seqq.*) with the Dulshará (ذوالشري) of Arabic authors. Nothing certain is known about this god, and the conjecture that it represented the sun does not appear tenable to me, although "the lord of brilliancy, of illumination," as the meaning of ذوالشري is plausible enough.||

The Sabæan inscriptions abundantly prove that at least in Yemen the number of deities was prodigiously large, as there is scarcely one

* *Shahrastáni*, p. ١٢٣١

† Therefore after A.D. 385, and if A'mru B. Lahy was really the first man who introduced idolatry he must have lived much earlier.

‡ Yaḳut, quoted by Krehl, p. 59.

§ Krehl quotes the Greek text, p. 49.

|| Krehl, p. 54.

of these documents which does not contain the name of some. There is much probability that in course of time it will be proved that not only the other Arabs, but even the Jews, had some idols in common with the Sabæans, and I think the Ashtaroth of the former* may now already be identified with the 𐤓𐤓𐤕 of the Sabæans. The case is quite different with the names we glean from Arab post-Islamitic authors, which are very few, generally lumped up by them just as they occur in the Korán,† and dismissed with the scantiest notices; these are *Wadd*, *Suwā'a*, *Yaghvā*, *Yau'k*, and *Nasr*; they are generally believed to have been worshipped already by the sons of Noah, and to have been given to A'mru B. Lahy.

Wadd is often mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions, but its worship extended also northwards, and prevailed down to the advent of Muḥammad, who ordered Kháled Ben Walid to destroy the idol (A.H. 8), which was in the shape of a man, and situated at Daumat-al-Jundal; it was a large statue dressed with the under and the upper garment, i.e. the *izar* and the *riḍá*, girded with a sword, having a bow on the shoulders, with a receptacle in front containing a banner and a quiver filled with arrows.

Suwā'a was worshipped by the tribe Huḏayl in the form of a woman; they went on pilgrimage, and sacrificed cattle in its honour.

Yaghvā was represented in the form of a lion; it was a deity of the Maḏhaj and of some other tribes dwelling in Yemen.

Yau'k was adored in the figure of a horse by the Hamdán tribe.

Nasr was, as also the name implies, represented by an eagle; it was a deity of the Hemyarites, as well as of the Kalla'.

U'zza ‡ appears to have been worshipped not only by the Koraysh, by all the Beni Kenánah and some of the Beni Selym, but also by several other tribes, among whom the name "slave of U'zza" was current. This idol was not a statue but a tree, a species of acacia, over

* Judges ii. 13; 1 Sam. vii. 8, xii. 10, xxxi. 10; 1 Kings xi. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 71. She is the same with Astarte, a powerful divinity of Syria, and the Venus of the Greeks. She had a famous temple in Syria, served by 300 priests; some medals representing her still exist.

وَقَالُوا لَا تَذَرُنْ آلِهَتَكُمْ وَلَا تَذَرُنْ وَدًّا وَلَا سُوَاعًا وَلَا يَغُوثَ
وَيَعُوقَ وَنَسْرًا

أَفَرَأَيْتُمُ اللَّاتَ وَالْعُزَّىٰ

‡ LIII. 19, العزى والعتى

which a temple was built; whilst according to others U'zza was a palm-tree. The Beni Ša'leb were in the habit of worshipping a large palm-tree in the vicinity of the town of Nakhlah. They annually celebrated a festival near it, when the young and the old people came out of the town and erected their idols round that tree; they moreover suspended on it the ornaments of their wives and clothed it with costly garments; they used to spend the whole day near the tree, to walk devoutly round it, and listen to the words which issued from it. Muḥammad himself had been a worshipper of U'zza and had sacrificed a sheep to her in his youth.*

Lāt was a stone worshipped by the Beni Šaḳyf in Ṭayf. According to Kaẓvini it was a quadrangular white stone, but according to the traveller James Hamilton "a five-sided block of granite rising in a slant from the ground is pointed out as the idol of Lāt. In its greatest length it measures about twelve feet, and four feet and a half to its highest edge."†

Manāt was also a stone, but of a black colour, worshipped according to some by the Aws and Khuzraj, but according to others by the Hudail and the Ḳudaid.

Besides the two just mentioned, the idol Sa'd, Ḍimār, and the black stone of the Ka'bah itself, no other lingams are as yet known, so that the present number of all of them appears not to exceed five.

There is also yet another example of tree-worship besides U'zza; namely, *Dāt anvāt*, near Mekkah, where all the rites mentioned above, such as suspension of cloths and arms, pilgrimages, &c. were performed; this may also have been a date-tree, but its species is not mentioned. All these tree-idols were considered female deities and daughters of Allah. Hence (LIII. 20, &c.), "What think ye of Lāt, U'zza, and Manāt that other third [goddesses]? Have ye male children, and [God] female?"

Besides the idols now enumerated, and which appear to be of three kinds, namely, statues, stone blocks, and trees, no others have come to our notice, and as of the multitude of deities occurring in the Sabæan inscriptions nothing is as yet known except their names, it would scarcely be worth the while to give only a barren list of them. It may also be observed that, like the Romans, the Greeks, and other nations rejoicing in a very large Pantheon, the Arabs could not hold all their

* Quotation from Yakūt by Krehl, p. 76.

† Quoted by Krehl, pp. 72-73.

gods in equal esteem, and even discarded some of them when there was occasion for it. Thus, for instance, according to a proverb in the collection of Maidani, when a certain Arab perceived a fox voiding urine on an idol or lingam which stood in the desert, he despised it as being a mere stock of stone and powerless, embodying his sentiments to that effect in a distich. The Benu Mulkán of the Kenánah tribe worshipped Sa'd, and one of them being disappointed in his expectations uttered the following verses:—"We came to Sa'd to comfort us, but Sa'd dismayed us, and we do not belong to Sa'd. Is Sa'd anything except a rock in the desert, which neither leads nor misleads?"*

The most celebrated temples with priests and soothsayers attached to them, in which sacrifices were offered, were the following:—The temple of *Zul Kholosa*, the Venus of the Arabs, analogous to Nailah, to زهرة and to ניל; it was situated at Tebala and named the Ka'bah of Yemen; the *Bait Ghumdún* built for the planet Venus in Çana'á;† the temple of *Rayam* in the same town, and mentioned in some of the Sabæan inscriptions; the temple of *Roza* situated in Najd; of *Zulka'bát* in E'rák at Sendád; of *Lút* in the Heja'z; of *Kodaid* on Mount Moshallal, not far from the sea-shore, or between Mekkah and Medinah; and of *U'zza* at Nakhlah.

These temples were of course all demolished or transformed into mosques, and only the caverns, together with certain ruins, are waiting for modern science and enterprise to bring them to light. The first care of Muḥammad when he attained power was to purge the Ka'bah of its idols. He rode seven times round it on his camel, always respectfully touching the black stone with his staff; then he entered the Ka'bah, and the first object he perceived was a wooden pigeon suspended from the ceiling; this he pulled down and broke. Angels and other figures worshipped by the Koraysh were painted on the walls, among which was also Abraham represented as consulting fate with divining arrows in his hands. As already observed, 360 idols were kept there, all of them being fixed above the cornice with lead; each of these he touched with his staff, and it was immediately struck down by his followers.‡ Then came the de-

* *Shakrastáni*, p. ۴۳۴ سعد فلا نحن من سعد فلا نحن من سعد ولا رشد
وهل سعد الا صخرة بننوفة من الارض لا يدعوني ولا رشد

† *Ibid.*, p. ۴۳۲

‡ *Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 231.

molition of the temples in the vicinity of Mekkah; that of U'zza at Nakhlah; of Suwá' at Rohat, two stages, or according to others three miles, from Mekkah; that of Manát situated at Kodayd, and many others, soon met with the same fate.*

Among the Sabæans there were numberless gods, but very little is as yet known about them except their names. A'ttar and Almaqqahu are mentioned very frequently, and have also names of places attached to them, *e.g.* Almaqqahu of Hirran, of Na'mán, &c. There are also Haubis, Samhi'ak, Ida'el, Yattamar, Yattan of Aden, &c. The goddesses are just as numerous, and have sometimes not even a special name, *e.g.* the goddess of Ghadran, Dhat Ba'dam, Dhat Hamym, &c.

There is a god simply called "the celestial," אלה העליון whose usual epithet is "the master of the world," מלך העולם and also "god of affairs," אלוהי הדברים; the sun-god *Shams* does not appear to have enjoyed higher honours than the others, as he is invoked in connection with A'ttar and others, seemingly without any distinction. Although a temple may have been dedicated to the service of one particular god, *e.g.* Almaqqahu, the statues of many others were also placed in it, *e.g.* of Alm, Sheynum, Hobal, Homar, &c.

Sometimes men dedicated their property, their persons, and their whole families to certain deities, to which they also made offerings. A votive tablet of bronze in the British Museum, in which the god *Sin*, chiefly worshipped in the town of Alm, is mentioned in connection with A'ttar, may be considered as a specimen of this kind of dedication, and reads as follows:—

"Šidqdhakar Barrâm, property (and) acquisition of the king of Ḥaḍramaut, son of Elisharh, has made to Sin of Alm a gift of the value of two (shekels) of gold, accurately weighed in red gold. This gift was destined for Sin, because he had heard him in conformity with his demand. Šidqdhakar has (moreover) placed in the possession of Sin of Alm and of A'ttar his father, and of the goddesses of the sanctuary of Alm, and of the gods and goddesses of the town of Shabwat, his person, his property and his children, and his acquisitions, as also the light of his eyes, and the memorial of his heart (namely), Martad^m, and Adhán^m, and Yana'm."[†]

* *Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 243.

† Halévy, *Jour. Asiat.*, Déc. 1874, That a man should call himself the property and acquisition of a king is not more strange in reality than the appellation of slave, so usual in the East even now.

JUDAISM.

It is obvious that, considering the confusion of dates, facts, and genealogies by Muhammadan writers in whatever concerns pre-Islamitic matters, nothing positive can be ascertained from them alone if unsupported by collateral authorities. According to Ibn Khaldún, the children of Shus or Kush, the son of Cham, were the first immigrants into Arabia; and this appears also from the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we learn that later races, likewise formed from the posterity of Sem by Heber, such as the sons of Yoktan, settled in the East, and afterwards the descendants of Ismael and of Esau, whilst the Idumæans developed themselves in the north, and these Semites entirely absorbed in course of time the sons of Cham. Some Muhammadan writers have identified their Kehtán with Yoktan the son of Heber, whilst others maintain that they are two separate persons. But many flagrant discrepancies between Biblical and Muhammadan accounts, sanctioned even by the Korán, e.g. that Abraham intended to sacrifice Ismael and not Isaac, together with the confusion of other names and facts, induce us to be very careful how we use those accounts; and on the other hand the Muhammadans reciprocate the compliment by asserting that the Bible is corrupted.* It cannot be denied, however, that the Arabs were connected with the Jews from the earliest times; the Arabs often call themselves the descendants of Ismael, and Flavius Josephus designates him as the founder of their nation;† he is said to have begotten twelve sons, who inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.‡ The sons and grandsons of Abraham by his concubine Keturah took possession of Troglodytis and Arabia Felix as far as it reaches the Red Sea,§ and Joseph was sold by his brothers to Arabs.||

Already Moses, when fleeing from Egypt to the land of Midian, there married Zipporah,¶ a Kushite (i. e. Arab) woman, more than fifteen centuries before our era, and is afterwards reproached by Aaron for having done so.** We find the Israelites represented victorious

* *Abulfedæ Hist. Antaeislamica*, p. 7 :—"Ex his satis patet recensionem Hebræam esse corruptam."

† *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. i., ch. xii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xii. 4.

§ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xvi. 1.

|| *Ibid.*, bk. ii. 3.

¶ Exod. ii. 21.

** Num. xii. 1.

against the Ethiopians.* The enemies of King Jehoshaphat, the Arabs, bring him presents, flocks of 7,700 rams and 7,700 goats,† and Uziah appears to have defeated the Arabs;‡ whilst on the other hand King Hezekiah expected to be aided by Tirhakah, the king of Ethiopia, against the Assyrian king Sennacherib, and is on that account reproached by him through Rabshakeh,§ in the eighth century before our era.

Although Josephus speaks only of Sabas as the founder of the Sabæans,|| and all difference among them is lost in the vernacular translations, the sacred writers clearly distinguish two kinds of Sabæans, always spelling the descendants of Kush with the letter *Samek*, ¶ and those of Yoktan with *Shin*,** which difference also the Arabs themselves have lost. The ancestor of the former was Ham,†† and of the latter Shem; ‡‡ there is, however, also a third, the son of Raamah, and a fourth the son of Keturah, Abraham's concubine.§§ In Ps. lxxii. the kings of Sheba and Seba are mentioned together, from which it would appear that two distinct kingdoms of that name existed in Arabia; but as localities, especially Auzál, Saba, and Hazzramaut, have been identified in Yemen, clearly bearing names of some of the sons of Yoktan, son of Eber, son of Shem, son of Noah, ||| it seems plain that the Sabæans of that part of Arabia were Yoktanites; and Dr. Wilson, who also adduces several of these identifications, fully concurs in this opinion.¶¶ The denomination of Sabæans, for a long time the only one known to foreign nations, subsisted till the time when the power became concentrated in the house of Hemyar, and then the second period commenced. The Hemyaritic dynasty shone with unequalled splendour in

* 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

† 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.

§ 2 Kings xix. 8, and Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

|| *Antiq. of the Jews.*, bk. i., ch. vi. 2.

¶ Gen. x. 7; Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

** Gen. x. 28; 2 Chron. ix. 1; 1 Kings x. 1; 1 Chron. i. 20.

†† Gen. x. 9.

‡‡ Gen. x. 22-28, and 1 Chron. i. 20-32.

§§ 1 Chron. i. 32.

||| Gen. x. 22.

¶¶ *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii., pp. 741-746.

Arabia Felix, and then the name of Hemyarites, the Homeritæ of classic authors, began to supplant that of the Sabæans. This second period is that of the Tobbas.* As for the Kushite Sabæans, they are, by M. de Sacy as well as by C. de Perceval, believed to have passed about seven and a half centuries before our era into Africa, and to be the present Abyssinians.† The Cananæans passed, according to Herodotus, from Arabia Felix to Arabia Petræa, and went to Syria, where they became celebrated by the name of Phœnicians; so that also the race of Ham gradually disappeared from Arabia, where the Semites obtained full dominion, and absorbed all the small remnants the Kushites and Hamites had left.

The actual name of the queen of Sheba who is mentioned in the Korân‡ and in the Bible,§ in both of which she is made to pay a visit to King Solomon, is not given in either; Moslem authors finding no other queen in their lists except Balķis of Saba in Yemen were, by their desire to identify her with the queen of Sheba in the Bible, induced to push the period of her reign up to the time of Solomon, whereby they ruined the whole chronology preceding and following her period. This queen is believed to have been converted to Judaism, and married by Solomon, although it is now certain that she was born during the first few years of our era.

From what has preceded, it appears that although Judaism must have flourished in several portions of Arabia long before the Christian era, no reliable data occur on the subject, and that it existed side by side with polytheism, whose professors may, as is often the case in other countries, have been imbued with a very tolerant spirit. Nothing certain is known about the introduction of Judaism into Yathreb, i.e. Medinah, although it must have been early, since the tribes Aws and Khozraj, who dwelt there|| when the Hemyarite king Asad Abu Karib (A.D. 297-320) marched there from Yemen and conquered the town, are described as being Jews. This king was by two Jewish doctors, Hodal and Al-Nahâm, converted to Judaism, which he propagated on his return among his subjects; but he is some time afterwards said to have made a profession of Christianity likewise. As the reign of

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, tome i., pp. 45 *seqq.*

‡ *Surah XXVII.* 24, &c. § 1 Kings x. 1, and 2 Chron. ix. 1.

|| Caussin de Perceval doubts that these two tribes were domiciled there already when the above-mentioned expedition took place.

this king must, at least in part, have corresponded with that of Arde-shir Bábek, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, who died A.D. 238. Asad Abu Karib's conversion to Judaism must have taken place about that time. This period of Judaism, as well as that of the siege and taking of Najrán by Zū Nowás, A.D. 523, is well fixed, and implies that this religion must have been dominant for nearly three centuries, till A.D. 525, when the Christian Abyssinians conquered Yemen, and slew more Jews than Christians had been killed in Najrán by Zū Nowás, who appears to have been prompted more by a spirit of retaliation than of fanaticism. Tabari describes this event* in a somewhat vague manner as follows:—"Najrán was a town the inhabitants of which had believed in Moses. In that country there was a king named Yusuf, surnamed Zū Nowás. He was a giant who had numerous subjects. But Jesus the son of Mary had come into the world, and God had taken him up to heaven. Some apostles who had been with Jesus arrived in the town of Najrán, preached the religion of Jesus, and said to the inhabitants, The religion of Moses has been abrogated; another prophet has come, his name is Jesus; now you must believe in Jesus and abandon the religion and the law of Moses: and they made known to them the marvellous works of Jesus. These inhabitants of Najrán became believers and adopted the religion of Jesus. Two or three of the intimate courtiers of Zū Nowás happened to be at Najrán. The inhabitants of that town requested them and said, Enter into our religion or we shall kill you. The courtiers refused, and the people of Najrán slew them. This news reached the king; he marched forth with 50,000 men and arrived in Najrán. Pits were dug around the town and fire thrown into them. The king then took the inhabitants of Najrán, led them to the banks of these pits and said, Abandon the religion of Jesus, or we shall throw you into the fire; and it is said in the Korán, "The people of the pit of fire supplied with fuel have been killed" (Surah LXXXV. 4). I shall further on quote the same author, as he describes how the people of Najrán were converted to Christianity and afterwards destroyed by Zū Nowás.

In Muḥammad's time there existed some powerful Jewish tribes, to whom he showed much regard at first, as well as to the Christians (Surah II. 61); afterwards he became greatly embittered against both these religions, as appears sufficiently from many passages of the Korán. The

* Vol. i., p. 39.

Jews refused to make a profession of Islam, and Muḥammad succeeded only after great trouble in subduing some and exiling the rest.

CHRISTIANITY.

Arabia is one of those countries which had never been wholly or permanently subjugated by a foreign nation, but it yielded to spiritual influences, which cannot be kept out by any barriers, such as seas, mountains, or deserts. In their polytheism the pre-Islamitic Arabs were influenced by Egyptian, Chaldean, Greek, and perhaps even Indian ideas, whilst they were for their monotheism indebted to Judaism and Christianity. We have already seen that no historical events recorded by secular authors attest the existence of the first of the just-mentioned two religions before the time of the Tobba' king Asad Abu Karib, who was a contemporary of Ardeshir Bábek and a convert to Judaism, although from the Biblical texts quoted above, and from the immigrations of the Jews into Arabia which had taken place at various periods before and after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that Judaism had prevailed both in the north and in the south of Arabia from early times. The same uncertainty as to historical data prevails concerning the spread of Christianity, which appears to have been opposed by the Jews long before the time of Zu Nowás. Very likely neither Judaism nor Christianity attracted much attention among the vast numbers of polytheists, and were confounded with each other as long as their professors had not increased to large numbers and had shunned worldly power. This is the reason why no historical data exist about their first developments.

Although Arabians were present already at the feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 11), nothing very reliable is known about their churches until the time of the emperor Constantine, who sent A.D. 343 an embassy to the Hemyarite king Marsad A'bd Kellál (A.D. 330-350) with the intention of obtaining the alliance of the Hemyarites against the Persians. We learn that this embassy was headed by Bishop Theophilus, who converted many Hemyarites; but as there is no doubt that the number of Christians was already considerable in the fourth century, the assertion of Asseman (T. Wright's *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 35) that Theophilus did not actually convert the people, but merely induced them to adopt the Arian heresy, which he himself professed, is very plausible. The Jews, however remained hostile, but Theophilus built three churches—one in Zhafar, the residence of the king, whom he flattered himself with having converted; the second in

Aden, which was much resorted to by Greek and Roman merchants; and the third in the principal town of the Persian Gulf. The successor of the just-mentioned king, Walya'h (A.D. 350-370), was—just like the above-mentioned Asad Abu Karib—first a great Jew, then a great Christian, and ended by fluctuating between the two religions; but Muhammadan authors have recorded that whole tribes, such as the Bahrah, Tanukh, Taghlab, &c., had formerly been Christians, whose number was also considerably increased during the fifth century, when Yazdegird, the successor of Behram, carried on for twenty years his persecution, the chief cause of which had been the demolition of a fire-temple by a too zealous Christian bishop. During that period the emigration of Christians from Persia into Arabia was so large that troops were posted on the frontiers to check it.

Some allusion has already been made to the Christians of Najrán under the head of Judaism, and I shall here narrate their conversion in the words of Tabari* :—“The inhabitants of Najrán were all Arabs of the Beni Tha'leb. Whilst all the other Arabs who surrounded them were idolaters, they were Christians; but originally they had also been idolaters. This is how they became Christians. They had without their town a large palm-tree. Once every year they celebrated a festival, and on that day the people assembled round this tree; it was covered with brocade, all the idols were placed under the tree, processions were made round it, and invocations. A demon who dwelt in the tree spoke to the people. Then they offered sacrifices to the tree and retired. But a man from the country of Syria, a descendant of the disciples of Jesus, named Fimiûn (Euphemion) came to Arabia. He found this country plunged in idolatry, and dared not to profess his religion, fearing that he would be killed. Accordingly he travelled from town to town, gaining a livelihood; every day he received the price of his labours, bought food therewith and fed himself, then praised God and prayed. When the inhabitants perceived that he did not adore idols, he left his abode and went elsewhere, to the territory of Mossul, to Mesopotamia, to the Sowad, or to I'ráq. One day, whilst walking alone, he was met by brigands, who said to him, Thou art [no doubt] a slave, and hast fled from thy master. They made him a prisoner, led him to Najrán and sold him there. Accordingly he was at the command of the man who had bought him; but in the evening he entered a room and spent the whole night in prayer,

* Tome ii., pp. 175 *seqq.*

keeping the door of the chamber shut. His master, having for one or two nights observed him doing this, wanted to know what he was doing in the room. Accordingly he entered towards midnight, and beheld the room illuminated by a light. He thought Fimiún had a torch ; but looking more closely he perceived that he had none, and was amazed. The next day he called Fimiún and said to him, I saw thee last night praying, the whole room was lighted, and thou wast reciting something. Of what religion art thou ? The other replied, I profess the religion of Jesus, the son of Mary, and I was reciting the Evangel, the book of God. The man said, Is this religion superior to ours ? Fimiún replied, Assuredly my religion is superior to yours ; because the latter is false, these idols and this tree are not gods. This man, the master of Fimiún, communicated these words to his fellow-citizens. The latter called Fimiún and questioned him. He explained to them the religion of Jesus, and it pleased them. They said to him, Who will guarantee us that thy religion is true, and ours false ? The other said, I will ask my God to destroy this tree. They promised to embrace his religion in case this should happen. Fimiún went out of the town and betook himself to the tree, at the foot of which he took up his station and prayed. God commanded the wind before the eyes of all these people ; and the tree was drawn out and completely uprooted. Then the people broke their idols and embraced the religion of Jesus ; the man who had bought Fimiún restored him his liberty. Accordingly all the inhabitants of Najrán became Christians and learnt the Evangel. Fimiún remained there teaching them the Evangel, and the people sent him their children to learn it. In this manner the inhabitants of Najrán, the only ones among the Arabs, became Christians.

“ In Najrán there was a chief, named Thámir, to whom a son, called A’bdullah, was born. When the latter had grown up, his father sent him to Fimiún that he might teach him the Evangel. The boy was his pupil for several years. Fimiún knew the ineffable name of God, and whatever he asked from God he obtained. When a sick man was brought to him, Fimiún invoked the aid of God, and the patient was healed by the power of this name. A’bdullah the son of Thámir asked Fimiún with many entreaties to teach him this name, but Fimiún refused and said, This name is one of the names of God and occurs in the Evangel, but I fear to teach it to thee lest thou mightest not be able to bear it ; for thou art

as yet a child only, and mightest make an inconvenient request to God and perish thereby. A'bdullah being in despair of obtaining anything from Fimiún shut himself up in his room, and considered the means of arriving by himself at a knowledge of this name. He had heard Fimiún say that if the ineffable name of God were to be thrown into fire it would not burn. Therefore A'bdullah extracted from the Evangel all the names of God contained in it, and wrote them together, then he wrote each on a piece of wood and threw them into the fire. All the pieces of wood were burnt up except that on which he had written the ineffable name of God. In this manner A'bdullah obtained the knowledge of it. He paid a visit to Fimiún and told him what he had done. The latter said, O my child, as thou hast found it now, take care not to destroy thyself by invoking God through this name with a criminal intention, or for an inconvenient thing of which God disapproves.

"When Fimiún died, A'bdullah took his place in Najrán and maintained the religion of Jesus. When a sick or blind person was brought to him he invoked God by this name and the patient was cured. Christianity took root in Najrán, and became so firmly established that no one remained who was not a Christian; whoever entered the town embraced Christianity or was put to death. But one of the Jews of Yemen came to Najrán with his two sons. The inhabitants seized them and said, Embrace Christianity or we shall kill you all. The two sons refused and were killed; the father embraced Christianity and was left alive, then he finished the commercial affairs for which he had come, and returned to Yemen, where he renewed his profession of Judaism. He waited on the king Zú Nowás and narrated to him everything about the people of Najrán, as well as the fate of his own sons. Zú Nowás became enraged, and solemnly swore on the Pentateuch and the religion of Moses that he would march at the head of an army to Najrán, destroy its churches, break its crosses, and burn all who refused to abandon Christianity and to be converted to the Jewish religion. He departed from Yemen with fifty thousand men, and proceeded to Najrán, carrying with him the Pentateuch. There he caused a pit to be dug for the inhabitants of this town, and burnt them. This king Zú Nowás and the Jews of Yemen are in the Kórán named *people of the pit*, where God curses them in the terms, "Perish the *people of the pit*!" &c., i.e. "May these men of the pit be accursed, who came, dug a pit, sat down on its banks, and threw the people into the fire."

"When the king Zū Nowás had with his numerous army arrived in Najrán, he caused all the churches to be demolished, and the crosses to be struck down and burnt; then he invited the inhabitants to embrace Judaism, but they refused. A'bdullah, the son of Thámir, had likewise been ordered to profess the Jewish religion, but he also refused. The king had him carried to the top of a mountain and precipitated therefrom. A'bdullah got up sound and safe, his body had not suffered. He made his appearance before the king and called on him to embrace Christianity. The king held in his hand a staff, with which he struck the head of A'bdullah and broke it; the blood flowed, A'bdullah died and was buried.

"Then Zū Nowás caused an enormous pit to be dug,—it was long like an abyss, of the depth of one lance, and very broad; he had it filled with combustible matter, which he caused to be set on fire. He made the inhabitants come forward one by one, and had all those who refused to embrace Judaism thrown into the fire. Nearly twenty thousand men were killed in this way, and the rest fled; the king destroyed whatever had remained of the town, burnt the crosses and the Evangelists, and returned to Yemen.

"It happened in the time of O'mar Ben-al-Khattáb (reigned from Aug. 28, 634, till Nov. 4, 644) that when he invited the inhabitants of Najrán, who were Christians, to embrace Islám, they refused to accept it, but engaged themselves to pay double the capitation-tax exacted from Musalmáns."

As the above account, although no doubt in many particulars exaggerated, about the people of Najrán, is not only given by the best Muhammadan historians, but the catastrophe of the pit is mentioned also in the Korán, no apology is needed for having in this place inserted all that Tabari has recorded about it; but the predominance of Judaism in southern Arabia, which was so great during the reign of Zū Nowás, naturally ceased with his fall, and in A.D. 525, when the power of the Abyssinians prevailed, its professors were at first subjected to great persecutions by their Christian conquerors; they were, however, of no long duration, and had ceased when St. Gregentius was the bishop and chief of the churches in Yemen. But Abrahah (reigned from A.D. 537 to 570), although doing his best for the promotion of Christianity, was much grieved that the idolatrous rites of the Ka'bah still drew annually multitudes of pilgrims to Mekkah, and had determined to keep the people of Yemen at home by constructing churches in every town.*

* Tabari, vol. ii., pp. 188 *seqq.*

“ He had built a cathedral at Čana’á, the like of which, in magnitude, irbeauty, and in ornaments, could not be seen on the face of the earth. Its reputation had spread over the whole world. Abrahah wrote a letter to the Najášhy in which he said, I have built a church for the king, the like of which does not exist in the world. I have done so from gratitude, because God has restored me to the favour of the king. At the same time he sent him also the plan of the church. People came to it from Syria, and from all the countries wherever there were Christians, and something never seen nor heard of could be seen there, and everybody brought rich offerings. The news of it reached the Cæsar of Rúm, who likewise sent to it presents, alabaster, and stuffs from Rúm. He wrote to the Najášhy a letter worded as follows :— Thy lieutenant has done in Yemen a thing the like of which I have never done : the glory thereof is due to thee ; there is in no part of the world a similar edifice, and a similar church. The King of Abyssinia was pleased and sent a letter full of compliments and praises to Abrahah, who then wrote to the king, The Arabs have a temple in Mekkah which they call the temple of God ; they go there on pilgrimage, and walk in procession around the temple. The church built by me is a hundred thousand times superior in beauty to this temple. I shall order the people of Yemen to make pilgrimages and daily processions to this church to adore God there, and to address their prayers to Him from that place. I shall command the Arabs to betake themselves to this place, instead of going on pilgrimage to their temple. This will redound to the eternal glory of the king. The Najášhy was pleased. Then Abrahah proclaimed in Yemen that the Christians and the Jews were to come to pray in this church, and to perform their processions and pilgrimages there. Two Arab brothers of the tribe Solaym had come to Abrahah, and both of them were chiefs. They had been reduced by the Arabs, and being embarrassed in the Hejáz, the Tehamah, and in Mekkah, had come to Abrahah with a portion of their tribes. He had received them well, and they had remained. When Abrahah had resolved to invite the Arabs to perform their pilgrimages to the church, and to divert them from the Ka’bah, he showed much friendship to Muḥammad Ebn Kḥozaa’ al Zikráni, the first of the two chiefs above mentioned, and conferred on him the government of the Arabs of the Hejáz, as well as the sovereignty of Mekkah ; he placed a crown on his head and sent him to Mekkah, recommending him to compel the Arabs to come on pilgrimage to the church, and to

persuade them that this church was more beautiful than the Ka'bah, more illustrious and more pure ; that they had idols in their temple, that they polluted it, and that this church had never been defiled. Muḥammad departed with his brother Kays and with the people of his tribe. The news spread in Mekkah. The sovereignty of Mekkah pertained to the Kōraysh and to the various branches of this family, of the Kinánah tribe. At that time A'bd-ul-Mottaleb was the chief of the Kōraysh and of Mekkah. When Muḥammad arrived in the territory of the tribe of the Kinánahs, the latter posted a man named U'rwah on his way, who killed him with one stroke of his lance. His brother Kays took refuge with Abrahah in Yemen, and informed him of what had happened. Abrahah said, Must I then send some other person to induce them to come here ? I shall myself go and destroy their temple, then they will be embarrassed and will come if they like, or they will not come ; then I shall kill all the Kinánahs. Abrahah collected an army of fifty thousand men and made preparations to march to Mekkah."

This expedition proved, however, a failure, and Muhammadan authors who describe the miraculous destruction of Abrahah's army give lengthy details about it, as well as about Abrahah's elephant Mahmūd, who refused to march into Mekkah. It will suffice to state that this event, which began a new era, called the Year of the Elephant, took place during the birth-year of Muḥammad, and was promulgated by him in the Kōrān, about fifty-four years after its occurrence, in Surah CV., the whole of which is here inserted :—" Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the master of the elephant ? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error, and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle* ?" As the Ka'bah was so thoroughly interwoven with the history and religion of the Arabs that Muḥammad was compelled to retain its idolatrous rites and to adapt them to the monotheism of Islām, it is no wonder that a miracle should have taken place for its preservation ; as, however, some historians also narrate that this was the first occasion on which the small-pox broke out with great virulence, they afford an indirect clue to the marks left by the stones dropping from the claws of the miraculous *Ababil* birds upon the bodies of the Christian army, and explain the probable reason of its sudden flight and partial destruction.

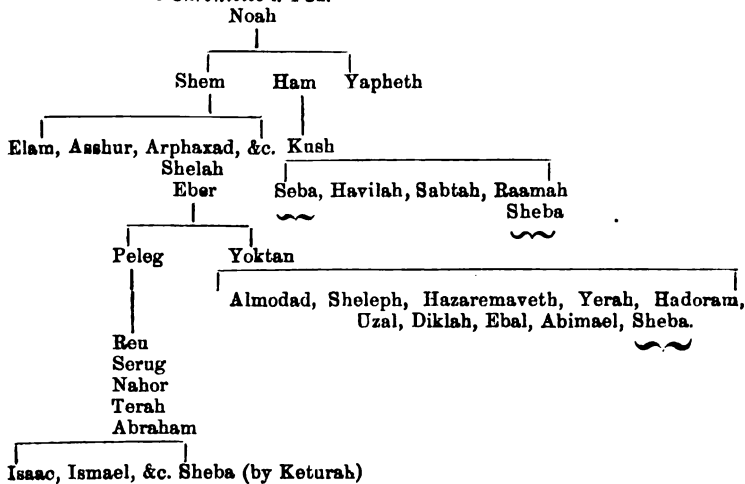
Without entering into any details concerning post-Islamitic events, it may here be observed that Muḥammad, faithful to his determination, which he inculcated also on his followers, that there should be but one religion in Arabia, worked zealously to extirpate both Judaism and Christianity, although in a few instances he granted protection, not only to certain individuals, but also to whole communities. The people of Daumat-al-Jandā, not far from Medinah, were persuaded by A'bd-al-Rahman to give him the daughter of their chief in marriage and to abjure Christianity; they, however, soon relapsed, and were afterwards compelled by Muḥammad himself, who had already destroyed several churches, again to forswear Christianity and to profess Islam. After having stamped out Christianity in the north, Muḥammad turned his attention to the south, and made to the governor of Yemen, who had hitherto been a Persian tributary, friendly overtures, which were accepted not only by him, but also by Howadah Ben A'li, the Christian king of Yemamah, both of whom became converts to Islām. The same policy was continued by the successors of Muḥammad, and O'mar expelled even the few Jews who had still remained in Khayber. Both the Jewish and the Christian communities gradually vanished, although some existed here and there down to the tenth century and were under the spiritual care of priests. No persecution, however, could extirpate Judaism from Yemen and Ḥaḡramaut, where nearly half a million of Jews are still domiciled, in various villages and towns, the chief of which is Ḥana'á, with some thousands of Israelites, and a college where some of the most respected members of their community receive their education. The largest number of Arab Jews and Christians, however, do not live in Arabia proper, but in Syria and Mesopotamia.

THE MYTHIC HISTORY OF ARABIA.

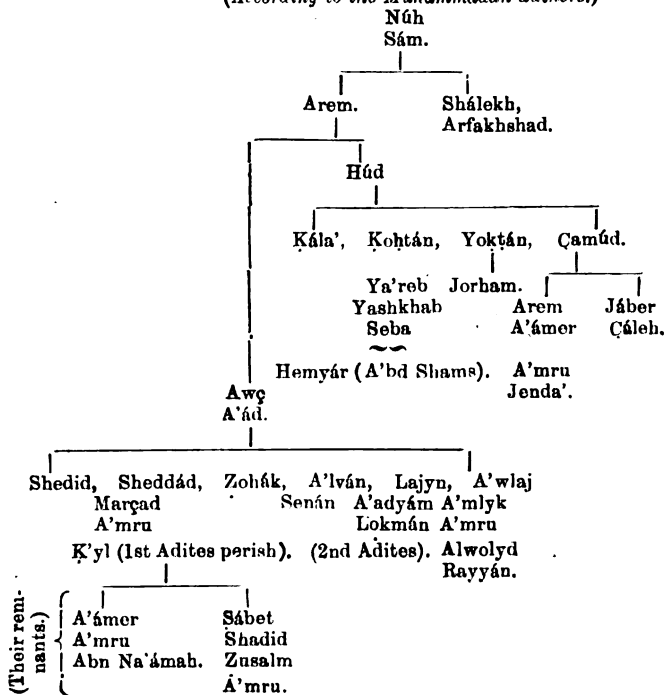
Great catastrophes—such as famines, inundations, conflagrations, storms, and battles—produce strong impressions, and traditions preserve them, whilst the well-known tenacity of the Arabs in the transmission of the pedigrees of their ancestors, in which they take much pride, from generation to generation, serves as a tolerable guarantee that their traditions, although partly mythical, are not pure inventions of the imagination. The fact that A'ád, Thamúd, Sheddád, Húd, and other very ancient personages are mentioned in the Korán, is also an evidence that traditions concerning them must have been still current among the people during the time of Muḥammad, else he would scarcely have made

so many allusions to them in the *Korán* ; because had his hearers been ignorant of the events recalled by the prophet to their memory, he would have failed to captivate their attention, and therefore all these mythic accounts are very likely founded on a substratum of truth. The Arabs have incorporated into their traditions many Biblical persons and facts, after the example their prophet has set them, and these are consequently not only post-Islamitic productions, but also no part of Arabian history. All legends of this kind, which are numerous and run parallel with Biblical accounts from Adam down to the birth of Christ and after it, have been excluded from this paper, inasmuch as the various narratives of Muhammadan authors agree neither among themselves nor with the Bible, which they believe to have been corrupted by the Christians, as well as by the Jews. No actual concatenated history can be given, because in fact none exists, since the Biblical accounts have been incorporated in later times, and incongruously mixed up with the properly Arabian myths ; and all that can be done is to put into chronological order the lives of the chief personages according to the current fashion, without being dismayed by the longevity and the startling dates coming to our cognizance. I here insert, however, a comparative genealogical table, from which a view of the persons constituting the mythic history of Arabia may be obtained, consisting on the one hand of a table compiled from 1 Chronicles i. 4-32, and on the other of the names of the persons as given by Muhammadan authors, who, as already stated, do not all agree. In both tables the first person is Noah, but it will be seen that although I am compelled to call these two tables comparative, they contain in reality not many points of contact. This mythic history, which may appropriately be called that of extinct races—as the A'ádites, Thamudites, and others perished by divine wrath—will contain only brief accounts ; it extends from the creation of the world down to the eighth century before Christ, and will embrace only accounts of the most important personages.

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLES.
1 Chronicles i. 4-32.



(According to the Muhammadan authors.)



A'ád, 3185 B.C.

A'ád worshipped the moon, and lived with his descendants in the district Ahkáf, *i.e.* "sandhills," which begin from the coast of O'mán and extend to the borders of Yemen and Hazramaut. A'ád is said to have married 1000 wives and to have begotten 4000 children, each of whom was as tall as a palm-tree. He lived 1200 years and saw ten generations of his progeny. His eldest son, Shadid, became the king of his race; he was liberal and just. His subjects were so contented that they never quarrelled, and the judge whom he had appointed came after the expiration of one year to the court, stating that as no complaints had during all that time been brought before him the post ought to be abolished; but Shadid ordered him to draw his pay and to continue in the service. The second year, however, a case came before him in which a man complained that he had purchased a house, and had afterwards found a treasure in it, which he refused to keep, as he had bought only the house; and the seller refused to accept it, as he stated that he had sold the house with all its contents. One of these litigants, however, happened to have a son, and the other a daughter; accordingly the judge split the difference by marrying them to each other and giving them the treasure. In spite of all this justice and content in his realm, Shadid died an infidel, although he had in his latter days been visited by the prophet Húd, who exhorted him to follow the right way. His reign extended over 300 years.

Húd, 2937 B.C.

Húd, also called A'áber (Heber), was the son of Shálek, s. of Arfakhshad, s. of Sám, s. of Núh. He made at first a living as a merchant, but obtained at the age of 40 his mission as a prophet, and is by some named the second Kinán (Canaan), s. of Arfakhshad, and said to have begotten Shálek when he was 130 years old.*

Shedád, 2885 B.C.

This king is said to have conquered not only the E'rák, but even India and the greater portion of the world. In the invasion of Egypt, which is also attributed to him, Caussin de Perceval perceives traces of the irruption of the shepherds or Hyksos at least twenty centuries

* I consider it rather a merit that I do not enter into too many details, as they are apt to confuse and to overwhelm the main points; they are abundant and also contradictory enough in various authors. This prophet is also mentioned in *Surah XXVI. 128-135* and elsewhere.

before the Christian era.* When Húd the prophet arrived at his court and proposed to him to worship God, he asked what reward he would obtain, and on being informed that paradise, with beautiful gardens, *huris*, &c., would become his habitation, he replied that being able to produce such a paradise on earth he could dispense with that which is in heaven. Accordingly he despatched a messenger to his cousin Zohák, who had at that time conquered the empire of Jemshid, to bring all kinds of precious stones, perfumes, gold, silver, &c. ; and after having obtained the most costly substances also from every other country of the world, either by force or as presents, he ordered a pleasing locality in Syria to be enclosed by walls built of pure silver and gold, and containing 12,000 towers at intervals in its circuit. The roofs of the castles built within this paradise were supported by columns of crystal and adorned with jewels. The rivers there contained precious stones instead of sand, whilst the soil itself was formed of saffron in lieu of earth. The golden trunks of trees made hollow were filled with musk and ambergris, whilst male and female slaves, ready to perform service, attended in every castle, so that the garden of *Erem* with its colonnades was unsurpassed by anything created in the world.† When the news of the completion of this paradise was brought to Shedád, he left Hazramaut with a numerous army, but had scarcely reached the vicinity of that delightful paradise, when a terrible voice from heaven struck the ears of the approaching multitude, and every one fell down dead ; whereupon also the paradise vanished. Shedád reigned 300 years.

Kála', 2792 B.C.

When *Kála'* the son of Húd came of age, he divided the earth among the tribes, assigning a country to each. He is named *Kála'* because that word means 'distributor.' *Kohtán*, the brother of *Kála'*, colonized the greater part of Yemen, and invented the instruments of war ; *Kohtán* was also the first to whom his son *Ya'ral* addressed the royal salutation " May you avoid being cursed " and " happy morning." ‡ *Yohtán*,

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome i., p. 13.

† مصداق ارم ذات العباد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد

‡ *Abynta-lla'na* اللعن ابيت and *ina'm çabâhân* انعم. Others translate the first formula by the words, *May you refuse malediction*, but it appears that it originated from the habit of the people to curse their king, and that an exception from it constituted a good sovereign.

another son of Húd, and consequently brother of Kála' and of Koḥtán, begat Jorham, the ancestor of the Jorhamites, so that Ya'reb and Jorham were cousins.

The first language used by Adam and his descendants was the Syriac, which was different from that of the prophet Húd, who bore also the name of A'áber (Heber), wherefore it is called A'bri (Hebrew); but Ya'reb was the first who spoke Arabic, as he himself says:—"I am the son of Koḥtán, the foremost chief; O people, march in the van (of the language?), but the Bedáwis (wandering tribes) in the easy tongue, the plain speech, which is not difficult."* He settled in Yemen, and the Tobba's of that country are his descendants. Jorham was at first also in Yemen, but settled afterwards in Mekkah, where Ismael lived among the Jorhamites.

Jenda', 2654 B.C.

After the demise of A'áber Ben Arem Ben Sám, Jenda' reigned in the district of Hejr between Syria and the Hejáz; he governed all the Samudite tribes, and was of a righteous disposition; when the prophet Çáleḥ arrived on his mission to the Samudites, Jenda' became his follower. He reigned 190 years, and is the last of the Samudite kings.

Çáleḥ, 2612 B.C.

Samúd the son of A'áber had two sons; one was Arem, and the other Jáber who begat Çáleḥ. As already observed, the Samudites lived in the country of Hejr between the Hejáz and Syria, and their habitations excavated in the rocks may still be seen; but they are low and their doors small, wherefore their stature must have been like that of ordinary men, if not shorter. Caussin de Perceval thinks that the Samudites are no others than the Troglodytes' or Horreans mentioned in the book of Genesis, as living in Arabia from Mount Seir to the desert of Pharán, in which supposition he is strikingly supported by the exact resemblance of the Biblical name Chedorlaomer, who slew

* انا ابن قحطان الهمام الاقبل يا قوم سيروا في الرميل الاول

اما ابدو في اللسان السهل المذطق الابين غير مشكل

the Horites, and that of Kōdar Allāḥmar, who became the cause of the destruction of the Samudites.*

When the people of the first A'ādites were destroyed by a terrible wind, some of them took refuge among the Aḥkáf sands, where they settled but worshipped idols. There they were visited by the prophet Čáleḥ, a cousin of A'áber Ben Arem, the reigning king of the Samudites; but the people asked for a miracle, and promised to believe him if he could call out of the rock a full-grown she-camel ten months big with a young one. Čáleḥ agreed, and invited the people to come near a large mountain on the confines of Syria, where he prayed God to create what he required; when the people heard a wailing issuing from the mountain like that of a woman in travail, and shortly afterwards a she-camel 100 cubits high and as many broad, able to step 150 cubits with each of its legs, came forth from the mountain, and gave birth to a young one nearly as large as herself; both also began immediately to roam about and to look for water and food; but in spite of this miracle the people would not believe. Hereupon Čáleḥ admonished them not to injure the camel,† and preached to them for thirty years, but in vain. The people enjoyed the advantage of a perpetual supply of milk from this camel, about which commentators retail many absurd stories, but they cut off its feet, and were destroyed with a terrible noise from heaven.‡

Marsad, 2585 B.C.

Marsad B. Shedád B. A'ád was a virtuous man who believed Húd; whilst Shedád refused to do so. He abandoned idolatry and worshipped God alone, but was, from dread of his father, under the necessity of concealing his religion, and professed it openly only after the death of Shedád. He always resided in the country of the Aḥkáf (sandhills), and governed with justice, but died during the lifetime of Húd. He was succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad, for a short while, and Marsad was in his turn succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad;

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome i., p. 26, and Gen. xiv. 4, 6. His memory has also survived in the two proverbs *أشام من أحمور نهود* "More ill-boding than Aḥmar [the red man] of the Samudites," and *أشام من عاقرا الناقة* "More ill-boding than he who killed the she-camel [by piercing her with an arrow.]"

† *Surah VII. 71*, &c.

‡ *Surah VII. 76*.

then came Kyl B. A'mru B. Marsad, but all these three reigns together amounted to not more than forty-four years. The A'ádites who would not listen to Húd perished by a terrible wind during the reign of Kyl.*

Destruction of the first A'ádites, 2541 B.C.

Húd preached to the first A'ádites, but in vain. They were the descendants of A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sâm B. Núh, who was their king; their remnant were named the second A'ádites, and were the contemporaries of Çáleh.

When Húd despaired of the conversion of the A'ádites, all the dwellers of the Ahkáf of Dahná and Yabrayn (localities designating sandy regions), as far as Yemen and Hāgramaut, fell under the displeasure of the Almighty, and were punished by famine and drought for seven years, but they nevertheless refused to make a profession of monotheism. On that occasion they were so distressed that Loḵmán Allakber despatched Marsad B. A'fyr, with Kyl B. Ġhafar, and Laḵym B. Hezál, and Jehlah B. A'fry, with many other chiefs of the people, to Mekkah to pray for rain. At that time the descendants of Tasm B. Lawuz, brother of A'mlyḵ, as well as the descendants of Jadys B. A'áber B. Arem B. Sâm B. Núh, who were likewise A'ádites, resided in Yemamah, which bore the name of Jaww, whilst the descendants of A'mlyḵ B. Lawuḡ B. Sâm B. Núh dwelt in Mekkah. When the deputies of the A'ádites arrived in that city they were kindly received and so hospitably treated that they forgot all about their prayers for rain. At last, however, they mounted a red hill which was at that time within the enclosure of the Ka'bah, and after they had there made their invocations three clouds appeared, one being red, one white, and the third black, and they heard a voice uttering the words, "Select one of these three clouds." One of the men said, "I take the black cloud, because it is full of water."† But the invisible herald replied, "Thou hast selected ashes. Not one of the family of A'ád will be left, and neither a father nor a son will remain."‡ Thereupon that black cloud departed to the A'ádites, who

* As Ismael died about 1800 years before our era, the catastrophe of the first A'ádites is conjectured by C. de Perceval to have taken place half a century later, i.e. in 1750 B.C.; but the difference between various authors is so enormous that the author of the *Násekḥ-al towárikḥ*, whose dates in such an ocean of uncertainty are just as good as those of others, and which I have here adopted, places this catastrophe in the year 2541 B.C.

† اخذت لسحاب السوداء فانها كثير الماء

‡ اخذت رمادا لا يبقى من ال عاد واحدا ولا يترك والدا ولا ولدا

"when they saw a traversing cloud tending towards their valleys, said, "This is a traversing cloud which bringeth us rain,"* and knew not that it would be their destruction; but *Húd answered*, "Nay, it is what ye demanded to be hastened, a wind wherein is a severe vengeance."† The first person who became aware of the impending calamity was an old woman named Mahdu; as soon as her eyes lighted on the cloud she yelled furiously and fell down senseless. On recovering herself she exclaimed, "I perceived a flaming fire and a dreadful multitude coming towards us." When *Húd* became aware of the approaching catastrophe, he collected his adherents, who were 4,000 in number, and drew with his finger a line around them, that they might remain safe therefrom, whilst all the rest of the people were destroyed. The storm lasted seven nights and eight days, and raged so furiously that it destroyed everything, not even the strongest building excepted. When the envoys returned from Mekkah they met a man on the road who informed them of the destruction of the people, and told them that he was going to Egypt. The envoys hereupon prayed to be joined to their tribe, as they could not endure life without their company. God heard their request, and all of them fell down on the spot, dead.

In the great calamity of the first A'ádites their king, *Marsad*, also perished, and was in the same year (2541 B.C.) succeeded by his grandson *Kyl*, who was followed by several kings; the last sovereign of the A'ádite dynasty (in whose time the people of A'ád again recovered themselves, became wealthy but remained as unbelieving as ever) was A'mru B. Zu Salm, and no one being found worthy to succeed after his death the people selected an obscure old man who had been converted by the prophet *Çáleh*. The time from the beginning of the reign of A'mru B. A'ámer till the extinction of the A'ádite dynasty in the old man just mentioned amounted to seventy-seven years.

Destruction of the people of Samúd, 2364 B.C.

Wherever the she-camel of *Çáleh* grazed, all the other cattle became so frightened that they dared not browse freely, and lost their strength gradually. This so vexed the people that they killed her, but when *Çáleh* reproached them they assured him that the deed had been perpetrated by some evil-minded scamps, without the consent of the

* *Surah XLVI. 23.*

† *Ibid.*:—بل هو ما استعجلتم به ريح فيها عذاب اليم

people. He then told them that in case they were to bring back the young camel they would be forgiven. After searching for some time it was brought to Çáleḥ, but it brayed fearfully; whereupon he said, "Enjoy yourselves three days in your houses, the threat will not fail," and informed them that a great calamity would befall them on the fourth day, as the brayings had indicated three days. On this nine persons who had been concerned in the slaying of the camel went to kill Çáleḥ also, but were foiled in their attempt by angels who destroyed them. The people, who suspected that Çáleḥ had been the cause, determined to kill him, but were overtaken by a fearful storm, "and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and prostrate*."* The extinction of the dynasty of Jenda' the Samudite king took place in the same year, but he, being a believer, was at that time in Syria, and died forty years after the destruction of the Samudites.

Senán, 2361 B.C.

Senán B. A'lwán B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem was a brother of Zohák and a cousin of Shedád, and had by him been appointed king of Egypt, which he conquered by the aid of the descendants of A'mlyk, with whom he occupied Memphis, and reigned 134 years over the whole of Egypt, Nubia, and Sudán.

Building of the dam of Múreb, 2331 B.C.

Loḡmán Allakbar, i.e. the greater, and "Lord of eagles," is Loḡmán B. A'ádyán B. Lajjin B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sám B. Núh. He became a monotheist during the mission of Húd, but concealed his religion for fear of the wickedness of the people. When the curse of Húd had brought dearth upon the nation, and the deputation had gone to Mekkah to pray for rain, Loḡmán B. A'ád and Marsad B. Sa'd were also of the number. But when the faith of these two men became known in Mekkah the A'áдите magnates scorned them, and prayed alone for rain; and for this reason these two men not only escaped perdition when the first A'ádités were destroyed, but were also divinely inspired to ask a favour from God. Marsad, in whose mind the miseries of famine were still uppermost, asked for wheat enough to last him for life, and obtained his wish; but Loḡmán prayed that the duration of his existence might be as long as that of seven eagles, and his

* Surah XXIX. 36, and VII. 76.

request also was granted. He settled in Máreb, where he took a young eagle and kept it till it died; this he did with six of these birds in succession, and each of them lived seventy years. When he had taken the seventh young eagle, his nephew came and said, "Uncle, only this young eagle's life remains for you," but he was mistaken, as the seventh eagle actually lived fifteen hundred years, but when Loḵmán one day called the bird it did not move; on approaching it he found it very weak. Soon afterwards the bird expired, and Loḵmán also.

When Loḵmán settled in Máreb he found the soil to be very fertile, but observed that inundations sometimes destroyed the crops; therefore he picked out a suitable spot between two hills and built a dam capable of retaining a large quantity of water, constituting a lake one farsakh long and one broad. This dam, called *Al-A'rem* or *Sadd Mareb*, had thirty apertures, one above another, a cubit in diameter, which were one by one opened to let out the water for irrigation, according to demand. On account of the bountiful harvests thus produced, the town of Saba became also very populous. As the destruction of the dam of Mareb* occurred in the second century of our era, and falls, consequently, into a period more certain than the mythical times, I shall give some account of it in another paper, on "The pre-Islamitic history of Yemen."

Governed by Loḵmán and his descendants, the second A'ádites had an existence of one thousand years, and accordingly Ya'reb the son of Koḥtán who conquered them established his sovereignty in Yemen seven and a half centuries before our era.†

A'dnan, 764 B.C.

A'dnán is considered a scion of Ismael and an ancestor of Muḥammad. He was so valiant that unaided he put to flight eighty horsemen who attacked him in the desert, and also distinguished himself greatly on other occasions. He governed Baṭṭhá (Mekkah) and Yathreb (Medinah), where he was much respected. When he heard that Bukhtanaṣr (Nebuchadanozzor) meant to conquer Jerusalem he attacked him, but, being put to flight repeatedly, fled to Yemen, where he settled, begat one hundred sons, and spent the rest of his life.

* Also alluded to in Surah XXXIV. 14, 15.

† *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, par C. de Perceval, tome i., p. 18.

DA'JI', Hon. Mem. R.A.S., &c., &c.

The coins (83), eighty-three, "found by certain boys in the village of Devláná, Táluká Báglán, near the side of a river," forwarded by H. N. B. Erskine, Esq., Collector of Násik, with his letter dated 22nd January 1870, are very important as furnishing the name of a new king of about the same age as Kumára Gupta. Eighty-two of the coins weigh fifteen tolas and thirty-eight grains, the average weight of a piece or single coin being thus thirty-three and a half grains. The coins are of silver, and vary in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

They are all from the mint of one king. They resemble the coins of Kumára Gupta considerably. The face is a good deal similar to that of Kumára Gupta, and as the execution of the coins of Kumára Gupta exhibits a deterioration of art when compared with the coins of the Kshatrapas, so is a similar defective workmanship to be detected in these coins. On the obverse of Kumára Gupta's coins there is a peacock, but in its stead there is on these coins an image of *Nandí*, or the bull. But it is as well to point out that in the coins of Skanda Gupta, the son of Kumára Gupta, there is sometimes on the obverse a *Nandí* or bull. I possess a coin of Skanda Gupta with a peacock on the obverse.

The *Nandī* is pretty well executed on the coins, in a squatting posture.

Around the *Nandī*, which is in the centre, are letters which are of the same age as those of Kumāra Gupta's coins, and are equally difficult to decipher, as the diacritical marks are not given.

Selecting twelve coins, I have carefully cleaned them, and doubtful letters in one have been made out by more distinct impressions of the same in others. The legend is read by me as follows :—

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“Rájá Parama Máheśvara ; Mánasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyána Śríkasa (?)”

Who this Mánasa Nṛipa or king, “the great devotee of Máheśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God,” was, it is impossible at present to say. We are in perfect darkness with regard to the kings of the Dakhaṇ between the time of Gotamiputra, whose name occurs in the Cave Inscriptions, and that of Jaya Sinha Vallabha, the oldest Chálukya king whose name has been as yet discovered.

In my opinion the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhaṇ, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.



ART. V.—*On a Pre-historic Monument of the Western Coast of India.* By Dr. C. MARCHESSETTI.

Read 8th April 1876.

I think it not out of place to address your learned Society, which has always had for its object the investigation of scientific researches, on the subject of a new pre-historic discovery, which, on account of the locality where it has been made, is of special interest to India. This discovery is one of the most ancient monuments of the activity of the human race, a monument which carries us back to a period more remote than any other of the known traditions concerning the existence of mankind.

In the Portuguese province of Sattary, at a distance of about 48 miles from Goa, in the neighbourhood of a village called Cotandem, there exists a petrified forest extending over a surface of several miles. The trees of this forest are scattered partly over the side of a hill adjoining Captain Major's plantation, and partly in the valley along the borders of the river which runs along its base.

The geological formation is granitic, and is covered here and there with thick layers of laterite and trappite, especially in the lower grounds. The stems of the trees lie immediately over the granite, imbedded in laterite, and disappear in some places under more or less thick strata of recent formation,—a circumstance which supports the supposition that this forest is of greater extension.

Although the organic substance is entirely transformed into silicate, and the trunks are so hard that they emit sparks of fire when struck with a steel, yet their fibres are very well preserved; and, judging from their disposition and structure, a great portion of them belong to the family of the Monocotyledones, whereas a smaller quantity belong to the Coniferæ.

But all the trunks are not of the same degree of petrification. I have found important differences in them, especially in the hardness and thickness of their respective tissues, and also in the more perfect or imperfect preservation of their vegetable structures. Amongst

them there are pieces that are very light, with interstices between their fibres; also pieces of which the fibrous structure has almost completely disappeared; and, finally, pieces that have undergone a retrogressive metamorphosis, and which are reduced into a soft friable substance having the appearance of talc.

The latter are found mostly on the borders, and in the bed of the river above mentioned, where they have been more exposed to the dissolving action of the water.

A petrified forest has nothing very remarkable about it—several exist in different localities in India, viz., at Cutch, Saugor, Perim, and Pondicherry, to say nothing of the celebrated one near Cairo; but the forest it has been my good fortune to discover is interesting in a different point of view, namely, because many of the trunks of the trees of which it is composed *bear evident traces of the instruments which have been employed to cut them down.* A great many of the stems at one of their extremities show a clean diagonal cut exposing a polished surface of the part separated from the original member; whereas at the other extremity the surface is splintered and torn, which could not otherwise be, as in this instance the disrupted surface is opposite to the splitting direction,—in other words, to the grain of the wood.

In some instances I have found visible traces of the axe, the stems throughout their length showing incisions more or less deep, separating the fibres at intermediate distances.

Besides these large trunks there are many other small ones, which also present at one or both of their extremities a clean-cut surface.

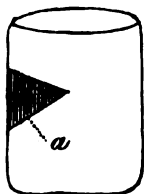
One might suppose that these polished surfaces have either been produced by accident, or else that they have been caused by friction while rolling down some declivity. But the following considerations will suffice, I think, to show that these suppositions are groundless. All bodies break with greater facility where their molecular resistance is weaker: therefore a fibrous substance can be cut or cloven into two pieces with much more ease in its splitting direction, and the part separated in that manner will show more or less even surfaces. Nevertheless none of the pieces I have met with are cut in the direction of the grain of the wood, but they all present deep incisions in a transverse direction, all of which cross the grain of the fibre at an angle of 45° to 90°.

The second supposition is also unsustainable, because the polished parts exist at the extremities only, consequently have a much smaller base than the trunks taken in their full length; and as every cylindrical

body when rolling or sliding down an inclined plane must obey the laws of gravity, and must roll or slide on its greatest surface, therefore the latter only should exhibit a polished appearance.

Lastly, we have nothing to do in this instance with crystallized bodies, which when being broken or split must obey the laws of the system of crystallization to which they belong; but we have to consider a process of silicious imbibition in a vegetable tissue which has preserved its primitive form. If, therefore, we take into consideration these several reasons, which exclude all others concerning the origin of the polished surfaces herein alluded to, we must come to the conclusion that they have been produced by a sharp cutting instrument.

In addition to the evidence adduced proving that in those remote times the Southern Konkan was already populated, I have been fortunate enough to find a piece of petrified wood showing the method adopted by the people of those regions when engaged in felling the trees of their forests. In those distant ages it was the custom, in order to bring the trees down with greater facility, to cut out of their trunks



a triangular piece of wood of the shape of a wedge (a). It is therefore my opinion that this people had arrived at a high degree of civilization, and were in possession of metallic instruments (probably iron). With stone instruments it would be quite impossible to produce the deep clean cuttings that a great many of the pieces exhibit; and even admitting the existence

of iron tools, it is not easy, on first inspection, to understand how it was possible with the latter to make incisions of three inches broad.

In order to account for this peculiarity it is necessary to suppose that the wood was of a soft description, or, otherwise, that these deep incisions were not the result of one single blow, but have been produced by several succeeding ones in one and the same direction.

I may here mention certain habits of the people in connection with what precedes. The present inhabitants of the Coorg Hills are in the habit of using long knives of a singular shape, and whenever a marriage ceremony takes place the young men of the village make use of them to show their muscular strength, and the one who succeeds in cutting off at one blow the thickest plantain stem is proclaimed the hero of the day.

It is difficult to determine with precision the age of this fossil forest, because I have not found any other petrifications in the laterite formation in which it is imbedded ; one thing is certain, that we have not to deal with one of those simple incrustations that we meet with every day in countries where rivers contain a large solution of bicarbonate of lime ; but we have under notice a complete transformation of constituent elements, and a silicification for the perfection of which a very great number of years are required. That which undoubtedly proves the great antiquity of this fossil forest is the fact of its being overlaid in some places with strata of trappite and laterite.

Geologists do not agree as to the origin and age of the latter, so that the greater or smaller thickness of this formation cannot assist in ascribing any fixed period to it. But with regard to the former we have a leading feature to guide us through this dark nebula. Trappite, as is well known, is a volcanic product, and is to be met with everywhere on the flanks of the Western Gháts, though at the present time all traces of volcanic activity have completely disappeared from that region. "Sufficient time has elapsed," says Dr. H. J. Carter,* "since the last of its effusions were poured forth, to weather down its cones, efface its craters, dissipate its scorix, break up its plains, and transform its surface to such an extent that from arid, black, undulating volcanic waste, it has now become a tract of mountains, hills, and valleys, covered with verdure and cultivation, and, with the exception of the crater of Loonar, without a known trace of any vents to point out the localities from which the volcanic matter of which it is composed was ejected."

As the silicified trunks are overlaid with trappite, they must be older than the last volcanic effusions, and therefore I think I am authorized in attributing a very high antiquity to this petrified forest, and at the same time to conclude that at this distant period the Southern Koikan was already inhabited by a civilized people.

* *Geological Papers on Western India, &c.*, p. 701.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[JANUARY TO APRIL 1876.]

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on 15th January 1876 the Hon'ble JAMES GIBBS, *President*, in the chair.

The Rev. J. P. Hughes, and Mr. G. C. Whitworth, C.S., were elected Members of the Society.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb Vishwanáth N. Maṇḍlik, V.P., read a paper—"Remarks on Walabhí Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates," in which he came to the conclusion that the era used in the Walabhí plates is the era of the Guptas.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the proposal of Prof. Bháṇḍárkar and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were placed on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 12th February 1876.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Books, Pamphlets, and Papers presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. J. Gerson daCunha read a paper—"Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul." The paper was divided into two parts, viz., Historical and Archæological, the Historical part from the earliest Hindu period to modern times, passing through the Muhammadan and Portuguese periods, the latter being the most interesting of all. The Archæological part consisted of descriptions of the ruins; and decipherment of inscriptions to be there found.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha, on the motion of the Chairman and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

“On March 4th a public meeting called by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held in the Library of the Institution, the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, *President*, in the chair, when Professor Monier Williams delivered an address in favour of an Indian Institute, which it is proposed should be founded at Oxford. The following circular, referred to in Professor Williams' address, was distributed amongst the meeting:—‘It is hoped that if the present system of educating the Civil Service of India be maintained, Oxford will become an effective and attractive training-ground for this purpose. Under any circumstances, the oldest and most central University in England may well become a place where all workers in the field of Indian knowledge should receive aid and encouragement. In that case a building and appliances will certainly be needed that shall be wholly dedicated to the promotion of Indian studies, and to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The principal aim of such an Institution would be to form a centre of union, intercourse, inquiry, and instruction for all engaged in Indian studies. It would contain Lecture-rooms suited to the use of Professors of the classical languages of India, and of Teachers of the Indian vernaculars and of Indian law and history—to be hereafter attached to it—the teachers being paid either by the University, or by separate endowments like that of the Boden Professorship. It would also contain a Library and Museum, and might combine appliances for other Oriental studies, so as to furnish the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service and others with the means of preparing themselves for examinations and for obtaining degrees in an Indian School, in the event of such a school being hereafter established at Oxford. Another great object of the Institution would be to encourage and facilitate the residence of young Indians at Oxford. Indeed, an increasing number of the natives of India already frequent our University. It is thought, therefore, that a scheme which will tend especially to their advantage is sure to meet with support in India. It is believed that a sum of about £20,000 would suffice for the erection of an Institute, and the endowment of a Curator, and application might be made to the University for a suitable site. It may be assumed that when an Indian Institute, with a Library and Museum, is once established at Oxford, contributions of books, MSS. and objects of interest, illustrating the ethnology, archæo-

logy, religious systems, domestic and social life of the natives of India, will rapidly come in from India itself, from old University men resident there, and from all interested in making Oxford a centre of Oriental studies. Communications with offers of assistance may be addressed to Professor Monier Williams, Oxford, or care of Messrs. King, Hamilton, and Co., Calcutta; or care of Messrs. King, King, and Co., Bombay; or to any members of the Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras committees. Any sums of money that may be voluntarily offered will be invested in the names of Lord Lawrence, Sir Edward Colebrooke, and other trustees. It is proposed that a subscription of £1 per annum and upwards shall entitle to membership, and a donation of £25 to life-membership. Patron—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K.G.; Vice-Patrons—His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, K.G.; His Excellency Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India; His Honour Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; the Hon. Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., Lieut.-Governor, N.W.P.; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; His Grace the Archbishop of York; the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, D.C.L., High Steward of the University of Oxford, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Right Hon. Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; His Highness the Maharaja of Jeypore; His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore; His Highness the Maharaja of Punnah; the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Hon. D.C.L., Oxon; the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir William Henry Gregory, K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon; the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Arthur Hobhouse; the Hon. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Ashley Eden; the Hon. T. C. Hope; the Maharaja of Darbhunga; Sir Edward Colebrooke, M.P.; Sir William Robinson, K.C.S.I.’

“The following propositions to be submitted to the consideration of the University of Oxford were also presented to the meeting:—

“I.—The University to give a site for the building in a convenient part of Oxford.

“II.—To provide stipends for Professors or Teachers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu, Indian History and Indian Law (if not already provided).

"To provide rooms for young Indians either in the building or near it, and to appoint a Superintendent or Tutors whose business will be to watch over the occupants of the rooms, and to promote their happiness, comfort, and well-being of mind and body.

"V.—To allow all young Indian students to be members of the University, with admission to all its lectures and privileges, on payment of a matriculation fee of about £5 (covering the whole period of residence in Oxford), and on producing testimonials of moral character, and on giving evidence of proficiency in the usual subjects of an English education, not, however, necessarily including Greek and Latin, for which proficiency in Indian languages might be taken as an equivalent.

"VI.—To make facilities for their going through courses of study in Chemistry and every branch of Physical Science in the University Libraries and Laboratories, and for attending the Lectures of the University Professors in Law, Medicine, Political Economy, and History.

"VII.—To make facilities for Medical students attending Clinical Lectures in the Oxford Infirmary, if required, and for Law students attending the Oxford Assizes, and going to London (1 hour and 20 minutes distant by railroad) occasionally to attend and take notes in the Law Courts, and to keep terms in the Inns of Court if necessary.

"VIII.—Not to compel all young Indian students to pass the Degree Examinations, but to enable those who desire degrees to graduate in an Oriental School, in which Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian shall take the place of Latin and Greek, and in which the Literature of India, the History of Asia, and Indian Law shall be prominent subjects.

"IX.—To make such arrangements as shall enable a student from India to live all the year round in the rooms provided for him at Oxford, and to make such sumptuary rules as shall make it possible for each student to live in Oxford for £150 per annum, exclusive of expenses incurred during vacations, if such vacations be thought desirable.

"X.—To allow any one interested in India to be a member of the Indian Institute, on payment of £1 per annum, or to be a life member on payment of £25.

"XI.—To transfer all books on India and Sanskrit MSS., and all objects of interest connected with India, from the University Libraries and Museums to the Indian Institute.

"The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that Professor Williams, when he came to India, was anxious that a meeting in Bombay of some kind should take place at which he could explain his views, and he (the Chairman) thought that the Asiatic Society was the proper place to hear the views of such an authority on such a subject.

"Professor Monier Williams then said :—' I have been travelling over a great part of India endeavouring to excite an interest in the proposal for founding an Indian Institute at Oxford, the outline of which is in the printed paper before you. And where am I likely to meet with more sympathy than in my own *Jinnah-bhumi*, in my own native city of Bombay? Where more than with this learned Society, who have recently conferred on me a high and valued mark of their approval by enrolling me in the list of their honorary members? In the course of a long tour I have received many valuable suggestions, and others will, I trust, be offered to me by you, which will enable me to formulate the scheme before you more fully on my return to Oxford. It is clear that if I had to make a map of India I must have surveyed the country first. Even so any plan for founding an Indian Institute must be based on some personal knowledge of India and its people. This I have tried to gain by my travels here. I said at Calcutta that I had come here for *Prama*—that I might, so to speak, take a true measure of the country and form a right estimate of its condition and needs. Some of the newspapers made me say that I had come out for *Prama*, love. (Laughter.) Well, it is certainly true that the *Prama* I have gained has led to *Prama*. I have contracted a great affection for India and its inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) Both the people and the country have made a deep impression on me. It must be confessed that I have been received everywhere as a visitor (though having a special mission), and that, too, rather as a flying visitor; and a flying visitor's impressions are not often worth much. But, such as they are, a few of them may perhaps interest you. I heard of a youth the other day who, on being asked to recount his impressions of India, said that he had found it a very dusty place. It must be admitted that I have encountered plenty of dust, but I trust I have done as the poet Wordsworth recommends, "turned the dust of my opportunities to gold, and filled my soul with sentiments august, the beautiful, the brave, the holy and the just," examples of which I have found everywhere around me in my observation both of the country and its people. First as to the country. I found India a complete world in itself. The Duke of Argyll in his

"Reign of Law" shows that the Almighty delights in variety, and that this law is carried out in the most minute organizations invisible to the human eye. And what an infinite variety have I found here in India, in living objects, in physical features, in scenery, in climate ! An Indian Institute will have to recognize this wonderful variety. It will have to deal with India as an epitome of the world. Every branch of science will have to come within the range of its teaching. Then as to the people of India. I have found here among them every variety of race, language, creed, custom, character. Yet they appear to have some characteristics in common which have struck me as worthy of admiration. First of all, the intensity of their belief in the presence and power of God. I asked a Pandit in Jammu to write down any two words he thought best in the Sanskrit language, and he instantly wrote down *Bhagavate Nāmah*, "reverence to God." In fact these words seem written upon everything Indian. They stand at the head of every work. They are interwoven with every practice and usage of daily life. The people of India are ever reminding themselves of a future state of being. They are ever acting as if they were intensely conscious that this world is only the vestibule to another, and that that other world is close to them. Then their extreme docility and respect for authority. I saw greater and denser crowds at Calcutta than I have ever seen in London or Paris, and I doubt whether any European crowd would have behaved in so orderly a manner. I thought to myself, What influence a determined leader might have with such a people, either for good or for evil ! Then their patient perseverance in *Dharma*, that is, in doing their appointed work in the state of life to which God has called them. Even a man of the lowest caste, however toilsome and despised by others his duties may be, seems to take a pride in patiently and contentedly performing them. Then their natural courtesy of manner. In no country have I met with more real gentlemen than in this. Even among the uneducated classes I maintain that there are more of nature's gentlemen than are to be found in Europe. Of course this courtesy may easily slide into servility, but servility of manner is not more common here than elsewhere. Then their domestic virtues. Where can be found more filial and conjugal affection, where more family devotion, where more love for the *Janma-bhumi*, or the place of birth, where more *Sitas* or faithful wives, where more respect for age, piety, and learning than in India ? Of course even reverence for fathers and forefathers may be carried too far if it leads to a blind following of practices manifestly out of date, merely because

they have been inherited from ancestors. Lastly, as to intellectual condition. Where in the world can be found a people so imaginative as the people of this country, though their imagination may often run a little too wild? And where in the world will be found among educated men more shrewd reasoners? I have been told that in some parts of India even an uneducated Indian is naturally a metaphysician. Even without being able to read or write, he is said to be quite capable of arguing with remarkable acuteness about the nature of God, the origin of evil, and the relationship of spirit to matter. But some will say, Have you no dark touches to put into your traveller's sketch? Of course I might do so; but I have not travelled as a *Chidranveshin*. I have not had too keen an eye for spots and holes. One *chidra*, however, is too apparent to have escaped my notice. Everywhere I have found among the people of India too great a tendency towards what we call in Sanskrit *Udasinata*, apathy and indifference. One great aim of the Indian Institute will be to represent the people of India in their true character. It will know better than to describe them as barbarous, just emerging from darkness. It will make known their ancient civilizations, their grand literatures, their subtle philosophies, their time-honoured usages, and will lay the foundation of a scholarlike acquaintance with their classical languages. The great men of this country ought to support such an Institution liberally, because they are deeply interested in promoting among Englishmen a right estimate of India. For India is daily becoming more and more governed from England itself. I mean, more from the central terminus of Queen, Lords and Commons than from those who are at the other end of the submarine wires. How, then, can India be governed properly if there is ignorance in England of what India is, and of what India needs? And how can such ignorance be better dispelled than by founding at our ancient Universities, where our Royal Princes and the majority of our Lords and Commons are educated, institutions that shall be wholly dedicated to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The people of Great Britain, whatever their present ignorance of India may be, are deeply interested in the well-being of their Eastern Empire.

“We sometimes hear England accused of governing India for England more than for India's own sake; of consulting the interests of London, Liverpool, and Manchester more than those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; of making India the theatre of experiments in political eco-

onomy and social science ; of annexing provinces for the maintenance of what is called our prestige in Europe. Yet we have only to look around to see abundant monuments of the good intentions, the disinterested policy, and the general efficiency of the English government. My tour in India has convinced me that, notwithstanding some blunders, Great Britain has done for India what no *rāj* has ever done before. Changes have been worked, and improvements effected, the magnitude of which must be seen to be believed. I have travelled thousands of miles from Bombay to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lahore and the kingdom of Cashmere. I have seen a network of railroads and telegraphs penetrating and girding the whole land, carrying trade, traffic, and prosperity into districts hitherto unopened. I have seen better carriage roads than any in Europe—wonderful canals and systems of irrigation. In larger cities beautiful public buildings ; and even in smaller cities signs of incipient civic life. I have witnessed a vast work being effected in education, especially here at Bombay ; and the standard for degree examinations seems to me really higher than it is in England. Everywhere in India are signs of intellectual activity and progress, nowhere more so than here. Libraries, reading-rooms, debating societies ; learned societies like that I am now addressing ; able newspapers and periodicals, in English and the vernaculars ; the best literature of India, and scientific books on all subjects, printed at Government and native presses. Among the latter ought especially to be mentioned the press of the Maharaja of Cashmere and that of Thakurgiri Prasad Sing of Beswan. Last, not least, a thoroughly effective Post-office carrying letters, papers, periodicals punctually to every corner of the empire. Yet, after all, I fear our zeal has not always been according to knowledge—such knowledge as an Indian Institute will, I trust, endeavour to supply. What is wanted is a wise progress neither forced nor premature—a wise adaptation of legislation and education to the varying conditions of particular localities. India is a collection of countries which ought not to be bound by any iron law of uniform treatment. What suits one place is quite unsuited to another. Probably in some places we are at least fifty years too early with our laws and regulations and our complicated processes, and too often we have educated men above their station and employments, instead of educating them in these. We shall be wise not to force too strong meat on those who cannot digest it. But if England has often misunderstood India, it is equally certain that India has misunderstood England. If, with all our good intentions, the governors

have failed to conciliate the governed, is the fault all on one side? I believe that Great Britain and India have much to learn from each other. The objects, then, of the Oxford Institute will be two-fold—first, to promote in England a right estimate of India; and, secondly, to promote sympathy and cordial feelings and a proper understanding between the natives of the two countries, and to show the common ground on which we may all meet together as brothers and fellow-subjects. And to this end the Oxford Institute will facilitate what is called in Sanskrit *Gamaná-gamana* between the East and West. If you wish to judge of a man's real character you must see him in his own home—in private life. You must go to England to understand what England really is. I have often been asked why should the Indian candidates for the Civil Service be sent to England to be examined? I really do not see, for my part, why Indians should not be examined in India, but every selected candidate ought to be absolutely compelled to go to England for his two years' training, that he may learn what England is at home, and take note of her vast power and resources. I regret very much that the Government scholarships for aiding men to go to England have been abolished. I think they ought to be re-established, and far more generally and numerous than before, so that deserving men everywhere may be helped to visit England. Why, too, should not the richer natives of this country themselves establish scholarships with this aim? I trust that what are called travelling fellowships may be founded in England in connection with our Indian Institute, to enable young Englishmen to visit India. Why should Indians lose their nationality by residing in England, any more than we lose ours by sojourning in this country? We do not even change the character of our dress. We keep our social habits, our customs, our games, and even our caste feelings. Why should not Indians do the same? Let me assure the native gentlemen here present, as I did those at Calcutta, that one great result of the residence of young Indians at Oxford will be to make them more patriotic, because our endeavour will be to set before them the greatness of their country, and stimulate them to make every effort for the amelioration of its condition. Now, I ask, how can this *Gamaná-gamana*, this intercourse between the East and West, be promoted? How can the difficulties surrounding it be removed? I trust this meeting will help me with suggestions, as the Calcutta meeting has already done. The eleven propositions in one of the papers before you embody the suggestions of my Calcutta friends. Have you any other propositions to add to these? I hope that before I

quit my native city, a powerful committee may be formed here who will undertake to strengthen my hands when I bring the subject before the University of Oxford, and who will aid me in obtaining promises of pecuniary assistance to erect a suitable building and to found suitable scholarships. Let me mention before I close that the Viceroy and all the present Governors of India, including His Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse, have consented to become Vice-Patrons under the Prince of Wales as Patron of the Oxford Institute, the only exception being the new Governor of Madras, whose reply has not yet been received ; I have also to put before you a letter from Mr. Lethbridge, Principal of the Kishnaghur College, enclosing about five hundred signatures of graduates of the Calcutta University, to be followed by many more, the object of which is to request me to lay before the University of Oxford their desire for the establishment of an Oriental School at Oxford.' (Cheers.)

"The Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik said that he begged to propose a vote of the sincere thanks of the meeting to Professor Williams for his interesting, exhaustive, and able address. He did so with pleasure, more in response to the call to the native audience present, than as one capable of doing justice to the important subject which had been placed with such ability before them. He would not go so far as to say that he coincided with the scheme which had been placed before them for their acceptance in all its bearings, but he sympathized entirely with the object Professor Monier Williams had in view. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with his desire to promote *gamaná-gamana* between the two countries. (Hear, hear.) The address with which they had been favoured that day was very instructive and suggestive ; indeed, he might call it the epitome of the results of education in the Presidency of Bombay for twenty-five years, and of fifty years in the Presidency of Bengal. They had just been told that five hundred students from Calcutta University had signed a certain memorial, which fact showed the advance made by the University of the Bengal Presidency ; but he made bold to assert that that university had made no further advance than had Bombay University in earnestness and desire for progress, considering the appliances which had been placed within its reach. If the progress here was somewhat slower than in Bengal, it was certainly more calculated to make each one more satisfied with his position in life, and tended more to promote a desire to seek a gradual amelioration of a man's own position, and the position of those around him. It was for the promotion of a communication between mind and

mind, of the *gamani-gamana*, as the lecturer had described it, that he (the speaker) would desire the proposed movement to be successful. He hoped, therefore, that, before the meeting separated, some resolution would be proposed that would give practical encouragement to Professor Williams by the citizens of Bombay. (Cheers.)

“Mr. Naoroji Fardunji seconded the resolution, and said that the proposals of Professor Monier Williams were deserving of support from every enlightened quarter. As, however, suggestions had been asked for, he hoped he might be allowed to call attention to the suggestion which was made several years ago by the native community of Bombay in a memorial, extensively signed, and addressed to Her Majesty’s Secretary of State at that time. It was then submitted to the Government that the candidates for the Civil Service—the examination of which seems one of the main objects of Professor Williams’ scheme—should take place in the first instance in India, and then that those who showed themselves qualified should be selected to go to England to acquire the additional degrees of efficiency necessary to Civil Service appointments. Such was the proposal of years ago, such seemed to be the proposal of Professor Williams now; and he hoped the Professor would submit it to the authorities at home, and that the authorities would adopt it.

“The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

“Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji then proposed that a Committee be appointed for Bombay, to consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, viz.:—Hon’ble James Gibbs, President; Hon’ble Mr. Justice Pinhey, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., Hon’ble Rao Saheb Vishvanath N. Mandlik, Hon’ble Mahomed Ali Rogay, Professor R. G. Oxenham, Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., and Dr. O. Codrington, Secretary. Mr. Dadabhai said that one point was certain, viz., that native gentlemen going out to England to the Civil Service examinations, or for higher education, would derive immense advantages from such an Institute as that proposed. That would be the case, not only from the way in which their education would be completed, but from the intellectual society in which they would move. He had some young native gentlemen put under his charge some years ago, and he was very anxious to send them either to Oxford or Cambridge, but there were then religious difficulties in the way which prevented that, but now that had been removed, and he knew of several native gentlemen who had taken up a residence at the Universities.

Now he maintained that if they could find a home as well as a school at the University, it would be all the better for them. The use of the University to Indians was not only the superior education which they would get, but it was the highly intellectual society in which they would mix. He had often felt persuaded that the best thing to be done was to send young Indians to England to complete their education and to compete for the Civil Service. Of course there were some difficulties in the way, as there were some years ago in regard to the age of competitors for the Civil Service, which although not intended by the Secretary of State still thwarted many natives from competing, and left behind a very bitter feeling. He highly approved of subjecting the natives to a preliminary examination here, and then sending the most deserving to England to finish. After five years' hard labour he had at last succeeded in getting a clause to the effect that the Government 'might' do that, and he hoped it would not take the same length of time in getting the clause carried into effect. (Hear, hear.)

"The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, in an excellent speech, seconded the resolution, speaking highly of Professor Williams and the address he had given. He said that all who had studied the affairs of India had been indebted to the works of Professor Williams for much valuable information, and long before they had seen his face his name was familiar as household words. He (the speaker) was sure that the proposal of Professor Williams, if carried out, would give an impetus to a work which would be of immense value to India, more valuable than was at first apparent. The reverend gentleman pointed out the great value from a political point of view of what Professor Williams proposed.

"Mr. Naoroji Fardunji then suggested that the name of Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai (cries of Hear, hear) should be added to the Committee, and with this amendment the resolution was carried unanimously.

"Professor Monier Williams, in returning thanks, said that he thanked the meeting for the kind way in which he had been mentioned: and he must apologize if his address had assumed a too political aspect, as he was afraid, from the last speaker, it had. The fact was that the questions of education and politics ran so much into each other, that it was difficult to draw the line between the two. Education was a great political lever; and he hoped, therefore, that in speaking of the one he had not entrenched too far into the regions of the other. He had mere-

ly expressed his own private views; but he persisted in the idea that candidates for the Civil Service, though examined in India, should be compelled to reside for a year or two in England, and the Indian Institute could give them the opportunity of doing so. (Hear, hear.)"
—*Times of India*.

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on March 11th, 1876. The Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, V.P., in the Chair.

J. A. Baines, Esq., C.S., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper—"Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic period of their History."

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the Chairman and Mr. W. M. Wood.

A Meeting of the Society was held on April 8th, 1876. The Honourable Mr. Justice West, V.P., in the Chair.

Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society since the last Meeting were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

C. Grondona, Esq., and Surgeon-Major D. Mackie, M.A., M.D., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. C. Marchesetti read a paper on "Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India," in which he described a fossil forest he had found near Goa, evidently of great antiquity, yet many of the fossil trunks having marks of the axe or a large knife, which marks he considered could not have been made by other than metal instruments.

A vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Marchesetti on the motion of the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson and the Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik.

Dr. G. Bühler then read a paper on "Sanskrit in Kashmir," describing what had come to his notice during his recent visit to that country, especially with regard to Sanskrit literature and MSS., and showed to

the meeting several of the birch-bark MS. books he had obtained, remarking on their peculiarities, &c.

Dr. Bühler also presented to the Society eleven Kashmir copper coins, dating from A.D. 415 to 1208.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar and Mr. Da Cunha, and passed, to Dr. Bühler.

Original Communications, January to April 1876.

Communicated by

| | |
|--|-------------|
| BÜHLER (Dr. G.).—Sanskrit in Kashmir | The Author. |
| DA CUNHA (J. GERSON).—Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul | Do. |
| MANDLIK (Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N.).— Remarks on Walabhi Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates | Do. |
| MARCHESETTI (Dr. CARLO).— Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India | Do. |
| REHATSEK (EDWARD).— Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History | Do. |

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Appendix H to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1874-75. By the Director.

Archæological Survey of Western India, No. 2. By J. Burgess. By the Government of Bombay.

Archæologiske Ephemeris, 12 Parts. Plates 48 to 54.

A Welcome Address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in honour of His Royal Highness' Visit to Indore. By Raoji Wasudeva Tullu. By the Author.

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Sama Veda Sanhita. New Series, No. 334. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Birth and Accounts of the Prophet Zoroaster. By Kursetjee R. Kama. (Gujarati.) By the Author.

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Collection of Papers illustrative of the several Scarcities which have happened in the Madras Presidency previous to 1866. By the Madras Government.

Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages. By the Rev. R. Caldwell. By the India Office Library.

Contributions to the Annals of Medical Progress and Medical Education in the United States. By J. H. Toner. By the Boston Society.

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Description of the New Genera and Species of North American Lizards in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. By S. F. Baird. By the Boston Society.

Di alcune nuove Località del Proteus Anguineus Laur. By Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti. By the Author.

Dictionary of the Pali Language. By R. C. Childers. By the India Office.

Ein Ausflug auf die Julischen Alpen. By Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti.

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Presents to the Museum during 1876 (January to April).

5 Silver Arcot Coins found in Sattara. Presented by the Government.

1 Copper Coin of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

13 Small Silver Coins of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

11 Copper Coins of the Rajas of Kashmir. Presented by Dr. G. Bühler.

DETAILED REPORT
OF A
TOUR IN SEARCH OF SANSKRIT MSS.

MADE
IN KÁSMÍR, RAJPUTANA, AND CENTRAL INDIA.

BY
G. BÜHLER.

EXTRA NUMBER
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1877.

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JOURNAL
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BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

EXTRA NUMBER.

*Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in
Kāśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India.—By Dr. G. BÜHLER.*

PART I.—KĀŚMĪR.

A.—PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

The order of Government to proceed on a tour to Kāśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India in search of Sanskrit MSS. reached me on July 18, 1875. I started from Surat on the following day, and left Bombay for Lahore on the 21st. The first information connected with my mission reached me at Ghaziābād, the station for Dīlhī. A native assistant who had gone on ahead met me there, together with my old friend Pandit Viśveśvarnāth Naval Goshāmi, of Dīlhī. The latter brought me the welcome news that a library of the Digambara Jains, who are numerous in Eastern Rajputana and the neighbouring portions of the North-Western Provinces, would be opened to me whenever I came to Dīlhī, and that a catalogue of it was being prepared for me. Though I was unable to stop at Dīlhī, still this information was very gratifying, as the Digambaras of Northern India were one of the sects whose literature, hitherto hardly known, I intended to explore.

Lahore was reached on the 25th, and I had to make there a stay of three days in order to equip myself for the march through the hills. Through the kindness of Pandit Râdhâkishn, Mahârâjâ Ranjit Singh's former Joshî, who throughout took a deep interest in the search for the remnants of Sanskrit literature, I was enabled to employ this period profitably for my object. Pandit Râdhâkishn gave me the names of his Kaśmîrî correspondents, and such information about the libraries and scholars of the Valley as he possessed. He introduced me also to some emigrants from Kaśmîr, and to Pandits who had visited the country. With their help I was able to lay a foundation for the list of possessors of libraries, which will be given further on, and to obtain some idea of what was before me. Through Pandit Râdhâkishn I obtained also the first nucleus of my collection of MSS. from Kaśmîr, copies of the *Śrîharshacharita* of Bâṇa, and of Bhartṛihari's *Vâkyapadîya* with a portion of Punyarâja's commentary.*

I left Lahore on July 29 for Gujarât, whence I took the old Imperial route into Kaśmîr viâ Bhimbher and the Pîr Panchâl. During the march there was little information on Sanskrit or Sanskrit books to be gained. I found, however, a Panjâbî Pandit at Naushera; and at Râjaurî, the ancient Râjapuri, I had an interview with a genuine Kaśmîrian Brahman. This man, though unable to speak Sanskrit, showed a certain acquaintance with Kaśmîrî history, and with sacred matters which a Brahman ought to know. He knew that the ancient name of Râjaurî was Râjapuri, that it was mentioned in the *Râjataranginî*, and had formed in olden times, just as now, part of the possessions of the rulers of Kaśmîr. He was well acquainted with the Brahmanical ceremonies, which, he said, he performed for the Kaśmîrians of Râjaurî. His knowledge of the Vedas was limited. He recited the beginning of the *Rigveda*, and called himself a Rîgvedî of the Kaṭva Śâkhâ. This information, which later proved to be a mixture of truth and error, led me at first to expect to find in Kaśmîr a new redaction of the *Rigveda*, though I suspected at once that the name must be a mistake. The Śâkhâ which the Bhatta meant was

* I little expected that I should not see the good old Pandit again. But he died, rather unexpectedly, in October 1875, before my return from Kaśmîr. Sanskrit learning has lost in him a true friend, and his native town a zealous worker on the field of reform and progress. He was one of the first natives who allowed Europeans to see his collection of MSS., and he first addressed the Government of India recommending that the Sanskrit MSS. preserved in native libraries should be catalogued.

that of the Kathas, a branch of the Black Yajurveda, and he probably called himself a Rîgvedî because he happened to know the beginning of the Rîgveda.

One other little remark regarding the meaning of the name of the *Tohî*, along which a considerable portion of the Bhimbher route passes, may here find a place. *Tohî* has sometimes, *e. g.* on most of our maps, been taken as a proper name. But it is merely an equivalent of the Indian *nadî*, 'river.' According to the statement of my guides, which I heard repeated over and over again, a *tohî* is a perennial mountain-stream; while those torrents that cease to flow during a part of the year are called *kissî*.^{*} Most, if not all, *Tohîs* have special names, which, however, are little used, just as the names of the Indian rivers are frequently omitted by the inhabitants of their banks for the generic appellation *nadî*. The ancient form of the word *Tohî* is *Tausî*, or *Tausî*. The former occurs in the *Rājataranginî*, while the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* has the form *Tausî*. In the latter work the *Āpagā*, *Tausî*, and *Chandrabhāgā* are named together. Probably the word is connected with the Sanskrit *tush-āra*, 'cold,' *i. e.* 'snow,' the sibilant of which has been changed to *h* in Sanskrit *tuh-ina* also, and means etymologically 'a river produced by (the melting of) snow and ice.' These facts will show how little reliance is to be placed on the identification of the *Toutapos* of the Greeks with the Rājauri *Tohî*.†

I reached Śrīnagar on August 11. On my arrival I received from Major Henderson, the Political Resident, a memorandum on Sanskrit libraries and books, prepared by Bābū Nīlambar Mukerji, and a very valuable catalogue of such Sanskrit works as were said to be extant in Kaśmīr. I was also enabled to enlarge my list of possessors of libraries. On the 13th I saw Divān Kirpārām, who introduced to me some of the chief Kaśmīrian Pandits. On the following day I had an interview with H. H. Mahārāja Rāṇā Virasīmha. The Mahārāja himself is well acquainted with Sanskrit and understands it perfectly, though he does not speak it. He is also versed in the Śāstras, especially in Vedānta and Dharma, on which latter he is said to have composed a treatise. He received me very kindly, and gave orders that all Pandits whom I might wish to see should be asked to visit me, and that every assistance should be given me. He was also good enough to take me to his Mudriśsa, and to allow me to examine some of the pupils in

1875

^{*} *Kissî* appears to be a Kaśmīrî word, and the feminine of *kis*, 'small.'

† Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* I. 55, 2nd ed.

his presence. The active manner in which he took part in the examination showed that he was well acquainted with the subjects taught, and that he took a real interest in the work of education. This Mudrissa, which is the chief educational institution in Kaśmīr, contains, besides a Sanskrit college where poetry, poetics, grammar, and philosophy are studied, Persian classes and a school of industry. Mathematics also are taught, according to a Dogra translation of the *Līlāvati*. Its head is Pandit Rāmji, the son of Pandit Rājākā, who combines the office of Superintendent of Education with that of a revenue officer in the Phāk, Vihi, and Trāl parganās. I examined several classes in Sanskrit, Euclid, and algebra, and most of the boys did very fairly.

On the following day, the 15th of August, I received the first visit from a Kaśmīrian Pandit, Dayārām, from whom I obtained at once a great deal of valuable information. Through his father, the late Pandit Sāhebrām, who appears to have been a man deeply versed in the Śāstras and in the ancient history of his country, Pandit Dayārām has become the possessor of much valuable information on the ancient geography of Kaśmīr. A good many of the identifications of places mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*, which I shall have to mention in the sequel, have been made with his assistance. One of his explanations may find its place here, as it stood me in good stead on an expedition which I undertook a day later. As I had just edited Bilhaṇa's *Vikramānka-charita*, I was greatly interested in the author's statements regarding his Kaśmīrian home. I read to Pandit Dayārām the verse (XVIII. 71) in which Bilhaṇa says that his family lived at Khonamukha, a village close to Jayavana, which latter was one and a half *gavyūti*s from Pravarapura. The Pandit at once said that Khonamukha was now called Khunmoh, and that in the *Rājataranginī* it was called Khunamusha, though I had not informed him that General Cunningham had already made this latter identification. He also told me that in Kaśmīr a *gavyūti* was always reckoned two *kos*, and that my explanation of it as one *koś* was not correct.

The next two days were holidays, on account of the Balev festival, on which the Pandits went with the Mahārāja to the Rāmbāg, a garden near the city. I used this respite to make an excursion to Khunmoh, in order to learn how far Bilhaṇa's description agreed with the reality.

Khunmoh is situated about six or seven miles north-east of Śrīnagar. The road leads first along the right bank of the Vitastā, through Pantasuk, or Panchkut, as I heard it called, and Pandrethan. Then it leaves

the river and runs north-east through the straggling village of Zevan, between which and Khunmoh some gently rising ground, about a mile in extent, intervenes. Khunmoh itself consists of two separate hamlets of fifty or sixty houses each, situated the one above the other on the slope of the hills. The latter form an angle about two miles east from Upper Khunmoh, one side of which touches the Vitastâ, near Pandrethan, while the other runs towards the river near Pâmpur without coming very close to it. From the northern side of the hills, which is called *Bhasmasâr*, about three hundred feet up, issues a so-called miraculous spring, which, however, like ordinary springs, runs in favourable years only. Near it stand some fine *chenâr* trees, and over its mouth is placed a stone slab which bears a long Sanskrit inscription in Śāradâ characters, recording the *pratishṭhâ* or consecration made in the Saptarshi year 51. A hundred feet higher up lie the *kunḍa* or tank of *Bhuvaneśvarî*, and a house for the attending priest. Still higher up and close to the top is situated the famous *tīrtha* of *Harśheśvara*. A small stream flows, at least in summer, from the angle in the hill-chain east of Khunmoh. This brook is fed also by two springs which issue from *kunḍas*, or small tanks, in the village. One of them, situated at the entrance of Lower Khunmoh, is called *Somnāg*, and the other, in Upper Khunmoh, *Dāmodarnāg*. The *Somnāg* is a foul pool in which lies a half-defaced stone resembling a Greek funeral *stélê*, and bearing the representation of a warrior on horseback. Near the *Dāmodarnāg* several such *stélês* may be seen, and a few fragments of idols. On its north wall are two small inscriptions, recording the placing of the slab on which they are written, and illegible fragments of a third, which must have been of considerable extent. Khunmoh is inhabited by a mixed population of Musalmans and Brahmans, or "Pandits." The latter possess not the slightest remnant of Sanskrit learning. They are either traders whose 'classical language' is Persian, or *pujâris* who 'do' for the pilgrims visiting *Harśheśvara*. Both portions of the village possess many fine *chenâr* trees. Upper Khunmoh shows remnants of an ancient temple, and a little south of Lower Khunmoh begin the famous saffron fields.

On comparing these actualities with Bilhana's description of the home of his youth, I was greatly struck with the faithfulness of his memory and the appropriateness of his description. He says (*Vikramānka-charita*, XVIII. 70-72):—

(70.) "At a distance of a *gavyûti* and a half from *Pravarapura* lies a place with high-rising monuments (*chaityas*) called *Jayavana*,

where a pool, filled with pure water and sacred to Takshaka, lord of snakes, cuts like a war-disc the head of Kali bent on the destruction of Dharma.

(71.) "Close to it is a village *Khonamukha* by name, famed for the blessing of all excellence. The *mast* elephant Kali, afraid of bondage as it were, enters not its precincts covered by numerous sacrificial pillars shaped like tying-posts.

(72.) "What shall I sing of that spot, the ancient home of wonderful legends, a coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya? One part bears the saffron in its native loveliness, the other the grape, pale like a cut of juicy sugarcane from Sarayū's banks."

It is easy to recognize his Jayavana in the modern Zevan. If the position and the resemblance of the names were not sufficient to prove the identity, there would be, besides, the "pool of Takshaka," which, though no longer enclosed by neat round stone walls, still preserves its old name. It lies to the south of the road close to the Mahomedan burial-ground, and just beyond the last houses of Zevan on the Khunmoh side. Near it and about the graveyard lie many sculptured stones, the last remnants of Bilhaṇa's high-rising (*chaitya*) monuments. The distance of the western portion of Zevan from Śrinagar is also correctly given. It is certainly not more than a *gavyūti* and a half, i.e. three *kos*.

No description of Khunmoh can be happier than Bilhaṇa's calling it 'a coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya.' Nothing could express more appropriately the way in which the village clings to the slope of the hills. If Bilhaṇa describes his native place as 'the home of wonderful legends,' he probably refers to the tales connected with the *tīrthas* of *Bhuvaneśvarī* and *Harśeśvara*. If he states that one part of Khunmoh produces saffron, he shows that eight hundred years ago the saffron fields were exactly in the same position where they are now. The first saffron flower I ever saw was shown to me close to Lower Khunmoh. By the grape-bearing part of Khunmoh the upper portion of the village is intended. Grapes grow everywhere in Kaśmīr. A philological note on the names of Khunmoh may conclude this notice of Bilhaṇa's birthplace. The correct ancient form seems to be that given in the *Rājataranginī*, *Khunamusha* or *Khonamusha*. The form of the *Vikramānka-charita*, *Khonamukha*, owes its *kh* probably to the Jaina copyist, who pronounced *śh* and *kh* alike, and constantly puts the one for the other. The *o*, on

the contrary, for *u*, belongs to Bilhaṇa, who was as little able to distinguish the two sounds as any Kāśmīrian of our days. The change of the term ination *usha* to *oh* in the modern name Khunmoh finds its analogy in other Kāśmīrī words. Thus Rāmusha has become Rāmoh (*Anglo-Indicè* Rāmū).

On the 18th of August my work began in real earnest. I arranged with Pandit Dayarām and his brother Dāmodar, the second son of Pandit Sāhebrām, for copies of nearly seventy works contained in the general list of Sanskrit MSS. which I had received on my arrival. I procured further, with Pandit Dāmodar's assistance, two Śāradā copies of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīṇī* for collation with the published editions, and engaged the services of a young Pandit, Chandrām Rājānaka, the son of Tīkārām Pandit, to assist me in this work. From that day until September 20 I was engaged, from early morning till sunset, in collating the *Rājatarangīṇī*, in receiving Pandits who came to see me, in collecting information regarding the Kāśmīrian Brahmans, the literature, history, and geography of the Valley, and in selecting what was useful among the numerous MSS. offered for sale. The Pandits to whom I am most indebted for information, besides the two sons of Sāhebrām Pandit and Pandit Chandrām, are Pandit Dayārām Jotsī, Pandit Govind Kôl, son of Bal Kôl, and Lâl Pandit. They have furnished me with answers to very numerous questions, and showed themselves always ready to sacrifice their time in order to satisfy my curiosity. During this period I also paid a visit to Keśavrām Pandit, the possessor of the *codex archetypus* of the *Rājatarangīṇī*, whose habits and age forbid his going to visit anybody. He was good enough to show me the MS., and to allow me to collate a number of passages regarding which the other Śāradā copies did not satisfy me. Some account of the MS. will be given below. Towards the middle of September the collation of the *Rājatarangīṇī* was nearly finished. But the work and the rather feverish climate of Śrinagar had told so much on my health that the Civil Surgeon advised me to make a little pause in my labours and to seek a change of air. I consequently resolved to take a trip to Bāramûla, and to visit the numerous interesting sites in the western part of the Valley. I obtained an order from the Darbâr empowering me to make excavations wherever I thought fit, and took my assistant Chandrām with me, both in order to finish the collation of the *Rājatarangīṇī*, and to use him as an interpreter and a connecting link between myself and the Pandits of the towns we might visit. This journey, which, according to the custom of the country, was accomplished almost

entirely by boat, lasted from the evening of September 20 to the evening of September 30. I visited Shâdipur, with its so-called island of Prayâga at the confluence of the Sindhu and of the Vitastâ, a portion of the lower Sindhu, Sumbal, Mânasbal, the island of Lankâ in the Vollur lake, Sopur, Bâramûla, and Ushkar, with some of the neighbouring temples and ruins, and on my return Bahirkût, the Dvâravati of Jayâpîḍa. The works of Hügel and Vigne, as well as the papers of General Cunningham* and of the Rev. Mr. Cowie,† on the architecture of Kaśmîr, permit me to dispense with a lengthy description of the places visited, and to confine myself to such remarks as may supplement the information already published.

The first incident on my journey which deserves notice was the discovery of a *vibhītaka* tree covered with fruit. This tree, the botanical name of which I find given as *Terminalia Bellericæ*, Roxb., has considerable interest for Sanskritists, as its fruit was used in the most remote antiquity for the purpose of gambling. The tenth book of the *Rigveda* contains a *sūkta* (34) describing the feelings and career of a gambler. It repeatedly refers to the fatal *vibhītaka* fruits, whose rolling on the table enslaves the heart of a gambler. I am not aware that they are used so in our days. But a belief survives, which apparently dates from the time when the *vibhītaka* served the passions of the gambler. For, all over India, Kali, the evil spirit of gambling and of the present Iron Age, is supposed to reside in the tree. I had never seen a *vibhītaka*, and should probably not have noticed those in Kaśmîr but for the extraordinary behaviour of my native assistant. On my journey from Shâdipur to Sumbal I landed on one of the islands in the Vitastâ in order to have a look at an old mosque. Chandrâm Pandit came with me, and helped me to examine some old stones among the trees which surrounded the mosque. Suddenly he darted off with an exclamation of terror, which made me think that he had at least fallen into a wasps-nest. But on my asking what the matter was, he informed me that he had had the misfortune to step into the shade of a *vibhītaka* tree, and had thus become impure. He also reminded me of the legend about Kali's residence in it. To his great disgust I then began to examine the offending *vibhītaka*, and to tear off some branches which were covered with fruit. The tree which I was thus enabled to identify was not above eighteen or twenty feet high ; it had

* *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XVII., 2, pp. 248-327.

† *Ibid.*, vol. XXV., pp. 91-123.

small heart-shaped leaves and silver-grey bark. Its fruits resembled both in size and colour those of the mountain ash; they were only a little yellower, and contained a single kernel. If this tree is really the same which the Veda mentions, it is clear that its fruit ought not to be called a nut, as is usually done in our Sanskrit dictionaries, but a berry. It seems to me that the only way in which they could have been used for gambling is by playing with them a game like 'odd or even.' That this was really the case I infer from a passage in the *Nalopākhyāna*, where Rituparna, who instructed Nala in the *akṣahṛidaya*, 'the quintessence of gambling,' is said to have been able to calculate at one glance the number of the leaves on a tree. Quickness in counting, therefore, determined the success of the gambler, and this could be of use only in games like 'odd or even.' In the evening of the same day I reached Mānasbal just in time to see the sunset on this lovely lake. *Mānasbal*, or in Sanskrit *Mānasa sarovara*, attracted the notice of the Kaśmīrians long before the Moguls built a palace on its shore. This is proved by its name, which is derived from the famous Mānasa lake in Thibet, and by the ancient Buddhist temple situated in its eastern corner, where the little stream comes tumbling down from the rocks. The temple has been fully described by Mr. Cowie.* The Kaśmīr Mānasa lake is mentioned by Bilhaṇa in the *Vikramānka-charita*, XVIII. 55.

Neither the journey from *Mānasbal* to the Vollur lake and to the island of Lankā, nor the ruins on the latter, which Mr. Cowie has fully described, call for any detailed account. But some geographical and etymological notes may find here a place. The Sanskrit name of the Vollur (*vulgo* Woollar) lake is *Ullola*, (the lake) 'with high-going waves,' from which the Kaśmīri word has been formed by the regular change of initial *u* to *vo*, of medial *o* to *u*, and the substitution of *ra* for *la*.† The appropriateness of the name will be appreciated by those who have crossed the lake when the air is not perfectly still. Another appellation of the same sheet of water,‡ which occurs in the *Rājataranginī* and other Sanskrit works, is *Mahāpadma*. This is originally the name of the Nāga, or serpent-deity, supposed to inhabit the lake. Two "

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 110.

† Compare, for instance, Kaś. *voth-un*, 'to rise, to awake,' with Sanskrit *utthā*, Hindi *ūth-nā*; *vodur*, 'an otter,' with Sanskrit *udra*, &c.; Kaś. *gur*, 'a horse,' with Sanskrit *ghoṣaka*, Hindi *ghoṣā*.

‡ Compare, e.g., *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* III. 9. and Jonarāja's comment thereon.

legends which are connected with it testify to the age of the the name and of the superstition. One of these occurs in the *Rājataranginī*, which (IV. 591 *seqq.*) gives a long account how Mahāpadma appeared to king Jayāpīḍa in a dream, invoked his aid against a Dravidian sorcerer, and promised to show him a gold mine as reward. The king, according to Kalhaṇa, went to the Nāga's assistance, but before interfering allowed the sorcerer to dry up the water of the lake and to bring the Nāga to light. Angry on account of this insult and the king's tardiness, Mahāpadma changed the promised gold to copper. The second legend, which is probably still older, is given in the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa*.^{*} There it is asserted that the lake was originally inhabited by a wicked Nāga called Shaḍangula, 'Six-inches,' who used to steal the women of the country. The sage Nīla banished this monster to the mountain Uśiraka. The lake then became dry land and the site of a large town called *Chandrapura*. But Chandrapura was cursed by the sage Durvāsas, and devoted to destruction by water. Later, when the sage Nīla settled all the Nāgas in Kāśmīr, *Mahāpadma* came, after all the available sites had been occupied, and asked the Rishi for a refuge. Then Nīla gave him permission to occupy Chandrapura. At that time a king called *Viśvagaśva* ruled over it. Mahāpadma, assuming the appearance of an old Brahman, went to him and asked for a dwelling-place for himself and his family. This prayer was readily granted. Thereupon he threw off his disguise, showed himself to the king in his Nāga shape, and announced to him that, in consequence of Durvāsas' curse he was going to convert the city into a lake, and that its inhabitants must emigrate. The king obeyed, and founded, two *yojanas* (ten miles) further west, *Viśvagaśvapura*, while the Nāga fulfilled his threat. Without wishing to decide if this fable is based on a foundation of truth, and if a city really once occupied the site, or if the submerged city of the Vollur is merely a creation of fancy, I think that the legend of the *Nīlamata* proves that the Kāśmīrians placed the habitation of the Nāga Mahāpadma in the Vollur lake from very early times.

Another question which attracted my attention while passing through, and along the shores of, the Vollur lake was the exact extent of the province of Kamrāj. This district occurs frequently in the *Rājataranginī* under its Sanskrit name, *Kramarājya*, and its position is of the greatest importance for understanding many of the events

* MS. No. 64, fol. 86 *seqq.*

there narrated. The published accounts are somewhat conflicting. M. Vigne states* that it includes five parganās, the country north of the Vollur lake and of the Jhelum down to Bāramūla. General Cunningham, on the other hand, says that it is the northern half of the Valley, below the junction of the Sindh river with the Behat, and the Trigonometrical Survey map marks it as the tract between Lolāb and the hills north of Bāramūla. My inquiries on the spot showed that Vigne's statement is nearly correct. My informant described it as the tract between the parganā of Khuyahām (Quiyaham on the Trig. Surv. map, ख़ुयहाम on the native map) and that of Krūhin, south of the Vitastā opposite Bāramūla. One man, however, an inhabitant of Bāramūla, specially excluded that town from Kamrāj. Pandit Sāhebrām, in the *Tirthasaṅgraha*, No. 61, sides with the former opinion, and explicitly includes Bāramūla. The parganās which belong to Kamrāj are Lolāb (लोलब, लोलम), Jainagir (जैनगिर), Uttar, Moghiora, and Hamal, *vulgo* Hummel, हमल, the ancient शमाल. Regarding the division of Mirāj or Merāj, which Vigne and Cunningham mention as including the tract on the south side of the Vitastā opposite Kamrāj, I could not obtain any information. The Pandits did not know the name, and I have not found it in any of the Māhātmyas.

At the point where the Vitastā leaves the Vollur lake lies the town of *Sopur*. General Cunningham† identifies it with the Śūrapura of the *Rājataranginī*. But its ancient name was *Suyyapura*, and the Pandits still spell it either that way or *Svayyapura*. It was named after the clever self-taught engineer of Avantivarman (A.D. 854-883) who regulated the course of the lower Vitastā, and originated the system of canals which has lasted to the present time. The *Rājataranginī* is very clear on this question. It says, V. 123, "He (*Suyya*) built on the banks of the Vitastā, where she leaves the *Muhāpādma* (Vollur lake), a town resembling Svarga, and called it after his own name." The present town, I may add, does not 'resemble Svarga,' and possesses nothing ancient except its name.

On the 24th I proceeded to Bāramūla, the ancient Varāhamūla, which, as the town sacred to Vishṇu, the *Ādivarāha* or 'primeval boar,' and on account of its position at the head of the western entrance to the Valley, has always possessed a great fame and importance. It is frequently mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*, and it was in the times of

* *Travels in Kāśmīr*, II. 157.

† *Anc. Geogr.* 99.

the native Kaśmīrian kings the seat of the *Devarapati*, the guardian of the gate of the Valley. The *Varāhamāhātmya* (No. 85) gives a fanciful account of the origin of this *tīrtha* and of its sacred places. First it says Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar to slay the Daitya Hiraṇyāksha, and raised the earth with his tusks. Next, the mountains being "burnt" by ice and snow, praised the god and sought his protection. Thereupon Viṣṇu created the Himālaya, and put all the ice on that. Then he fashioned in the flanks of that mountain, by Rudra's command, the *Varāhakshetra*, and dwelt there in his boar-shape. In the field of Varāha flows the Vitastā, originally produced from the tears of joy shed by the immortals; there dwell Śaṁkara, Nārāyaṇa, and Viśvakarma; there are the river called *Viṣṇupadī*, which flows for one month only, the Varāha hill, the Koṭitīrtha, and the Aurnāśrama.

In the *Rājatarangiṇī** the field of Varāha is first mentioned during the reign of *Kshemagupta* (A.D. 950-58), who built there two *maṭhas* and died there. The town is, however, probably much older, though, for want of space, it can never have been as large a place as its now destroyed sister-town Hushkapura-Ushkar, on the south bank of the Vitastā.†

The remnants of ancient buildings and temples which are to be seen at present in Bāramūla are very insignificant. Chandrām Pandit procured a very intelligent guide for me in the person of Tōtarām Pandit, a Brahman who follows the profession of *ūchārya* at *śrāddhas* and other religious ceremonies. He showed me the chief modern temple, the Koṭisar, which is situated at the western extremity of the town, the site of the ancient temple of *Ādivarāha*, which is now occupied by a *dharmaśālā* belonging to the Sikhs, two ancient *kunḍas*, called after Chandra and Sūrya, and a subterraneous brook, the Guptagangā, which carries the water from the springs in the hill behind the town to the Vitastā. The Koṭisar temple—apparently the modern representative of the Koṭitīrtha mentioned in the *Māhātmya*—contains several *lingas*, which, from their shape and size, I am inclined to consider as ancient. In its courtyard lie also fragments of a column and of a statue, apparently representing a dancing-girl, and one of those stōlē-shaped stones which I observed at Khunmoh. The two fragments are said to have been found on the site of the *Ādivarāha*, and belonged, no doubt,

* VI. 184 seqq.

† Compare also Ounniugham, *Anc. Geogr.* 99-100.

to that temple. The stêlê was found in the river just opposite the temple. It bears some half-defaced figures and a Śārādâ inscription, of which the following words are legible :—*Om saṃvat 67..... etasya duhitâ subhikshukâ*, “Om! In the (Saptarshi) year 67His daughter Subhikshukâ.” I think that this stone, as well as all similar ones, must be funeral monuments. In Gujarât similar very rough monuments are to be found near every village where a Thâkur exists or existed. They are called *pāliās*, and record the deaths of warriors or *satīs*. The scantiness of the temple ruins at Bâramûla is easily explained by the fact that the two chief mosques of the town have been built chiefly with the stones taken from them.

From Bâramûla I made excursions to Fatigarh, Ushkar, and to a *tīrtha* in the hills behind the town, where *kuṇḍas* sacred to Hanuman, Râma, and Sîtâ are to be seen. The temple of Fatigarh has been described by Mr. Cowie.* *Ushkar*, which is situated nearly opposite Bâramûla, on the southern bank of the Vitastâ, about half a mile from the new travellers'-bungalow, has been identified by General Cunningham with the town of the Scythian king Hushka, mentioned in the *Rājatarangīnī*, I. 168 and elsewhere. I can only agree with this identification, and add that the Śrīnagar Pandits, as well as the Bâramûla Pandit Totarâm, were aware of its ancient name. They also asserted that Varâhamûla and Hushkapura had formed one town only, and that the Buddhists had been settled in Hushkapura. Among the latter they named Jinendrabuddhi, the commentator of the *Kāśikā vṛitti*.

On the 27th I left Bâramûla on my way back to Śrīnagar. A flood in the river made it advisable to pass out of the Vollur lake by the Shâdipur canal, as the strong current in the Vitastâ would have caused an unreasonable amount of labour to the boatmen. This circumstance turned out to be very lucky for my search after king Jayâpīḍa's water-bound town, Dvâravatī. The *Rājatarangīnī* gives (IV. 500-512) an account of Jayâpīḍa's building operations, and mentions (vv. 509-10) the foundation of a city which was surrounded by water, and called after Kṛishṇa's town, Dvâravatī. Mr. Troyer, in his translation of v. 510, makes out that in Kalhana's times this city was popularly called the inner town of Jayapura. General Cunningham, in his review of the geography of Kāśmīr, hereupon suggests that the village of Andarkût, near Sumbal, the name of which means “the inner fort,” is the modern representative of Jayâpīḍa's town. My intention was to

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 113.

visit Andarkût in order to verify General Cunningham's conjecture, which, as he himself states, had been made without his having been able to visit the place. I was therefore rather annoyed to have to take the route by the canal, though my boatmen assured me that they could take me to Andarkût by this route also. After passing for six or seven miles through the dreary, low-lying ground which forms the shore of the Vollur, we came to a little lake on our left (the true right bank of the canal), which the flood in the canal appeared to have caused, and just beyond it lay a village on rising ground about thirty feet higher than the bed of the canal. This I was informed was Andarkût. This statement puzzled me a good deal, as on my way down to Bâramûla I had seen a village called Andarkût close to the Vitastâ. But on leaving the boat I at once saw that I had found the site of an ancient city. For from the bank of the canal to the village led a paved road, where among the flags numerous sculptured stones were to be seen. On ascending the plateau I was surprised to find, both in the village and at some distance from it, ruins of at least a dozen temples, and several mosques that had been built entirely of fragments of ancient temples. Through Chandrâm Pandit I made inquiries about the name of the village, and whether this had been an "old town of the Pāṇḍavs." The answer was that the village was called *Bahirkût*, not Andarkût as the boatmen had asserted, and that the ruined temples had originally been built by king Jepiḍ, i.e. Jayâpiḍa.

The plateau on which the village of Bahirkût and the ruins lie is about half a mile to three-quarters of a mile long, and four or five hundred yards broad. It has the shape of a crescent, the chord of which faces southwards. On the south it is bounded by the Shâdipur canal, and on the east, north, and west by the Sumbal lake, though the latter does not now reach as far as the plateau, and a strip of low ground about twenty yards broad intervenes. The lake and the canal were at the time of my visit connected. The water of the latter flowed at the eastern corner into the former, and at the western end of the lake back into the canal.

All along the eastern and northern edge of the plateau there are traces of a stone wall. The temple ruins lie chiefly close to the edges of the plateau, some on the north-east and northern sides, and quite as many along the southern edge. Enormous masses of rough blocks and of hewn stones lie in the western corner, and prove that there also a large temple was situated. Other parts of the plateau show also

traces of street pavements, of wells or small tanks, and heaps of smaller unhewn stones which appear to have belonged to dwelling-houses. On the north side there is a ruined causeway which leads through the lake to *Andarkūt*. It is now composed of large loose stones and boulders, between which the water runs. Probably it was originally bridged. I spent the whole of the afternoon of the 28th and the morning of the 29th in looking over the ruins for inscriptions. The search was, unfortunately, fruitless, and two attempts at excavations were attended with scanty results. The first attempt I made with a small temple close to the north-east boundary of the plateau. I had the whole *cella* cleared out, but found nothing but the chunam pavement. The second attempt was made near the large heap of stones in the western corner of the plateau, where the top of a sculptured stone was visible. This stone, which at first looked like a slab, turned out when laid free to be a large block five feet long, of the same height, and four feet broad. The figures on the upper side represent a male and two females,—probably Vishnu and his two wives, Sri and Sarasvatī. Their faces have been carefully destroyed. There is also, on the left side, a figure of a four-armed Vishnu, bearing the *gadā* or club. The other four sides of the stone are blank. From the position of the sculptured sides I conclude that it occupied one of the corners of the temple. The character of the sculptures makes it certain that the temple to which it belonged was dedicated to Vishnu. This point is of some importance, as it might be expected that a town specially dedicated to Vishnu should contain Vaishṇava temples. ✓

To conclude this account of Jayāpīḍa's Dvāravatī, a translation of the passage of the *Rājataranginī* (IV. 505-10) which refers to it and to Jayapura may here find its place:—

(505.) "The king (Jayāpīḍa) having rewarded his ambassador with money, and having filled a deep lake with the assistance of the Rākshasas, built a fort called *Jayapura*, which (in beauty) resembled Svarga.

(506.) "That virtuous (prince) set up three images of Buddha, founded a monastery of large size, and built in the town a (temple of) Jayādevī.

(507.) "In his town (Jayapura), four-armed Keśava, who reclines on the serpent Śeṣha, forsooth, is present, abandoning his place in Vishnu's world.

(508.) "Some relate that after having made the Rākshasas execute some other work he caused to be covered the water (of the lake) by mere workmen.

(509.) "For being ordered in a dream by the foe of Kamsa, "Make me in the water a *Dvāravatī*," he executed a work of that description.

(510.) "For in this way the people now even call the *site of Dvāravatī the exterior fort (bāhyaṁ koṭṭam)*, and *Jayapura the interior (abhyantaram)*.*

Everybody who compares Kalhaṇa's words with the above account will see at once that Bahirkūṭ is the modern representative of Kalhaṇa's Sanskrit form *bāhya koṭṭa*, and consequently of *Dvāravatī*, while Andarkūṭ is his *abhyantara koṭṭa* or Jayapura proper.

From Bahirkūṭ I returned to Śrinagar on September 30. The next twenty days were spent in the preparation of notes on the first books of the *Rājataranginī*,—the collation had been completed during my trip to Bāramūla,—in conferences with the Pandits and with persons who brought books for sale, and in studying the Kaśmīrī language. I had, moreover, to arrange the books purchased, and to examine the new copies made for me. I also visited several Pandits who were ready to show me their treasures in MSS., and some of the historical sites in the neighbourhood of the city. Among the latter I may mention Jyethir, Gopkār, on the Dal lake, Hārvaṇ and Sureśvarī *tīrtha*, north of the Dal; the temple on the Takht, and the ruins of Pravarasena's temples in the city. Śrinagar shows, besides the remnants of temples which have been already described by former travellers, several names which prove its identity with Pravarapura. Up to the present day the part of the town which lies on the northern bank of the Vitastā between the first and the third bridges is called Brōrmar, and its western extremity on the same bank the Dadimar.† The Pandits identify these names with the ancient appellations Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha‡ and Diddāmaṭha. In doing this they are probably right. For the representative of the Sanskrit *maṭha*, 'monastery,' is in Kaśmīrī *mar*, and the changes which the proper names show are in accordance with Kaśmīrī phonetics.

It is not in the least probable that the present buildings go back to the times of Diddā and earlier rulers. But they stand, no doubt, on the sites of the ancient establishments. The third name is that

* Instead of *bāhyaṁ koṭṭam* Troyer reads *bādya koṭṭam*, and the Calcutta edition *rājyam koṭṭam*. Neither reading makes sense. The Śāradā MSS. all read *bāhyam*. This is one of the many instances where the bad Dev. MSS. have obscured the sense of the original.

† The latter is marked on the Trig. Surv. map.

‡ Kalhaṇa, *Rājat.* VI. 240; Bilhaṇa, *Vikr.* XVIII. 11.

of the hill, the Hari-parvat, which lies in the town, and has been mentioned by Hiwen Thsang, Bilhana, and others as one of its prominent features. The name, as at present pronounced, means 'the hill of Hari or Vishṇu.' My Pandit friends suggested that its real name was Hōr-parvat, 'the hill of Hōr or Śārikā,' the goddess who was worshipped in the village near which Pravarasena found his sacrificial thread. In favour of this view it may be urged that *hōr* is the correct Kāsmīrī form for *śārikā*; and that the *Maina*, which in Sanskrit is also called *śārikā*, bears in Kāsmīr the name *hōr* to the present day. Further, the hill itself is called Śārikāparvata in the old chronicles.* Another name of the same mountain is Pradyumnapīṭha, 'the seat of Pradyumna,' which occurs in Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī* VII. 1624,† and Bilhana's *Vikr.* XVIII. 15. This and the preceding identifications are given also in Pandit Sāhebrām's *Tīrthasamgraha*.

Regarding the Takht and its temples my information does not quite agree with General Cunningham's.‡ Some Pandits, certainly, ascribed the buildings to Sandhimati, who after his resurrection bore the name Āryarāja, and explained the Musalman Suleimān as a corruption of Sandhimān. But in no case have I heard the restored temple attributed to Jaloka. Other Pandits, among them Govind Kōl, the son of Bal Kōl, reject the tradition about Sandhimān-Sandhimati as altogether spurious. They believe the hill to be identical with the Gopādri mentioned by Kalhana (*Rājat.* I. 343), and ascribe the temples to king Gopāditya. As a proof for this assertion they point to the two sites called Gopkār and Jyethir, to the north of the Takht. The former in their opinion represents the old name Gopakādri, and the latter is considered a corruption of Jyeshṭheśvara, the form of Śiva to which Gopāditya's temple was dedicated. The ruins both at Gopkār and Jyethir seemed to me to belong to the Musalman period. Nor can I see how the names which belong to localities not on the Takht, but at some distance from it, prove anything for the ancient name of the hill. It seems to me that in neither story have we to deal with a genuine tradition, but with the speculations of the learned, and that the real name of the Takht, as well as the name of the builder of its temples, have still to be discovered.

On the 20th of October the arrangements for my departure were completed. Three hundred MSS. had been packed securely in six

* Compare, e.g., Prājayabhaṭṭa's *Rājāvalī*, v. 938.

† Mr. Troyer erroneously makes it a river!

‡ *Anc. Geog.*, p. 95.

tin-lined boxes, a general list had been prepared, and the accounts with the writers and sellers of MSS. had been settled. As I had to visit Jamu, I had asked for and obtained permission to use the Mahārāja's private road over the Banihāl. The adoption of this road out of Kāśmīr afforded me an opportunity of seeing the eastern portion of the Valley, which I had not yet visited. I started on the 20th with three boats, accompanied by my assistant Chandrām Pandit, who was desirous to accompany me as far as possible. I also took with me a Kāśmīrian singer who knew some of the old songs in which I was interested, and a Mahommedan Munshi who had studied Kāśmīrī in a scholarly manner for the last ten years, and had assisted the late Dr. Elmslie in the compilation of his vocabulary. He had agreed to accompany me to Bombay, and to assist me in my Kāśmīrī studies. My halting-places were the usual ones—Pāmpur, Avantipur, Bijbrōr, Islāmābād or Anantanāga, and Vīrnāg, where the ruins of the old temples and the historical sites were duly inspected, as well as those in the neighbourhood of Islāmābād, Matan, and Achibal. All these places have been sufficiently described by General Cunningham and Mr. Cowie.

I have only to mention one site which has escaped them, as well as all other Kāśmīr travellers. This is the mound of Chākhḍhar or Chakradhara, about a mile west from Bijbrōr, the ancient Vijayeśvara. The mound belongs to those *kāravās* or alluvial plateaus which skirt the whole course of the Vitastā east of Śrīnagar. It is utterly destitute of vestiges of ruins. Nevertheless it once bore a town and an important fortress. The Chakradhara is met with very frequently in Kalhana's work.* Mr. Troyer, as usually in the case of places, makes a bad mistake, and takes the name of the site for the well-known epithet of Viṣṇu, from which it derived its name. The Kāśmīrian Pandits, and even the boatmen, are well acquainted with the place, and know that it was once inhabited. If this were not enough, its identity with the old Chakradhara would be proved by the great number of ancient Kāśmīrian, Scythian, and Kābulī coins which are every year disinterred on the mound. I myself bought at Bijbrōr more than fifty copper coins, which all came from *Chākhḍhar*. I was also told that formerly more, and especially more valuable silver and gold coins, used to be found there.

I recommend the place to the attention of archæologists and numismatists.

I reached Vīrnāg on the 25th, and left Kāśmīr on the next day.

* e. g. *Rājat.* I. 261.

B.—THE KAŚMIRIAN BRAHMANS.

I now break off the account of my operations in order to give a short account of the Kaśmīr Brahmans and of their libraries, which has been intentionally left out above, because a collection of all the notes, gathered in various places and from various persons, finds its place here more appropriately as an introduction to the account of the MSS. purchased.

The Brahmans or Pandits, as they are usually called, are the only natives of Kaśmīr who have preserved their ancient faith, while all the other castes have embraced Mahomedanism. Their number, probably, does not exceed 40,000 to 50,000. Babu Nīlambar Mukarji told me that a late census of the town of Śrīnagar had shown 24,000 for the city, and that the remainder of the country probably did not hold more than the same number. The capital is their chief seat. Smaller colonies are, however, found in the larger towns, *e.g.* Islāmābād, Anantnāg, Bījbrōr, Vantipur, Pāmpur, Sopur, Bāramūla, as well as in many villages, such as Khunmoh, Yechgām, etc., and at all the numerous places of pilgrimage. Unlike the Brahmans of other parts of India, they form one single community. While in Mahārāshṭra we have Deśasthas, Konkanasthas, Karahāṭas, and Karnāṭakas, and while Gujarāt holds more than seventy distinct Brahminical tribes, all Kaśmīrian Pandits call themselves simply *Kāśmīrikas*, and consider themselves to be a branch of the *Sārasvatas*. This is so much more remarkable as originally they came from different parts of India. The *Rājatarangīnī** mentions several immigrations of Brahmans from Gandhāra-Kabūlistān, from Kānoḥ, and even from the Telingana country, while from other sources we learn that Gauḍa† and other parts of India contributed settlers. The remembrance of this separate origin survives to the present day. One Pandit informed me that he possessed proofs of his ancestors having come from *Gauḍa*, and others mentioned that the original Kaśmīrians were distinguished from the immigrants by the performance of certain ceremonies on the occasion of the Malamāsa, *i.e.* the month in which no full-moon occurs. But in spite of this difference in origin all Pandits form one community, and are willing to eat with one another (*annavyavahāra*) and to teach one another (*vidyāyavahāra*, *vidyāsambandha*). The third mark of perfect equality, the connubium (*yoni-*

* *Rājat.*, I. 118, 307, 345.

† Compare, *e.g.* the case of Abhinanda the Gauḍa—*Ind. Ant.* II. 102.

sambandha kanyāvyavahāra) does not exist among all of them. In this respect they are divided into two halves, the aristocracy and the common herd. To the former belongs, firstly, a small number of particularly respected families,—thirty or forty according to my informants,—who have kept up, and still keep up, the study of Sanskrit, and live on *Ināms*, allowances from the Mahārāja, and on fees which they receive for officiating as *āchāryas*, or superintendents of ceremonies before the domestic fire, and of *śrāddhas*, or sacrifices to the *manes*, and of the Śaiva worship. The other members of the aristocracy are the officials and the great traders, who have left off the study of Sanskrit and taken to Persian. The plebs is composed of the so-called *Bāch-Bhaṭṭas*, said to number 1,200 families, who gain their livelihood as performers of the manual work at the various ceremonies and as copyists, and by the priests at the *tīrthas* or places of pilgrimage. The latter are, however, considered to rank a long way below the *Bāch-Bhaṭṭas*. When I first inquired into the relations between these several sections of the Kāśmīrian Brahmans, I was told that the Sanskrit-studying and the Persian-studying Pandits did not intermarry. Later my informants recollected cases of marriages between children of officials and of the men of the Śāstras, and they modified their statement accordingly. At the same time they denied most emphatically any connection by marriage between the *Bāch-Bhaṭṭas* and the *Tīrthavāsīs* on the one side, and themselves and the official and trading Brahmans on the other. One Pandit even went so far as to say that they would die rather than give a child to such a person. Similar divisions as regards marriage exist in many Brahminical communities in India. They are frequently divided into *Grihasthas*, 'householders,' i.e. *Ināmdārs*, officials, money-lenders, and traders, and *Bhṭas* or *Bhikshukas*, persons who officiate for money as priests, reciters of the Purāṇas, etc. I may quote the *Nāgara* Brahmans, the most important section in Gujarāt, as an instance to the point for which I can vouch from personal knowledge.

The unity of the Kāśmīrian Brahmans comes out very strong in their Vedic learning and in their *āchāra*, or rules of conduct. If asked about their Veda, the usual answer is that they are *Chaturvedīs*, students of the four Vedas, and adhere to no particular *Śākhā* or redaction. Many of them are also able to recite small portions of all the four sacred works. Their *grihya* ceremonies are performed according to the *sūtra* or aphorisms at the *Chārāyaṇīya-Kāthaka* school, which are attributed to the *Rishi* Laugākshi. These alone are recognized as the true norm and the source of the *āchāra*, and no other *sūtra* on the

subject is used or even known in Kaśmîr. This latter circumstance induces me to conjecture that the real *Sākhā* of the Kaśmîrians is the Kāthaka. For though a Brahman is entitled to study all the four Vedas, and gains great merit by doing it, and though Dvivedis, Trivedis, and Chaturvedis—students of two, three, or four Vedas—were in former times numerous, and are still met with occasionally, still there is a special injunction of the Smṛiti which commands that every Brahman is to perform the *grihya*, or domestic rites, only according to the particular redaction of the Veda which is hereditary in his family, and which he has received from his teacher. The Kaśmîrian Brahmans may, therefore, in olden times, have studied all the four Samhitās and nevertheless be members of the Kāthaka school. Several Pandits to whom I communicated my view approved of it.

The *āchāra* of the Kaśmîrians agrees in most respects with that of the Indian Brahmans, but shows also some very remarkable peculiarities. The daily rites of worship, such as the *sūndhyā*, the morning and evening prayers, as well as rites for particular occasions, the *saṁskāras* or sacraments, are performed more or less scrupulously. The true Pandits carefully keep to the prescribed times and seasons, while the official and trading classes are more lax. With the latter it is not uncommon to delay the performance of the *saṁskāras*, and to get over all of them just before marriage, on which occasion the *prāyaścittas*, or penances for the delay, are likewise duly observed. Similar methods of accommodation prevail also in India proper. It is the boast of the Kaśmîrians that the *śrāddhas*, the oblations to the *manes*, are performed in their country more carefully than anywhere else, and they state that all the many varieties of these sacrifices which the Smṛitis mention are offered in their country. Both the Pandits and the Bāch-Bhaṭṭas state also that the *śrāddhas* are one of the chief sources of income for them. The Pandits and Bāch-Bhaṭṭas also carefully observe the *vratas*, fasts and other usages, enjoined for particular days. At least my acquaintances were all in a deplorable state of weakness on the *ekādaśī*, the eleventh of each lunar month. But I am unable to say if the secular portion of the Brahman community follows the rules of the Śāstras with equal strictness. The performance of the *prāyaścittas*, or penances for breaches of the commandments of the Smṛiti, is looked after by the Government. The Mahārāja himself, who is a sincere and zealous adherent of the faith of his forefathers, sees that Brahminical offenders expiate their sins in the manner prescribed by the Śāstras. The exact nature of and amount of the penances is settled by five *Dharmādhi-*

kārīs, who belong to the most respected families among the Sanskrit-learning Pandits. The office is hereditary in these families. *Rahasyaprāyaścittas*, or secret penances for offences not publicly known, which are either self-imposed or imposed by heads of families, occur also. While these practices agree with the customs of the Indian Brahmans, and are in accordance with the precepts of the Smṛitis, there are also some peculiarities which distinguish the Kaśmīrians from their Indian brethren. The first point of difference is their dress. Contrary to the custom prevailing in India, the chief garment of the Kaśmīrian Pandits is a large woollen mantle of grey colour. In the case of poor men this is the only garment besides the *langoṣī*. Well-to-do people wear in summer cotton, in winter woollen under-clothing, resembling our shirts. It is said that the mantle is a development of, or rather refinement on, the ancient *kambala* or woollen plaid, which the Smṛitis allow, and that in former times a simple blanket with a hole to put the head through, which used to be burnt in with a hot stone, used to do duty for the mantle. Some Pandits asserted that king Harshadeva, A.D. 1089-1101, whom the *Rājataranginī* too mentions as a reformer of dress, introduced the present fashions. Another custom peculiar to the Kaśmīrians is the wearing of the *mekhald*, or Brahminical girdle, with which the young Brahmans are invested at the *upanayana*, their reception into the community. In India proper I have never heard of any Brahminical tribe that observes this ancient custom. The *jenṇī*, or sacrificial string, has entirely usurped the place of the *mekhald*. In many districts it is customary to call *upanayana* the *jenṇī* ceremony; and where the children, on being formally received into the Brahminical community, are still invested with the girdle of *kūśa* grass, it is laid aside immediately after the performance of the ceremony. In Kaśmīr, on the other hand, Brahmans wear both the *mekhald* and the *jenṇī*, the former round the waist, and the latter over the left shoulder. The Kaśmīrian turban consists of white cotton cloth, and is narrow and flat, somewhat like that of the Surat Nāgar Brahmans. The shoes of the richer ones are of leather, and sometimes embroidered with silk; those of the poorer class are made of grass, just as those which all the hillmen wear. None of the Pandits whose acquaintance I made wore any earrings. But I must confess that I forgot to ask if instances of this general Indian custom were met with. I cannot conclude this notice of the dress of the Pandits without a remark on the *toilette* of the Brahmanīs, or Panditānīs as they are usually called. They too wear grey mantles, like the male members of the community, but

the monotony of the colour is relieved by large cuffs, which are sometimes pink and sometimes white, and not unfrequently by a sash round the waist. The head is covered by a white veil, which hangs down over the back and shoulders, but leaves the face free. The hair is divided, as in the case of all Kāsmīrian women, into numerous small braids; the most remarkable ornaments are enormous pendants hanging down below the ears, attached not to the ear, but to a string which passes over the head. The women of the poorer class, the only ones who are visible to strangers, go barefoot.

Another peculiarity in the *āchāra* of the Pandits is the universal consumption of meat. All eat mutton, goat's flesh, and fish. But they obey the usual restrictions of the Śāstras as to beef, pork, and the meat of other forbidden animals. They usually declare that the custom of eating meat is based on a *deśaguna*, 'a virtue of the country,' and that they leave it off as soon as they descend into the plains. They also fully acknowledge the duty of *ahimsā*, of preserving life, and themselves are by no means willing to kill anything. If told that their acts are not consistent with their professions, they answer that their abstaining from meat would not prevent the slaughter of animals, as the Mahommedans of the country would still require meat. There can be little doubt that the practice of eating meat has come down to the Kāsmīrians from the most ancient times. It prevails to a much greater extent in Northern and Central India than is generally known. In the Panjāb, the N. W. Provinces, Rajputana, and in parts of Bengal all Śaiva Brahmans eat meat, and frequently drink spirituous liquor, while the Vaishṇavas are strict abstainers. My Kāsmīrian acquaintances most solemnly denied that they took wine or other liquor. But I have my doubts on the subject. At all events the *Nīlmatapurāṇa*, which prescribes the drinking of new wine on the day when the first snow falls, and the Śaiva *Āgamas*, which frequently mention the *surā-pāna*, show that formerly the custom did exist. A natural consequence of the practice of eating meat is that at the *vārshika śrāddha*, the anniversary funeral sacrifice, the *piṇḍas* offered consist of meat.

As regards their *bhakti*, or worship, nearly all Kāsmīrians are Śaivas. A few families only are Śāktas and adherents of the left-hand or evil path, *vāmāpanthīs*. There are also a small number of Vaishṇavas, descendants, I was told, of people who were converted in the Panjāb. In ancient times, too, the prevalent faith in Kāsmīr was Śaivism, but Buddhas and Bhāgavata-Vaishṇavas too flourished.

Kāsmīrian Śaivism did not, and does not, content itself simply with

the worship of Śiva emblems, as is the case among the Smārta Brahmans in Mahārāshtra and Gujarāt. It is a real separate religion, with peculiar ceremonies and sacrifices and transcendental doctrines. There exists, for those who are willing to enter it, a regular order for which a special initiation, both by a *mantra* and a *dīkshā* consisting of complicated ceremonies, is required. The *mantra* is frequently given first, and the *dīkshā* years afterwards. The rites to be performed at the latter are very numerous, and are described in the *Kalādīkshās* of the Government collection. They are Tantric imitations of the Vedic rites. The *gurus* are those Sanskrit-speaking Pandits who have been initiated. Śaivas appear to modify their Vedic daily and occasional rites by adding new Tantric ones, for which the *Kriyākāṇḍa* or *Somāśambhu* is the guiding authority. My acquaintances were either unable or unwilling to tell me the purpose of their Śaiva mysteries. They said that they did not consider them to be a special road to heaven or to final liberation, nor particularly to add to their sanctity. But they thought that it was better to be initiated, as it had been the custom of the country from time immemorial.

In former times both the Kāśmīrian Śāktas and the Śaivas were famous for their proficiency in the black art. The *Rājataran-ginī* mentions this point more than once, and states that several kings, *e. g.* *Chandrāpīḍa*, were killed by means of sorcery (*abhichāra*). Now it is said that only few *Ābhichārikas* exist, and that these carefully hide their art, as the Mahārāja is much opposed to them and punishes them. From a story told to me it would seem that some of the rites which the Kāśmīrian sorcerers used to practise closely resemble those formerly known in Europe. A Pandit stated that he had once found amongst some old lumber a small wooden statue, through the neck of which a pin had been driven. On showing it to the elders of his family and inquiring about its purpose, he had been informed that it had been made by a sorcerer, and was the representation of some enemy, who had been killed with its aid. The pin driven into the neck under the recitation of the proper *mantras* had caused headaches, and a speedy death by apoplexy. I suppose nobody will read this story without being reminded of the *Leech of Folkestone* in the Ingoldsby Legends, where the sorcerer and the wicked wife try to destroy Thomas Marsh by exactly the same means. It may be that witchcraft is now not much practised in Kāśmīr, but the belief in its efficacy, in *yoginīs* who celebrate their foul rites on the desert mountain sides, and in *Bhūts*, is perhaps stronger and more universal

in Kaśmīr than in India proper. The Kaśmīrian Pandits gave me the impression that they were a *gens religiosissima*.

Sanskrit learning is in Kaśmīr not as flourishing as during the times of the native kings, when, as Bilhaṇa boasts, the women even spoke both Sanskrit and Prakrit. But still there are some remnants of the former glories, which have survived the long period of Mahommedan oppression. I have already mentioned that the Sanskrit classes of the Mahārāja's Mudriśa, in which poetry, poetics, grammar, and philosophy are taught, are in very fair condition. Among the older men I met about a score who could talk Sanskrit fluently, if not grammatically, and who all were able to compose a few ślokas, which they presented at the first meeting. I cannot say that the quality of the Sanskrit spoken or written was in general good. The niceties of Sanskrit grammar, such as the distinctions between the Parasmaipadī and Ātmanepadī verbs, between the *set* and *aniṣ* roots, seldom received due attention. A great confusion between the masculine and neuter genders was also observable. Mistakes of the latter kind are owing to the influence of the Kaśmīrī language, which, like Sindhi, has only one form for the masculine and neuter. The influence of the country dialect has affected the pronunciation also in a very high degree, so much so that during the first days I found great difficulty in making out what my visitors said. On the first day when examining the Mudriśa, I found it even impossible to follow the recitation of the Kāvya without a book in my hand. After a few weeks' practice the ear became more accustomed to the strange sounds. The chief peculiarities of the Kaśmīrian pronunciation are—

1. Medial and initial *d* is pronounced like English *a* in *call*, *fall*, etc.
2. Medial and initial *i* becomes *ē* or *yē*.
3. Final *i* and *ī* are pronounced like German *ü*.
4. Initial *u* always becomes *vō*, the *o* being sounded like English *o* in *God*.
5. Medial *u* is sometimes sounded like *ōū*, e.g. in *kulyā*.
6. Initial *ū* becomes mostly *vū*.
7. The vowel *ṛi* usually sounds like *rē*, but *rū* also occurs, e.g. *krēṣṇa* and *krūṣṇa*.
8. *E* is invariably pronounced like *i* or *ī*, or like *ē*.
9. *O* before nasals and liquids is pronounced *ōū*, and with difficulty distinguished from *ū*.
10. Instead of the aspirates, the corresponding unaspirated letters are usually pronounced.

11. The group *ksha* becomes invariably *khye*, e.g. *kshamyátam*, *kyemyatám*.
12. *Sha* is never used ; its usual substitute *śa* is sometimes interchanged with *sa*.
13. *Visarga* is sounded very soft, so as to be almost inaudible.

If to these peculiarities the common Indian threefold pronunciation of *a* as *a*, *ɔ*, and *ō*, as well as the indistinctness of all vowels in *thesi*, are added, it may be easily imagined how difficult it is for a stranger to understand a Kāśmīrian, especially when the speaker becomes excited and, in consequence, careless in his pronunciation.

I considered myself very fortunate that my ear accustomed itself to the new sounds in the course of a fortnight. Babu Nīlambar Mukarjī, who is an excellent Sanskrit scholar, and, for a Bengali, pronounces Sanskrit with remarkable purity, told me that he, though a resident in Kāśmīr for many years, was frequently unable to make out what the Pandits said. The Pandits themselves seemed to have no difficulty in understanding me or the Babu, and they freely acknowledged that their Sanskrit pronunciation was bad, and corrupted by their vernacular. A knowledge of these Kāśmīrian peculiarities is of the greatest importance for students who use MSS. from Kāśmīr, as they explain a great number of mistakes. Thus *o* occurs frequently for *u*, *e* for *i*, *da* for *dha*, *ba* for *bha*, *ga* for *gha*, and *kkhya* or *khya* for *ksha*. These peculiarities must also be kept in mind in reading Kāśmīrian transcriptions of foreign names. Thus *Mera*, which so frequently occurs in the *Rājataranginī*s of Jonarāja and Śrīvara, must always be pronounced *Mīra*, as its identity with the Persian *Mīr* requires.

As regards the present state of literary activity, I can say that I saw one really distinguished Pandit, who would be able to hold up his head anywhere,—Dāmodar, the son of Sāhebrām, the chief teacher in the Mahārāja's Mudriśa. He possesses all the characteristics of a true Kāśmīrian scholar, great quickness and sharpness, a considerable fund of good-natured humour, and an inexhaustible flow of eloquence, combined with a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit poetry and poetics, and a very respectable knowledge of grammar, of Nyāya and of Śaiva philosophy. He explained to me several verses from Sanskrit poets which had baffled not only myself, but also some of the best Pandits of India. His own poetical compositions,—a continuation of the *Rājataranginī*, and a letter-writer entitled *Praudhalekhāḥ*, which he was good enough to read and to explain to me for hours,—certainly surpass Śrīharsha and Bāṇa, and can be only compared to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*.

Pandit Dâmodar was, however, not the only man of a scholarly turn of mind. I have already mentioned his brother Dayârâm as an authority on the ancient geography and history of the country. The same subject occupied Pandit Govind Kôl, the son of Bal Kôl, who showed me portions of a Hindî translation of *Rājataranginī*, which contained many new explanations of difficult passages. Thus he had succeeded in finding the true meaning of the obscure, and in our editions corrupt, verse III. 10 :—

Dēśyaikadeśallornūmnaḥ prāptastasyāḥ piturguruḥ |
Ṣtunpā tadbhāṣayā prokto loḥstunpā stūpakāryakṛit ||.*

(10.) “From a foreign country called *Loḥ*, i.e. *Leh*, arrived the spiritual guide of the father of that (queen of Meghavâhana) who was called in the language of that (country) *Stun-pā*, and who built the *stūpa* (called that of) *Loḥ-stunpā*.”

In this case Pandit Govind Kôl had very shrewdly guessed the identity of *Loḥ* and *Leh*, and had found by inquiries among his friends who were serving in *Leh* that *stunpā* was actually a Thibetan word. His proceeding showed that he was possessed of a truly scientific spirit of inquiry. Pandit Dâmodar Jotsi, too, whose name I have already mentioned, appeared to possess a respectable knowledge of his Śāstra, astronomy and astrology, and to be a man who was not contented with having learned his books, but desired to further improve himself, and especially to gain some knowledge of European astronomy. A great many Pandits give private instruction to small classes of pupils in Sanskrit grammar, in the Purāṇas, Kāvya, Alamkāra, and Śaiva philosophy. Teaching, *adhyāpana*, is one of the six kinds of occupation lawful for a Brahman, and all over India the learned Brahmans practise it. Of course no fixed fees are taken for the instruction given, but presents are accepted and customary. The largest number of pupils I saw at Pandit Keśavram's house, where about a dozen were present.

All the Sanskrit-speaking Pandits, as well as some of the traders and officials, possess larger or smaller libraries. The twenty-two Pandits whose names are given below were stated to be the possessors of the most considerable collections :—

P. Dayârâm, residence Abākadal, Śrīnagar.

P. Keśavram

Ibid.

* *Lostonpā*, Śārada MSS., with the usual interchange of *o* and *u*, and omission of the *visarga*, which in Sanskrit words is optional before *st* and *sth*.

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| P. Sûrajakâ, residence Abâkadal, Śrīnagar. | |
| P. Bidasâheb | Ibid. |
| P. Râmakolsâheb | Ibid. |
| P. Matâbjû | Ibid. |
| P. Sahejkol | Ibid. |
| P. Râjkâk | Ibid. |
| P. Kaval Râmadân | Ibid. |
| P. Chandrâm | Ibid. |
| P. Mahânandjiv | Ibid. |
| P. Lâlpandit | Kanikadal. |
| P. Kaval Râyadân | Mîasâhebkâ mandir. |
| P. Gopâl Kuklu | Bân mahal. |
| P. Prakâschand | Gaṇeśaghat. |
| P. Janârdan | Ibid. |
| P. Prakâsmekh | O. |
| P. Mukunda Jotsi | O. |
| P. Harirâm Jotsi | O. |
| P. Dayârâm Jotsi | Suthupar. |
| P. Tutârâm Jotsi | Reṇâvâḍi. |
| P. Balakâk | Saphâkadal. |

I have seen half-a-dozen of these libraries, and received lists of most of the remaining ones. They seemed to contain no works of importance besides those enumerated among the purchases in the Appendix. But I do not feel certain that the lists furnished to me are complete. It is a very common practice among Brahmans to leave out, when they are asked to show their treasures, all works which they consider particularly important, and to reveal their existence only after a prolonged acquaintance with the inquirer. It must be further kept in mind that the list of possessors of libraries given above includes the names of the best known Sanskrit scholars only. A great many books are in the hands of people entirely unacquainted with Sanskrit, and some of the best pieces in the Government collection, *e.g.* the MS. of the *R̥igveda*, come from such sources. The learned Pandits are just as ignorant about the contents of such libraries as I am, and it costs them no small trouble to extract MSS. from what they facetiously call the *gartas*, or 'the sinks.' I should, therefore, not be in the least astonished if, in future, important finds of ancient books were made. A few libraries, though apparently not of large extent, exist at Sopur, Islâmâbâd-Anantnâg, and Bâramûla. Specimens from them I saw at Bâramûla and Islâmâbâd, which, however, did not tempt me to make purchases.

The contents of the libraries, the MSS., may be divided into four classes :—1, the Bhūrja MSS.; 2, the paper Śāradā MSS.; 3, the paper Devanāgarī MSS. copied in Kāsmīr; and 4, the paper Devanāgarī MSS. imported from India proper.

The Bhūrja MSS. are written on specially prepared thin sheets of the inner bark of the Himālayan birch (*Bactula Bhojpatr*), and invariably in Śāradā characters. The lines run always parallel to the narrow side of the leaf, and the MSS. present therefore the appearance of European books, not of Indian MSS. which owe their form to an imitation of the Tālapatras. The Himālaya seems to contain an inexhaustible supply of birch-bark, which in Kāsmīr and other hill countries is used both instead of paper by the shopkeepers in the bazars, and for lining the roofs of houses in order to make them watertight. It is also exported to India, where in many places it is likewise used for wrapping up parcels, and plays an important part in the manufacture of the flexible pipe-stems used by *hukā*-smokers. To give an idea of the quantities which are brought into Śrinagar, I may mention that on one single day I counted fourteen large barges with birch-bark on the river, and that I have never moved about without seeing some boats laden with it.* None of the boats carried, I should say, less than three or four tons' weight.

The use of birch-bark for literary purposes is attested by the earliest classical Sanskrit writers. Kālidāsa mentions it in his dramas and epics; Suśruta, Varāhamihira (*circa* 500-550 A.D.) know it likewise.† The *Petersburg Dictionary* refers also to a passage of the *Kāṭhaka*, the redaction of the *Yajurved* formerly current in Kāsmīr, where the word *Bhūrja* occurs, though it is not clear if it is mentioned there too as material for writing on. The Kāsmīrian Pandits assert, and apparently with good reason, that in Kāsmīr all books were written on *bhūrjapatras* from the earliest times until after the conquest of the Valley by Akbar, about 200 to 250 years ago. Akbar introduced the manufacture of paper, and thus created an industry for which Kāsmīr is now famous in India. From that time the use of birch-bark for the purpose of

* I mention this particularly because Dr. Burnell (*South-Ind. Palæogr.*, p. 10, thinks that the bark must have been scarce. Compare also Elmslie, *Kāś. Voc.*, s. v. *bārj*.

† As is the case with nearly all old customs, the use of birch-bark for writing still survives in India, though the fact is little known. *Mantras*, which are worn as amulets, are written on pieces of Bhūrja with *aṣṭau gandhāḥ*, a mixture of eight odoriferous substances, e.g. camphor, sandal, turmeric, which vary according to the deity to which the writing is dedicated. The custom prevails in Bengal, as well as in Gujarāt. Birch-bark MSS. occur in Oriassa, as the late Dr. Bhāḍ Dāji told me.

writing was discontinued, and the method of preparing it has been lost. It is at present impossible for the Kāśmīrians to produce new birch-bark MSS., and for the collector of antiquities the existing birch-bark volumes have, therefore, a considerable value. The Pandits were very anxious that I should assist them to rediscover the secret of preparing birch bark for writing. But I declined to do so, as I feared that an extensive manufacture of spurious MSS. would be the consequence. As matters now stand, there are no birch-bark MSS. much younger than two hundred years, and some are four and five hundred years old. The preparation of the ink which was used for Bhūrja MSS. is known. It was made by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling the coal thus obtained with *gomūtra* (*urina bovis*).^{*} The ink thus obtained is not affected by damp or water, and, as the birch bark likewise stands water well, it is possible to improve dirty old MSS. by washing them, or by wetting at least particularly illegible portions. I have employed this method very frequently in order to make out doubtful passages. The Pandits regularly kept the MSS. in water before selling them to me, in order to improve their appearance. I was also told of a MS. which had been fished out of the Dal, the lake near the city, into which it had probably been thrown during one of the Musalman persecutions. It must have been lying in the water for many years. I heard also of a work which, after being considered to be lost, was recovered from a MS. found by a Pandit in the ceiling of his house, to which it had been nailed in order to keep the rain out. The great enemy of birch bark is dry heat, which causes it to crack, split and peel in all directions. The same result follows if the MSS. are fingered frequently or kept carelessly, as most of the Pandits do. The usual way of preserving the MSS. is to bind them in rough country leather and to place them on shelves upright, like our books. The friction of the leather invariably destroys the first and last leaves in a very short time, and hence many Sanskrit works from Kāśmīr have neither beginning nor end. Long exposure to damp heat, such as prevails during the monsoons of Western India, is also fatal to birch-bark volumes, as it produces *fungi*, the removal of which is very troublesome. Under these circumstances it is not astonishing to find that few Bhūrja MSS. are quite perfect. If no large portions have been lost, a few letters here and there are sure to be missing as

^{*} My authority for this recipe is P. Dayāram Jotsi, who was also particularly anxious about the rediscovery of the method of preparing the birch bark for writing.

the surface has peeled off. All Bhūrja MSS. are written in the so-called Śāradā characters, an alphabet closely connected with that of the *Guptas*. Dr. Elmslie, in his *Kaśmīrī Vocabulary*, p. 149, tells a story, which I have not heard narrated, that the alphabet was introduced into Kaśmīr by one *Shāradah Nandan* (sic), a companion of a brother of Vikramāditya of Ujjain (Bhartṛhari?), who is said to have emigrated to the Valley. The story, as told by Elmslie, is not worth much. But it seems to contain a dim reminiscence of the connection of Kaśmīr with Ujjain during the rule of the *Guptas* in the latter city, which is also preserved in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, and of the connection of the Śāradā alphabet with that of the *Guptas*. The name *Śāradāksharāṇi* means either 'letters sacred to Śāradā,' i.e. Sarasvatī, or it may be taken as 'the letters which are Sarasvatī,' i.e. '(visible) speech.' Śāradā is considered one of the tutelary deities of the country, which is frequently named after her *Śāradādeśa* or *Śāradāmaṇḍala*. In India, too, writing in general is called *Sarasvatī* or *Sarasvatīmukha*, 'the face of the goddess of speech.' Elmslie's *Śāradānandana*, 'the son of Sarasvatī,' is nothing but a modern euhemeristic invention. The Śāradā characters now in use appear first on the coins of Avanti-varman (855-894 A.D.). The older coins of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena show pure Gupta characters. They recur also in all Kaśmīr inscriptions which have been found, the oldest among which is probably the fragment of the time of *Diddā Rāṇi* (980-1004 A.D.) preserved in the Lahore Museum.*

From these facts, as well as from the use of the pure Gupta characters on the coins of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena, it might be inferred that the Śāradā alphabet dates from the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. I am, however, not prepared to go so far. For I think that strong arguments may be brought forward to show that during the last fifteen hundred years the characters used for MSS. differed from those used in inscriptions and in coins, and that some of the former alphabets, e.g. the so-called Devanāgarī, are much older than is usually thought. I feel, therefore, not certain that the Śāradā alphabet is not one of the ancient *literary* alphabets, dating perhaps from the times of the *Guptas* or earlier. Characters very similar, though not absolutely identical with the Śāradā alphabet, are used in the hill districts of the Panjāb. They are called, as General

* The ticket attached to it states that it is in Kaśmīrī. But that is a mistake. It is in Sanskrit, and deserves to be published.

Cunningham* has already stated, *Takari*, or, as I heard them also named, *Dográ*.† The *Takari* used by traders, or by other castes for business purposes, is written without vowel signs, just like the Gujarāṭī in the Vāṇiās' books and in a few medieval inscriptions, e.g. that on the gate of the Dharaṇīdhara temple at Dehemā, on the north-eastern border of the Raṇ of Kachh. The Śāradā characters become, if they are written hastily, very difficult to read. Written carefully they are plain enough. They make the MSS. particularly valuable for collation, because certain ligatures, e.g. *sy* and *sp*, which in Devanāgarī are very similar in appearance, become very unlike to each other in this character. A curious practice observed in Śāradā MSS. is the adoption of the two spirants, called in Sanskrit Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmaniya, *kḥ* and *ph*. These two signs are hardly ever used in Devanāgarī MSS., except occasionally by the Jinas. They occur frequently enough in the inscriptions down to the 8th century of our era. But I have never seen them used as regularly as is the case in good Śāradā MSS. At present the Kāśmīrian Pandits do not pronounce the sounds which they indicate.

The Śāradā paper MSS. stand next in value to the Bhūrja MSS., whose peculiarities they mostly share. None of them are, however, older than two hundred years. A great many of them have been written by Pandits, not by professional writers, and are very correct and carefully done. They are written, in imitation of the Bhūrja MSS., on nearly square sheets of paper, and are bound like European books, sometimes in leather and sometimes in cloth. The roughness of the binding, and the absence of blank leaves at the beginning and at the end, have frequently caused the loss of those portions. A great many have also lost single letters by fraying. Sometimes, too, the Pandits cut the bound volumes in order to get portions copied more conveniently, and some of the loose leaves fall out and disappear. The sense of order is not one of the qualities cultivated by Kāśmīrian scholars.

* *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 153. I never heard the Śāradā characters called *Takari*, which name was utterly unknown to the Kāśmir Pandits. They held the *Dográ* characters, which, as I learnt at Jamū and Siālkot, are the vowelless *Takari*, in great contempt. They told me also that the Mahārāja did not now allow the use of the *Dográ* characters without vowels in his offices, as he had found that his accountants had been unable to read their own books. Pandit Keśavram's *codex archetypus* of the *Rājataranginī* is not written without vowels, but in Śāradā characters.

† *Dográ* is a corruption of *Dvīgarta*, 'belonging to Dvīgarta,' i.e. the country near Jamū.

The Devanāgarī MSS. written in Kāsmīr are all very modern. I was told that these characters had come into more general use during the last thirty years only, since the annexation of Kāsmīr to the Jamū dominions. The difficulty which the Pandits have in reading printed Devanāgarī texts shows that even now the character is little used by them. All Devanāgarī MSS. are written by professional scribes, the Bāch-Bhaṭṭas, and are, for this reason, even if they have been afterwards corrected by Pandits, less trustworthy than even Śāradā paper MSS. A good many mistakes always remain, especially such as are caused by difficult Śāradā compound letters, and the best plan for restoring corrupt passages is to try to find the Śāradā ligature which most closely resembles the corrupt Devānāgarī group.

As the Devanāgarī MSS. are mostly prepared for the market, they are also not unfrequently 'cooked,' i.e. the lacunæ and defects in the original are filled in according to the fancy of the Pandit who corrects them. This most objectionable habit prevails in Kāsmīr to a very great extent, perhaps to a greater extent than in India proper, though in India proper, too, the Pandit has little respect for the sacredness of the ancient texts. That sentiment is in Europe, too, of modern growth, and not much older than the historico-critical school of philology, which arose in the end of the last century. In no part of India have I, however, been told of the practice of restoring or 'cooking' Sanskrit books with so much simplicity as in Kāsmīr. I was asked by my friends if the new copies to be made for me were *to be made complete* or not; and one Pandit confessed to me with contrition, after I had convinced him of the badness of the system, that formerly he himself had restored a large portion of the *Vishṇudharmottara*. The passage from the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* which I have printed at pp. lv.-lx. of Appendix II. gives a specimen of such a restoration. In that case the Mahārāja of Kāsmīr was the innocent cause of the forgery. He ordered Pandit Sāhebrām to prepare a trustworthy copy of the *Nīlamata* for edition. As the Pandit found that all his MSS. were defective in the beginning, and as he knew from the fragments, as well as from the *Rājataranginī*, what the lost portions did contain, he restored the whole work according to his best ability. If I had not come to Kāsmīr soon after his death, it is not improbable that the genuine text would have disappeared altogether. For the Pandits thought, until I convinced them of the contrary, Sāhebrām's copy greatly superior to all others. From these facts it will appear that complete Kāsmīr MSS. have to be used with great care, especially if they are new and the older MSS.

are mutilated. But I do not wish to proclaim *all* complete Kaśmīrian MSS. as untrustworthy, because in many cases complete copies have been procured by collating a number of MSS. mutilated in different places, or such MSS. as, having been treated with great care, remained complete. These disparaging remarks on the Kasmīrian Devanāgarī MSS. make an explanation necessary why, though knowing their defects, I acquired such a great number as my list shows. My reasons were two. Firstly, in the beginning of my search I felt very uncertain whether I should be able to obtain many old MSS., and I took the more important works in such a form as I could get them most easily. Later I continued to buy, or cause to be prepared, Devanāgarī copies, because I thought that Indian and European scholars might wish to have copies in the better-known Devanāgarī character, as well as in the more difficult Śāradā.

C.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME KAŚMĪRIAN MSS. PURCHASED.

In turning now to give an account of some of the MSS. contained in the collection made during my tour in Kaśmīr, of the Kaśmīr MSS. which I bought at Dīlī, and of those forwarded to me by the Pandits after my return to Gujarāt through Major Henderson,* I must premise that I do not pretend to give all that is valuable in them. I have had no time to read several millions of *śloka*s, and to compare them with the versions known from Indian books. A thorough study of such a collection would take up the whole time of a student during several years, and I even doubt if any one man ever can sufficiently become master of all the various Śāstras represented in order to estimate the books at their proper value. All that I have done is to read a few of the most remarkable works, and to look into most of the rest, and to set three Pandits—Mārtaṇḍa Śāstrī, Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī, and Vāmanāchārya Jhalkīkar—to work on what struck me as interesting. They have copied most of the extracts from the MSS. which have been printed in Appendix II., they have made indexes and abstracts of other works, which I have used in the sequel, and they are also to a great extent the authors of the classified list. But I have always supervised their work, and in the footnotes to Appendix II. I have tried to separate as much as possible the shares in the work belonging to each of them.

* I take this opportunity to thank Major Henderson publicly for the infinite trouble he has taken on behalf of the collection, and I am sure all Sanskritists will feel grateful to him when they learn that many important MSS., such as birch-bark MSS. of Manu and of the Śākuntala, have reached the Government collection through his kind offices.

In the following pages my aim will be merely to show that the collection does give some results which are important for Sanskritists, and to publish what is most interesting. Appendix II. is intended to furnish the proofs for my assertions. I can only undertake the responsibility for what I actually advance, but I do not pretend that what I advance is the sum total of the results which may be obtained from the MSS.

Among the collection of Vedic works, No. 5, the Bhûrja MS. of the *Rigveda*, takes the first place. Though it is only a MS. of the same redaction which is current in India proper, of the Śākalaśākhā, the peculiarities which it shows in the manner of marking the accent, and in spelling, as well as the character in which it is written, give it a considerable value. They show that it belongs to a section of Śākala Brahmans which differed in its tradition from their brethren in Hindustan. It is the representative of a new family of MSS. In the portions which I have compared with Prof. M. Müller's printed text, I have not found any readings which I should like to declare to be real *variæ lectiones*. Most of the differences appear to be either simply clerical mistakes, or to have been caused by the Kaśmîrian pronunciation, according to which, *e.g.*, *ô* is pronounced as *u*, and *e* as *i*. But, quite irrespective of the question of various readings, there are in the *Rigveda* a number of passages which the collated Indian MSS. leave doubtful, be it on account of the peculiarities of the Devanāgarī characters or for other reasons. It is for such cases that I hope the MS. will prove particularly valuable, and I am glad to see from an article published by Professor Benfey in the *Goettinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* of December 6, 1876, that it has already done some good service. Since November the MS. has been in the hands of Prof. M. Müller, who has already published a short notice of it in the *Academy*, and who, owing to his unrivalled acquaintance with the *Rigveda* and Vedic MSS., will be best able to extract from it all that is valuable.

The peculiarity of the MS. in marking the accents is that the Udātta and the Jātya Svarita alone are noted, the former by a vertical stroke ⊥, the latter by a hook ˘ above the accentuated syllable. A similar method is mentioned by Dr. Burnell, *So.-Ind. Palæog.*, p. 60. This proceeding is perfectly sufficient to indicate to those who are acquainted with the rules of the Prātiśākhya where the secondary accents stand. Its constant peculiarities in spelling are—

1. The absence of the letters *!a* and *!ha*, for which the original *da* and *dha* appear.
2. The doubling of *ya* and *va* after an *anusrûra*.

3. The change of an *anusvāra* to *anunāsika* before sibilants, *h* and *r*.
4. The omission of the euphonic *t*, to be inserted between a final *n* and an initial *s*.

The *Khilas*, or apocryphal hymns, fols. 176b-188, which, contrary to the custom observed in the Indian MSS., have been collected into one body and arranged into five *Adhyāyas*, differ very considerably from the text given in Prof. M. Müller's quarto edition. The same remark applies to the *Upanishad* from the *Āraṇyaka*, which fills the last leaves of the volume. There is, firstly, one short *adhyāya* more than in Dr. Rājendralāl's edition of the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, and the various readings in the other two *adhyāyas* are very numerous. Nor do they quite agree with Sāyaṇa's readings given in his commentary. In this piece, also, the MS. retains its character as representative of a separate family. The date Bhā(drapada) śu(ddha) ti(thi) 13 of (Saptarshi) Sāmvat 50 corresponds to the year 75 of some century of the Christian era. From the appearance of the book, and from the fact of its being a birch-bark volume, I think it certain that it is not younger than two hundred years.

After the *Rigvedasamhitā* follow next the pieces belonging to the *Chārāyaṇya-Kāthaka śākhā* of the Black Yajurveda, Nos. 3, 10-14, and 21-22, which, as I have shown above, was, and is, the redaction of the Veda current in Kāśmīr. No. 3, the fragment of the *Kāthaka*, the only known complete MS. of which is preserved in Berlin, is a modern copy, made from a modern MS. belonging to Pandit Dāmodar Jotsī. The Pandit's MS. shows traces of accents, and is in this respect superior to the Berlin MS. The system of accentuation seems to have been the complicated one used by the Maitrāyaṇīyas and Paippalādas. I regret extremely that the Pandit either could not or would not tell me where the original of his copy is to be found.

The *Kāthakagṛihyasūtra* is the second piece of the Aphorisms of the Kāthaka school which has turned up. The other one, which has been long known, is the *Dharmasūtra*, usually called the *Viśṇu-smṛiti*.* From the statement of the commentator of the *Gṛihyasūtra* it appears that in his time the *Vaitānikasūtra*, i.e. the Aphorisms on the great sacrifices performed with more than one fire, did exist, and that they filled no less than thirty-nine *adhyāyas*.† The abolition of the great sacrifices in consequence of the conversion of the Kāśmīrians to Mahomedanism appears to have caused its loss. The *Kāthaka*-

* This was first pointed out to me by a Puṇa Śāstrī, Mr. Dātar.

† See App. II., p. liii.

grihyasūtra does not materially differ in its contents from the numerous known treatises of this class. It contains the rules for the performance of the *saṁskāras* or sacraments which remove the stains of hereditary sin from the twice-born, of some daily and occasional rites for householders, of the funeral oblations to the *manes*, and other miscellaneous prescriptions on the study of the Veda, on the duties of a *śnātaka* or student who has finished his sacred studies, on certain penances called *kṛichchhras*, 'difficult (performances),' etc.

The author of these Aphorisms is, according to the Kāsmīrian tradition, *Laugākshi*, a sage whose name is frequently met with in modern compilations on sacred law. Hitherto it was impossible to connect him with any particular Vedic school. The four MSS. give, besides the text of the *Grihyasūtra*, the *mantras* and the commentary of *Devapāla*, the son of *Haripāla*. Nos. 11 and 13 agree closely with each other, and the same may be said of Nos. 12 and 14. The latter two apparently give the genuine work of *Devapāla*, while the former contain an enlarged version, interwoven with *prayogas*, or detailed descriptions of the ceremonies. I am unable to say who *Bhaṭṭa Devapāla* was, or when he lived. The Kāsmīrians maintain that he lived before the Musalman conquest.

Regarding *Laugākshi's Arshādhyāya* (No. 3) and the *Pravarā-dhyāya* (No. 22) I have only to remark that they are not very correct, just like most similar works consisting of strings of names. The *Chārāyaṇīyā śikshā* has been described by Dr. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V., p. 194. The remaining Vedic MSS. from Kāsmīr hardly call for any remark. The *Upanishads* will probably be welcome to those who wish to study this branch of Vedic literature, for critical purposes. The *Atharvavedasamhitā* has been described by Prof. Von Roth, who has now its original, an unfortunately mutilated old Bhūrja volume, in his hands. This latter was bought by the Mahārāja before my arrival in Kāsmīr, and presented to Sir W. Muir, who, at my request, consented to forward it to the India Office. The *Chāturāsramyadharma*, attributed to Kāṇvāyana, No. 20, appears to be a remnant of some larger work on *Dharma*. It is written in *sūtras*, and treats of the duties of the four orders. Kāṇva and Kāṇva are frequently quoted as authorities in modern compilations. The two *Ṛichakas* are huge *prayogas* interspersed with *mantras*, the real handbooks of the Kāsmīrian Bhaṭṭas, used at present for the performance of ceremonies before the *grihya* fire.

In the next class, the *Purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas*, the *Nīlamata*, one of

the sources from which *Kalhana** drew his information, deserves some notice. The work is by no means uncommon in Kaśmīr, and at least one copy has already been brought to Europe.† The MSS. of the collection represent two redactions. The Śārādā copies Nos. 65-68 give a shorter version, and are full of lacunæ; while No. 64, a new copy, counts many more verses and is complete. The cause of this discrepancy is, as I have already stated above, that the writer of the original of No. 64, Pandit Sâhebrâm, some years ago received orders from the Mahârāja to prepare the text of the *Nilamata* for edition, and thought it his duty to fill up all the lacunæ, to expand obscure passages, and to remove, as far as possible, the ungrammatical forms which the *Nilamata*, like other Purāṇas, shows in great number.‡ Sâhebrâm's revised edition has no value for a critical scholar. But it deserves always careful consideration as a commentary, because Pandit Sâhebrâm possessed a very intimate acquaintance with ancient Kaśmīrian history.

The *Nilamata* is supposed to have been narrated by *Vaiśampāyana*, a pupil of *Vyāsa*, to king *Janamejaya*. It opens with a question of the king, inquiring why no ruler of Kaśmīr took part in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. The sage's answer is for the greater part lost, but from the fragments remaining, it is clear that it contained the account of the expedition of Gonanda I. to Mathurā in aid of Jurāsandha, in which he was slain, and of the attempt by his son Dâmodara to avenge his father's death when Kṛishṇa came to a *svayamvara* in the Gandhâra country, just as these events are told in the *Rājataranginī* I. 57-66. A few verses have been saved, which mention the *svayamvara* and the destruction of Dâmodara by Kṛishṇa, as well as the coronation of Dâmodara's pregnant queen and the birth of Gonanda II. They prove clearly that Pandit Sâhebrâm's restoration is correct in substance, and that Kalhana took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the Purāṇa. Janamejaya's next question is why Kṛishṇa considered Kaśmīr so important as to secure for it a king by the coronation of a woman. Vaiśampāyana hereupon states that the country is an incarnation of Satī or Umā, and describes its various excellencies, adding that it was formerly a lake called *Satisaras*. This statement gives an opportunity to introduce the story of the creation of Kaśmīr by Kaśyapa. Vaiśampāyana, however, does not narrate it directly, but gives a former conversation between *Gonanda* and *Bṛihadâśva* on the subject.

* *Rājat.* I. 14. † Aufrecht, *Orf. Catal.*, p. 348b. ‡ See Appendix II., p. lv.

The account of the creation of Kāśmīr begins with the story from the *Mahābhārata* regarding the bet of *Kadrū* and *Vinatā*, the fraudulent decision of which caused the enmity between the offspring of the former, the Nāgas, and the son of the latter, Garuḍa. It further relates how Vāsuki, the king of the Nāgas, being sorely pressed by Garuḍa, obtained, through the favour of Viṣṇu, for his people a safe residence in the *Satīśaras*, and that he made Nīla their king. Then follows the attempt made by *Samgraha*, a Daitya, to ravish Indra's wife *Śachī*, his punishment, and the birth from his seed of the demon *Jalodbhava*, who devastated the neighbouring countries, *Dāvābhīśāra*, *Jahnuḍara* (*Jalandhara*), *Gandhāra*, and the territories occupied by the *Śakas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Tunganas*, and the *Māṇḍavas*. After that the narrative turns to the main point, the destruction of *Jalodbhava* and the desiccation of the *Satīśaras*, whereby Kāśmīr was produced. While *Jalodbhava* was committing his enormities, the *Purāṇa* says, Kāśyapa, the father of the Nāgas, was engaged in a pilgrimage to all the *tīrthas* of the earth. His son Nīla went in search of him, and met him at *Khanakhala*. He described to him the sanctity of the *tīrthas* in the north of India, and prevailed upon him to visit them. On this journey Kāśyapa observed that the *Madra* country was entirely uninhabited, and asked Nīla for the reason. Nīla explained to him that it was *Jalodbhava*, the son of *Samgraha*, who had reduced the country to a wilderness. Hearing this, the sage promised to procure the punishment of the evil-doer. As soon as he had finished his pilgrimage, he started with Nīla for the seat of *Brahmā*, and implored his as well as *Viṣṇu's* and *Śiva's* assistance against *Jalodbhava*. The gods granted his prayer. At *Brahmā's* command the whole multitude of the gods, with their attendants, even down to the lords of the oceans and the river goddesses, started for *Naubandhana tīrtha* on the lofty peaks above the *Koṃsanāg*. On the northern hill *Brahmā* took his seat, on the southern *Viṣṇu*, and between them *Śiva* established himself. The Daitya, who, owing to a boon granted by Indra, was invincible in his native element, refused to come forth from the lake. Then *Viṣṇu* advised *Śiva* to drain the water off. Thereupon *Śiva* struck the mountains with his trident, and made a path for the water. *Jalodbhava*, seeing the lake become dry, caused a great darkness. *Śiva* dispelled it, taking the sun and the moon in his hands. Then *Viṣṇu* took 'another' form and attacked the demon. The battle was long and fierce. Trees and hill-tops were freely employed as weapons by either combatant. At last *Viṣṇu* severed *Jalodbhava's* head with his war-disc.

After Kāśmīr had been thus produced, Kāśyapa settled it. The gods received their places as well as the Nāgas, and the goddesses occupied it in the shape of rivers. But when the saint wished to introduce men, the Nāgas objected to their company. Angrily Kāśyapa cursed them, and ordered them to dwell with the Piśāchas. Nīla then interceded for his brothers, and obtained a mitigation of the sentence. The country was not to be made over entirely to the Piśāchas, but for six months only in the year, from Āśvayuja to Chaitra, and for the duration of four *kalpas*. "During the six months of winter," Kāśyapa said, "*Nikumbha*, the king of the Piśāchas, who dwells in an island six *yojanas* long, in the sand-ocean, will occupy Kāśmīr with fifty millions of his warriors. In Chaitra all the Piśāchas will have been slain, and men will return to cultivate the land." Kāśyapa then introduced men of the four castes from various countries, and they dwelt in it for six months in the year only. But when the four *yugas* were completed, there was an old Brahman, *Chandradeva* by name, descended from Kāśyapa, who neglected to leave the country with the other inhabitants. Him the Piśāchas caught, and played with him as children play with birds tied to a string. He recovered his freedom, but suffered much, and wandered disconsolate through the country. At last he came to the Nāga Nīla, who received him into his dwelling. There he remained for the six months of the winter season, and learnt from his host a number of rites the observance of which were to deliver the country from the Piśāchas and from excessive cold. When the month of Chaitra returned, and with it the emigrant population of Kāśmīr, *Chandradeva* communicated the ordinances which *Nīla* had revealed, to the king, *Vīryodaya* by name. *Vīryodaya* called his people together and enjoined a strict performance of *Nīla*'s rites. Thenceforward the country became inhabitable throughout the year.

After narrating this story, the Purāṇa goes on to give the 'rites proclaimed by *Nīla*' in detail, Vaiśampāyana repeating for the benefit of Janamejaya the account which Brihadaśva gave to Gonanda of the instructions communicated by *Nīla* to *Chandradeva*. These 'rites proclaimed by *Nīla*' occupy two-thirds of the Purāṇa. A great many of them agree with the Paurāṇic ceremonies and festivals known and observed in India proper. Others are peculiar to Kāśmīr, and some very remarkable. Thus the rule that on the day of the first fall of snow new wine (*navam madyam*) is to be drunk will rather astonish the orthodox Brahmans of Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt. A very peculiar festival is also the celebration of the birthday of Buddha, as an incarnation

of Viṣṇu on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha. On that day (the anniversary of the *Nirvāṇa*) Buddha's statue is to be put up and to be worshipped under the recitation of sentences employed by the *Śākyas*. The *Śākyas* (i.e. the Bauddha ascetics), too, are to be worshipped, and to be presented with cows, garments, food, and books. Most Purāṇas recognize Buddha as a form of Viṣṇu, but I do not think that there is any evidence that in India proper he has been worshipped by Brahmans and their followers. If we find it in Kaśmīr, it is no doubt due to the accommodating good-nature of the Kaśmīrian Brahmans, and to the more universal prevalence of Buddhism, which in India proper, it seems to me, never was much more important than Jainism is at present. The Purāṇa concludes with some miscellaneous Māhātmyas, one of which, viz. that regarding the origin of the Mahāpadma or Vollur lake, has been given above.

From this sketch of the contents of the *Nilamata* it will appear that it is an attempt to connect special Kaśmīrian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the *Mahābhārata*, as well as to supply a sufficient authority for the rites prevalent in Kaśmīr. It finds its counterparts in the *Nāgarakhanda* and similar works, which in India proper, however, do not put forward the pretension to be considered separate Purāṇas, but call themselves portions of the older Purāṇas. The mention of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and of his festivals, shows that in its present form the *Nilamata* cannot be older than the 6th or 7th century of our era.* Its great value lies therein, that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kaśmīr and their legends, which are required in order to explain the *Rājataranginī*, and that it shows how Kalhana used his sources.

Besides the copies of the *Nilamatapurāṇa* the only other valuable Paurāṇic MSS. are the numerous Kaśmīrian Māhātmyas. These works, too, are absolutely indispensable for a correct interpretation of the *Rājataranginī*.

As regards the MSS. of poetical works, they may be divided into two classes: first, such as give poems composed by Kaśmīrians, and secondly those which contain compositions of poets from India proper. The Kaśmīrians assert that their country was from the earliest times

* The oldest work with a fixed date in which I have found Buddha represented as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is Kshemendra's *Daśāvatāracharita*, which belongs to the 11th century. But the legend must go back to the 6th or 7th century, as Buddhism became so insignificant during the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries that nobody would have taken the trouble to identify its founder with a Brahminical deity.

'the abode of Sarasvatī,' and that it produced many poets. The *Rājataranginī* mentions also a few of the early celebrities, e.g. Chandraka, a composer of dramas under Tunjīna (II. 16), and Menṭha, the *protégé* of Mātṛigupta (III. 260), who probably flourished during the first five hundred years of our era. But only very small fragments of their works are preserved in Śrīvara's *Subhāshitāvalī* (Nos. 203-4). This work quotes a few verses of both poets, and it is just possible that Śrīvara possessed their complete works. Now they appear to be lost. Regarding Menṭha we learn from Mankha (*Śrīkaṇṭhach.* II. 53*) that his compositions in style resembled those of Subandhu, Bāṇa, and Bhāravi, and were full of puns. I may add that Mr. Troyer is wrong in declaring that Menṭha's great work, the *Hayagrīvavadha*, was a *nūṭaka*. The phrase (*Rājat.* III. 260) *hayagrīvavadhaṁ menṭhas tadagre darśayannavam*, "When Menṭha showed the new 'Death of Hayagrīva' in his (Mātṛigupta's) presence," is ambiguous. It may mean that the poet showed the MS. only and read it. Hemachandra's *Alaṁkāraśikṣā* proves that this interpretation is the right one, as at the end of Adhyāya IV. it names the *Hayagrīvavadha* as a specimen of a *kāvya*, and declares that it was divided into *sargas* or cantos.

Most of the poems of the times of the Kārkoṭa dynasty have had the same fate as the earlier works. Not a single one of them was known to the Pandits. After long inquiries Pandit Dāmodar obtained, however, a clue to the existence of the *Bhuvandbhūdaya*, the great epic of *Sankuka* which described the battle between the regents *Mamma* and *Utpala*.† But his efforts to extract the MS. from the ignorant owner seem to have remained hitherto without result. Quotations from the work are preserved by Śrīvara. The oldest poet, one of whose compositions has survived, is *Ratnākara*, or with his full name *Rājānaka*‡ *Ratnākara Vāgīśvara*. Kalhaṇa, *Rājat.* V. 34, enumerates him among the authors who obtained fame under Avantivarman, 855-884 A.D. But from his own statement it appears that his literary activity began a little earlier. In the colophon to his great epic he calls himself *Bālabṛihaspatyanujīrin*, 'a servant of young *Bṛihaspati*,'§ and he further indicates that his patron was a king.|| According to the

* See Appendix II., page c.

† *Rājat.* IV. 704.

‡ *Rājānaka* is a title meaning 'almost a king,' which used to be given to distinguished Pandits for services rendered to the king: compare *Rājat.* VI. 261. It now occurs very frequently as a family name.

§ *Bāla* indicates that the king was a child, as stated in the *Rājat.* V. 675.

|| Appendix II., pp. cxxv.-cxxvii.

Rājataranginī IV. 675, *Bṛihaspati* is an honorific epithet of king *Chippaṭa-Jayūpīḍa*, who reigned from 832-844 A.D.* Hence it may be assumed that *Ratnākara* began his career under the latter ruler, but was patronized also by *Avantivarman*, the resuscitator of learning in Kāsmīr. *Ratnākara's* father's name was *Amṛitabhānu*, and he was a descendant of one *Durgaditta*, who lived in *Gangāhrada*. His descendants live in Kāsmīr at the present day. One of them, my assistant P. *Chandrām*, showed me his pedigree, which went back to *Ratnākara*.

Ratnākara's chief work which has come down to our times is the *Haravijaya*, an enormous epic in fifty cantos. This work celebrates the defeat of the Asura *Andhaka* by Śiva. *Andhaka* sprang from Śiva when Pārvatī covered his eyes with her hands, and was born blind. He was given by Śiva to the son of Diti, who desired a son, and was reared in his house. By means of terrible self-inflicted penances he obtained the power of seeing, a boon from Brahmā. He used his strength to make war on the gods, and succeeded in overcoming even Viṣṇu, ejecting the gods from their seat and becoming king of the three worlds. Śiva slew him.

This fable would hardly have afforded sufficient material for composing about four thousand long stanzas. The poet has therefore pressed into his service the whole of the subjects which the rules of Sanskrit poetics allow to be introduced into a *Mahākāvya*, viz. the description of the seasons, of scenery, court amusements, etc.

He opens his poem after a very short *mangalācharaṇa*, with a description of Śiva's capital, *Jyotsnūvatī* on Mount *Mandara*, and of its master. Next follows a description of Śiva's dance, the *Tāṇḍava*, which he is said to execute before Pārvatī. The third canto gives an account of the Seasons, the fourth and fifth depict Mount *Mandara*. In the sixth *sarga* the real subject of the poem is first introduced. The Seasons are represented as coming to Śiva for protection, fleeing from *Andhaka*. *Madhu* (Spring) acts as their spokesman, and after a long hymn addressed to Śiva, which gives a summary of Śaiva philosophy, he implores the god's assistance against the fearful Asura who conquered the world. The seventh *sarga* is devoted to a description of

* This date is General Cunningham's corrected date, taken from his MS. notes to a copy of his article in the *Num. Chron.* of 1848, which he has kindly presented to me. The correction is undoubtedly required, and *Ratnākara's* statement that he served *Bṛihaspati* supports General Cunningham's view. He could not have flourished under *Bṛihaspati* and under *Avantivarman* if the former had reigned from 802-814 A.D.

the effect which the news of the Asura's conquest of Svarga produced on the *Gaṇas*, who attended Śiva's darbār, and Sargas VIII.-XVI. give an account of their consultations on the course to be pursued against Andhaka. The Gaṇādhipas *Kālamusala*, *Prabhāmaya*, *Vahnigarbha*, *Agnidamshṭra*, *Aṭṭahāsa*, *Chandēśvara*, and *Pushpohāsa* are introduced as speakers. Their speeches serve the purpose of showing off the proficiency of the poet in the *Nītiśāstra*. The result of the deliberations is that the Gaṇādhipa *Kālamusala* is sent as ambassador to the court of Andhaka, in order to try to persuade him to give up the throne of Svarga to its legitimate owner.

The next thirteen cantos have nothing to do with the chief subject of the poem, but give descriptions of the amusements of Śiva's attendants, of the sunset and sunrise, of the rising of the moon, and of the stormy sea. They also contain an account of the origin of Śiva's form as *Ardhanārī*. The amusements of the *Gaṇas* are after the fashion of those customary in the royal harems of India. The one described first is the *pushpānuchaya*, the 'gathering of flowers,' and the last the *sambhoga* or *surata*. The author has taken great pains to show his proficiency in the *kāmaśāstra*. After this episode follows in the thirtieth *sarga* the description of *Kālamusala's* journey from Jyotsnāvati to Svarga, and in the thirty-first the description of Svarga, Andhaka's residence. The following seven cantos give an account of *Kālamusala's* reception, of the delivery of his message, of the rabbulistic reply of the *guru* of the Asuras, *Uśanas*, of *Kālamusala's* angry retort, of further speeches by Andhaka and by the Asuras *Kanakāksha* and *Vajrabāhu*, and of *Kālamusala's* final angry parting words.

The thirty-ninth *sarga* opens with the return of *Kālamusala* to Śiva, and the delivery of Andhaka's scornful refusal to obey Śiva's command. The remainder of the *sarga* and the next three are taken up with the manner of putting Śiva's army on a war footing, its march against the enemy, and the preparations for battle.

The battle itself occupies the remaining *sargas*, XLIII.-L. It is described as exceedingly fierce and for a long time doubtful. *Chandikā*, *Vishṇu*, and other deities are introduced as taking part in it. The description is interrupted by a *Chandīstotra* sung by the Siddhas and Sādhyas in order to celebrate the valour of the goddess. This fills *Sarga* XLVII. At last the Asura, of course, succumbs.

Ratnākara was, according to his own statement, an imitator of *Bāṇa*, and strove to show himself proficient in what the Hindus consider the higher branches of poetic composition. The *Haravijaya* is full of those

fanciful *tours de force* in which the Pandits delight ; *Samudgakas*, *Padmabandhas*, *Avalis*, *Pratilomānulomas*, and *Pratilomavilomārdhapādas* abound. Some cantos, e. g. S. III., show *Yamakas*, in the style of the *Nalodaya*, in every half-verse or verse. The more complicated metres are used freely, and the language is anything but simple. It seems to me not likely that the *Haravijaya*, as a whole, will ever gain many friends among Europeans. But it contains, like most Sanskrit poems, many single verses and passages which possess both grace and force of expression. It is also of some interest for Śaiva mythology and philosophy.

The MSS., being new copies, are, though corrected by a Pandit, not very good, and they show several lacunæ.

The Tīkā explains, as its title *Vishamapadoddyota* indicates, only particularly difficult words and passages. Its MS. begins with I. 5, and ends in the middle of Sarga XLV. Its author is Alaka, son of Rājānaka Jayānaka.

Ratnākara, though the only Kaśmīrian poet of the 9th century represented in the collection, is not the only one whose works still survive. In this period falls also, as I have shown elsewhere, *Abhinanda*, the Gauḍa, the author of the *Rāmacharita* and of the *Kādambarikathāsāra*. He too was born in Kaśmīr, though he wrote under the protection of a prince of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal.

The tenth century, again, is a blank. Not a single poem which can be referred with certainty to this period was to be obtained. But the eleventh century is represented by a number of important works. There are, firstly, four poems by that polyhistor *Kṣhemendra*, surnamed *Vyāsādāsa*, 'the servant of Vyāsa.' Hitherto only three of his poetical compositions were known, the *Vṛihakathā*, or more correctly *Vṛihat-kathūmanjarī*, which was first discovered by Dr. Burnell, and afterwards by myself in Gujarāt, the *Bhāratamanjarī*, which I obtained from Bhuj,* and the *Kalāvīlāsa*, discovered by Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra. The first work was not procurable in Kaśmīr, though the Pandits had heard of it, and believed that copies might eventually be found. A Śārada paper copy of the *Bhāratamanjarī* was procured with some trouble. The *Kalāvīlāsa*, a copy of which I bought in 1873-74 at Bikāner, was unknown in Kaśmīr. In addition to these three poems Kaśmīr furnished the hitherto unknown *Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra* or *Rāmāyaṇamanjarī*, the *Daśavatāracharita*, and the *Samayamātrikā*, as well as a *Vyāsāśṭaka*,

* See Report on Sansk. MSS., 1874-75.

which is given at the end of No. 154. It also furnished copies of a treatise on metres, the *Suṛittatilaka*, No. 270, of a dictionary, the *Lokaparakāśa*, and a commentary on a treatise of polity by Vyāsa, the *Nītikalpataru*.

Kshemendra was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time. In the colophon to the *Samayamātrikā* he informs us that he finished that work during the reign of king Ananta, in the 25th year of the Kāśmīrian cycle, 1050 A.D. In the *Suṛittatilaka* he again states that he wrote under Ananta, and finally he says that he finished the *Daśavātāracharita* in the year 41 of the Saptarshi era, under Ananta's son, Kalāśa. Ananta ruled from Saptarshi S. 4, or 1029 A.D., to Saptarshi S. 39, or 1064 A.D. In the latter year he nominally abdicated in favour of, and performed the *abhisheka* of, his son Kalāśa. The Saptarshi year 41 corresponds to the year 1066 A.D. Consequently Kshemendra's literary activity falls in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. The other data which he gives regarding his family and himself are that his grandfather's name was *Sindhu*, and his father's *Prakāśendra*. The latter was a great patron of Brahmans, and expended three *kotiś* or thirty millions (of what is not stated) in various benefactions, and died a fervent worshipper of Śiva. Kshemendra himself seems to have been in his youth a Śaiva, but later he was converted to the Vaishṇava-Bhāgavata creed by *Somāchārya*. He studied the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* under the famous *Abhinavaguptāchārya*. He wrote several of his compositions at the request of a Brahman called *Rāmayaśas*, and one, the *Vṛihatkāthamanjarī*, at the command of one *Devadhara*, who seems to have occupied a prominent position in the Brahminical community of Kāśmīr. His surname, *Vyāsadāsa*, is given in all his works except in the *Kalāvīlāsa*.

His poems are of two kinds, independent didactic compositions, and narratives, abstracts of large older poems. To the first class belong the *Kalāvīlāsa*, which is intended to expose the tricks of rogues, traders, artisans, etc., and the *Samayamātrikā*, which is intended to lay open the snares of courtiezans. In both these poems the plan is the same; the lesson is conveyed in a number of stories, more or less amusing. I consider these two his best compositions, which show most originality, and, here and there, poetical genius. It is a pity that the contents of the second are such as would make a translator liable to a prosecution by the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The *Bhāratamanjarī* and the *Rāmāyaṇamanjarī* are short abstracts of the two

great epic poems of India. It may have cost Kshemendra a great deal of trouble to compress the subject-matter of these enormous works into a small compass. But I cannot discover any poetical spirit in his abstracts. They read like bad versified prose. For the student of Indian literature they are, however, important, as they show the exact condition of the originals in the eleventh century, and they are worthy of a careful comparison with the published versions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇi*. In my article on the *Vṛihatkathā** I have already stated that the style of that work, too, is bad, and often obscure. But its interest for the Sanskritist is now, that Kshemendra's date has become known, much greater than formerly. It is now clear that both Kshemendra and Somadeva translated from a really existing original in the *Paiśūcī bhāṣā*, the *Vṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. For, besides the distinct assertion of both poets that they did this, the existence of an extensive original work is certain, because it is now proved that Kshemendra cannot have used the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which was written seventy years after his time, and nobody will assert that Somadeva used Kshemendra's poem. But if the fact is established that the works of the two Kāśmīrians really give the contents of Guṇāḍhya's great story, the most important results for the history of the *Panchatantra* and other collections of apologues which form part of both may be gained therefrom. Guṇāḍhya's *Vṛihatkathā* goes back to the first or second century of our era. A comparison of its version of the *Panchatantra* with those now current in India and with the so-called Semitic translations will show that the work translated for Khosru Noshirvan was not the *Panchatantra*, but a contemporaneous or later collection of moral tales.

The *Daśāvataracharita*, though somewhat different in character from the three preceding works, resembles them in so far that it is an abstract of the Paurāṇic stories regarding the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. It does not deserve the name of an independent composition. The only portion of it which seems to me to possess some interest is the *Buddhāvātara*. This canto gives an abridgment of the history of Śākyamuni as it is told in Buddhistic works, with tolerable accuracy. I have already above, p. 41, expressed my opinion that the identification of Śākyamuni with Viṣṇu dates from early times. But, in the present state of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, Kshemendra is the oldest writer with a fixed date who mentions it.

* *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 302.

Besides the works above enumerated, Kshemendra wrote, as Kalhaṇa asserts, a *Rājāvali*, or history of the Kaśmīrian kings. The work exists now in Kaśmīr. But the hope that it would soon come into my hands, which I expressed in my preliminary Report, has hitherto not been fulfilled. I do not, however, yet despair of ultimately obtaining it.

The second poet of the 11th century who is represented in our collection is *Bilhaṇa*. In my introduction to his *Vikramān-kacharita* I identified him with the *Rilhaṇa* of the Calcutta edition mentioned *Rājataranginī* VII. 938, who is said to have left Kaśmīr in the reign of king Kalāśa, and to have become the chief Pandit of Parmāḍi of Kalyāṇa. My conjecture has now been proved to be right by the Śārada MSS. of the *Rājataranginī*, which all, including Keśavram's *codex archetypus*, read बिल्हणो for रिल्हणो. The period which I fixed for his literary career, viz. the third and fourth quarters of the eleventh century, is therefore correct. His great poem, the *Vikramān-kacharita*, was not known in Kaśmīr before my visit. But when I distributed copies of my edition the Pandits soon identified quotations from it in the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and the *Bālabodhinī vṛitti* of the *Kātantra*. Hence it appears that six hundred years ago MSS. of it existed in Kaśmīr also. Of Bilhaṇa's smaller work, the *Panchāśikā*, I obtained one copy, which settles all doubts about its authorship, and explains the origin of the anecdote connected with it. The first point is decided by the sentence in the colophon, *iti chaurisuratapan-chāśikā paṇḍitabilhaṇakṛita samāptā*,* and by the second of the two verses which open the poem :—

(1) "Let the Lord of *Kuntala* take all the wealth in my house ; still unscathed lies living in my heart Sarasvatī's store. Out on you, wretches ! leave off your rejoicing ; shortly shall Fortune enter my abode, seated on the shoulders of an elephant whose ears beat time to his hurried steps.

(2) "O tender maid, why directest thou thy eyes, lovely as a lotus-leaf, always to the king's palace that raises its neck on high ? *Bilhaṇa* will not turn back though he may fall a prey to the snare of the coquettishly shooting glances of the maids of heaven."

Here we have Bilhaṇa's name twice, and its position in the second passage is such as to remove all suspicion of its being a later addition. It seems very likely that the poet *Chaura*, to whom the *Panchā-*

* Appx. II., p. xl.

śikā is sometimes ascribed, is nothing but the product of a corrupt reading in the colophon, *chaurasuratapanchāśikā samūptā*. The anecdote regarding Bilhaṇa's intrigue with a Chaudā or Chaurā (i. e. Chāpotkātā) princess which the Gujarāt MSS. narrate, originated, probably, through a mistaken interpretation of the word *chaurī*. Instead of explaining it by *chauryeṇa*, some Pandit took it to be the feminine of the Rajput name *Chaurā* or *Chaudā*, and invented the anecdote on the strength of this mistaken interpretation.

The two introductory verses of the Kāśmīrian MS., the genuineness of which is attested by Bilhaṇa's autobiography in the *Vikramānka-charita*, show that the *Panchāśikā* was written in Kalyāṇa, but before the poet had obtained the favour of Vikramāditya and the dignity of *Vidyāpati*. The mention of the 'lord of Kuntala,' and the indignant address to his envious rivals and enemies, prove this. As to the contents of the *Panchāśikā*, it is difficult to decide if they really refer to an intrigue of the poet, or if the situation is merely imaginary. I incline to the latter view. The Kāśmīrian text differs very much from that of the published edition. A collation with *Von Bohlen's* edition gives the following results :—

| Bohlen. | | Kāśmīr MS. | Bohlen. | | Kāśmīr MS. |
|---------|---------|-------------|---------|------|------------|
| 1 | a, b, c | = 3 a, b, c | 20 | a, b | = 46 a, b. |
| 1 | d | = 4 d | 21 | a, b | = 46 c, d. |
| 2 | | = 5 | 25 | | = 44 |
| 3 | a, b | = 38 a, b | 26 | | = 45 |
| 3 | c, d | = 6 c, d | 29 | | = 47 |
| 9 | | = 53 | 37 | | = 48 |
| 10 | | = 54 | 38 | c, d | = 49 c, d |
| 11 | | = 37 | 45 | | = 55 |
| 12 | | = 35 | 47 | | = 51 |
| 17 | | = 41 | 48 | | = 52 |
| 18 | | = 42 | 50 | | = 56 |
| 19 | | = 43 | | | |

Thus the Kāśmīr MS. does not even contain one-half of Bohlen's verses, and the various readings in the identical portions are extremely numerous. But among the Indian MSS. of the *Panchāśikā*, too, there is little agreement. In the case of popular poetical Sanskrit works a restoration of the original text is extremely difficult. There are, however, some arguments in favour of the trustworthiness of the Kāśmīrian text. The MS. of the *Panchāśikā* contains at the end a few single *ślokas* attributed to Bilhaṇa, and the beginning a description of the *Nāyikās*.

The next Kāśmīrian author who is represented in our collection is *Somadeva*, who composed his *Kathāsaritsāgara* in order to console king *Harshadeva*'s mother for the death of her son. As *Harshadeva* was killed 1101 A.D., he must have written in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The new MSS. differ frequently in their readings from the published text. The various readings in the second *lambaka*, which I had collated with Prof. Brockhaus's edition by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī, amount to more than 350. But in many cases the error is on the side of the Kāśmīrian MSS.

In the second and third quarters of the same century fall *Mankha*, a hitherto unknown poet, and *Kalhaṇa*, the author of the *Rājataran-giṇī*.

The former, *Mankha*, probably wrote his chief work, the *Śrīkanṭha-charita*, between 1135 and 1145, a few years earlier than *Kalhaṇa* began his great historical poem. The *Śrīkanṭhacharita* celebrates the destruction of the Āsura Tripura by Śiva, and contains, just like the *Haraviṇaya* besides the story of Tripura's defeat, many cantos describing the usual accessories allowed in *kāvya*s, viz. the seasons, the sunset, sunrise, court amusements, etc. It is composed so strictly according to the norm of the *Kāvyaśāstra*, and offers, in spite of the great eloquence and proficiency in versification shown by the author, so few new points of interest, that but for its 25th canto, which is altogether unique in Sanskrit literature, it would deserve little attention. In the latter *sarga** *Mankha* relates how, after composing his epic, he submitted it to a number of Pandits and officials assembled at the house of his brother, *Alaṅkāra*, one of the ministers of *Jaya-sinha* of Kāśmīr, 1129-1150 A.D. He not only gives the names of the guests, but states the *śāstra* in which each of them was proficient. The number of the persons composing *Alaṅkāra*'s *sabhā* was thirty, viz. :—

| | | |
|--|------|----|
| <i>Ānanda</i> , a Naiyāyika | XXV. | 84 |
| <i>Ānanda</i> , the son of the poet <i>Śambhu</i> , a Vaidya ... | „ | 97 |
| <i>Kalyāṇa</i> , a pupil of <i>Alakadatta</i> , a poet, resembling | | |
| <i>Bilhaṇa</i> in style | „ | 80 |
| <i>Garga</i> , a poet | „ | 56 |
| <i>Govinda</i> , a poet | „ | 77 |
| <i>Janakarāja</i> , a grammarian and Vaidika | „ | 93 |
| <i>Jalhaṇa</i> , a poet, minister of Rājapuri | „ | 75 |

* Appx. II., cv.-cxx.

| | | |
|--|-------|-----|
| <i>Jinduka</i> , a Mīmāṃsaka | XXV. | 72 |
| <i>Tejakaṇṭha</i> , ambassador of <i>Aparāditya</i> , king of the | | |
| Koṅkaṇa | „ | 111 |
| <i>Trailokya</i> , a Mīmāṃsaka | „ | 66 |
| <i>Dāmodara</i> , an official | „ | 68 |
| <i>Nandana</i> , a Brahmacārin | „ | 25 |
| <i>Nāga</i> , a grammarian, proficient also in the <i>Alaṅkāraśāstra</i> | „ | 64 |
| <i>Paṭu</i> , a poet | „ | 131 |
| <i>Padmarāja</i> , a poet | „ | 86 |
| <i>Prakāṣa</i> , a Śaiva philosopher | „ | 95 |
| <i>Bhūḍa</i> , a poet | „ | 82 |
| <i>Maṇḍana</i> , son of <i>Śrīgarbha</i> , a fellow-student of Man- | | |
| kha's, learned in all <i>śāstras</i> | „ | 53 |
| <i>Yogarāja</i> , a teacher of poetry | „ | 107 |
| <i>Ramyadeva</i> , a Vaidika | „ | 53 |
| <i>Ruyyaka</i> , Mankha's <i>guru</i> | „ 30, | 135 |
| <i>Lakṣmīdeva</i> , a Vaidika | „ | 91 |
| <i>Loṣṭhadeva</i> , a poet | „ | 36 |
| <i>Vāgīśvara</i> , a poet | „ | 127 |
| <i>Śrīkaṇṭha</i> , son of <i>Śrīgarbha</i> | „ | 54 |
| <i>Śrīgarbha</i> , a poet | „ | 50 |
| <i>Śrīgunna</i> , a Mīmāṃsaka | „ | 88 |
| <i>Śrīvatsa</i> , a poet | „ | 82 |
| <i>Shashītha</i> , a pandit | „ | 70 |
| <i>Suhala</i> , ambassador of <i>Govindachandra</i> , king of | | |
| Kānoj | „ | 102 |

This canto has a double value. It gives a faithful picture of a *sabdhā*, one of the chief modes of social intercourse among the learned in India. The description is so true that nobody who has witnessed such gatherings in modern India will fail to recognize his acquaintances in it. Besides it contains some valuable historical notes.

Firstly, it enables us to fix the time of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, whose author, *Ruyyaka*, can be nobody else but Mankha's *guru*, who instructed the poet in the *Kāvya* and *Alaṅkāraśāstras*.

There are, secondly, the two ambassadors, *Suhala*, sent by *Govindachandra*, the Rāṭhor of Kānoj, who reigned, according to his inscriptions, between 1120 and 1144 A.D.,* and *Tejakaṇṭha*, sent by *Aparāditya*, the

* Prinsep, *Essays*, II. 258.

lord of the Koṅkapa, whose inscriptions are dated 1185 and 1186 A.D.* The mention of the latter, which shows that a political connection existed between Aparāditya during the period 1135-1145 and Kaśmīr, is of great interest. For it proves that the reign of Aparāditya must have been of long duration, and reduces the gap in the history of the Śīlāhāras after Śrī Māmvaṇi's (or, as I prefer to read, Śrīmān Vāṇi's) inscription dated Śaka 982, A.D. 1060, very considerably. It also explains how the commentary of *Aparāditya* on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* came to Kaśmīr, and why it is now almost the only law-book used by the Pandits.

Thirdly, the incidental mention of *Rājasekhara* (v. 74) and of *Bilhana* (v. 80) as poets of established reputation is a valuable contribution to the history of Sanskrit literature.

Another portion of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* which possesses historical interest is canto III. 31-78,* where *Mankha* gives his pedigree, and the circumstances which led to the composition of his poem. According to v. 31 his grandfather's name was *Manoratha*, and his father was called *Viśvavarta*, v. 35 (*Viśvavarta* in the colophon, Sarga XXV.). *Viśvavarta* had four sons, *Śringāra* (v. 45), *Bhanga* (v. 53), *Alaṅkāra* (v. 56), familiarly called *Lankaka*, (XXV. 37 seqq.), and *Mankha*, or *Mankhaka*. The eldest and the two youngest were not only Pandits, but also employed as officials. *Śringāra* assisted *Sussala* in the war against *Harshadēva*, whom he is said to have defeated (v. 47), and received the office of *Bṛihattantrapati*. *Alaṅkāra*, who was a great grammarian and student of the *Mahābhāṣya*, held the office of *Divān* (*samdhivigraha*) during *Sussala*'s reign (v. 62), and also under *Jayasimha* (XXV. 43, 61). He appears to be the *Alaṅkāra* mentioned so frequently in the eighth canto of the *Rājatarangiṇī* in connection with *Bhoja*'s rebellion against *Jayasimha*.

Mankha, too, held office under *Jayasimha* (v. 65), but it is not quite clear what his designation was. Possibly he was governor of some pargaṇā.

As regards *Kalhana*'s great *Kāvya*, the *Rājatarangiṇī*, which, after all, will probably remain the only Kaśmīrian work interesting a larger circle of readers, the Śārada MS. in the Government collection, together with my collation of Gaṇakāk's MS., Sāhebrām's explanatory treatises and abstracts, the MSS. of the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa* and other

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XII., Art. IX., and an unpublished stone in the Society's Museum.

† Appx. II., c.-civ.

works, will enable us to restore the text and to explain its meaning with greater accuracy than has hitherto been done. The contents of the first six cantos of the *Rājataranginī* were first made known by Professor H. H. Wilson in 1825, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Next, the text was published in Calcutta, 1835 A.D., by the Pandits of the Asiatic Society. Some years later Mr. A. Troyer began a critical edition of the text, and in 1840 issued the first six cantos together with a translation of the whole eight cantos, which was completed in 1852. Further, Professor Lassen gave, in his great encyclopædia of Indian antiquities, the *Indische Alterthümer*, a complete analysis of the work ; and last, not least, General Cunningham treated its chronology in an admirable article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1848. It may seem scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the attention of so many Sanskritists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation leaves a great deal to desire. Still this is the case, and if it is taken into consideration how bad the materials were on which the European and Indian scholars have worked, it is not wonderful that a great deal remains to be done. When Professor Wilson wrote he possessed three bad and incomplete Devanāgarī MSS., which were so inaccurate "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable."* The Calcutta edition was made, as Mr. Troyer† states, according to a Devanāgarī transcript sent by Mr. Moorcroft from Kaśmīr, and Prof. Wilson's MSS. Mr. Troyer's own edition, finally, was prepared from the same materials and two Devanāgarī copies which Mr. Colebrooke had presented to the library of the India House.‡ For the last two books he also used a Devanāgarī transcript procured by Major Broom.§ Professor Lassen had nothing to work upon but the printed texts.

Both editions are therefore prepared from Devanāgarī copies, made either in India or in Kaśmīr. Not one of the scholars who have written on the book ever saw a MS. in Śāradā characters, in which Kalhaṇa's original copy and all MSS. in Kaśmīr were written. Besides, for cantos VII. and VIII., which are wanting in the MSS. acquired by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Wilson, the Calcutta Pandits had a

* *As. Res.* XV. p. 5.

† *Rājat.*, vol. I., p. iv.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. v., vii., and viii.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. III., p. iii.

single MS., Mr. Moorcroft's transcript. After what I have said above on Kāśmīrian Devanāgarī MSS. and the difficulty Kāśmīrian Pandits have in reading Devanāgarī, it is not wonderful that the published text, especially of the last two cantos, should contain many corrupt passages. I must say that I think it wonderful that the changes required are not more numerous. In the first two cantos there are, if obvious misprints and the faulty forms *Gonarda* for *Gonanda*, *Kāśmirāḥ* for *Kāśmīrāḥ*, are not taken into account, only between forty and fifty corruptions which seriously affect the sense, *i. e.* one in every eleven or twelve verses. Most of these cases are, however, very serious. The ratio of mistakes does not increase much in the following four *tarangas*. Nearly all the corruptions in these six books have been caused by a faulty transcription of single Śāraḍa letters or groups. But in the VIIth and VIIIth *tarangas* the case becomes different. The corrupt passages are much more numerous, and some verses as given in the Calcutta edition bear only a faint resemblance to the readings of the Śāraḍa MSS. It seems to me that Moorcroft's transcript of these two cantos must have been very bad, or have shown lacunæ, and that the Calcutta Pandits have corrected the text in a very unscrupulous manner.

The new materials which I have procured will enable us to restore the text to a much greater degree of purity than could ever be done with the help of Devanāgarī MSS. But I fear that a small number of doubtful passages will remain, because all Śāraḍa MSS. known to exist at present in Kāśmīr are derived from a single copy which is 100 to 150 years old. This is the MS. of P. Keśāvrām, which I have mentioned already several times as the *codex archetypus*. It is an ancient Śāraḍa paper MS. written by an ancestor of the present owner. It bears no date, but its appearance shows that it must be more than a hundred years old. The Pandits assert that it is the MS. from which Moorcroft's transcript was made, and from which all now existing copies have been derived. I do not feel certain that the first statement is correct, as Moorcroft's copy is said to have been made from a birch-bark volume.* The second statement is, I think, true, as all the copies which I have used and seen, half-a-dozen, are new, and agree in all decisive passages with Kesāvrām's copy. My friends made great efforts to find for me a birch-bark MS., for the loan of which I offered a considerable sum. But they possessed none, and were unable to procure one. P. Chandrām told me with a sorrowful face that some

* Troyer, *Rājat*, vol. I., p. iii.

years ago he had found remnants of a birch-bark MS. among his father's books, and that he had thrown them into the Jhelum,* as he had thought that they were of no value. This is the only news of a Bhūrja MS. of the *Rājataranginī* which I received, and I fear that there is very little chance of any being found hereafter. The possibility of such an event can, however, not be denied as long as the libraries belonging to the Persian-speaking Pundits have not been fully explored.

As regards the efforts of European scholars to translate the *Rājataranginī*, and to use its contents for historical purposes, Professor Wilson's and General Cunningham's results are the most trustworthy. Considering the corruptness of Prof. Wilson's MSS., his article in the *As. Res.* is admirable, and deserves the great fame which it has enjoyed. It is, however, by no means free from bad mistakes, some of which, *e.g.* the misstatement† that *Pratāpāditya*, the second Karkotaka king, had seven sons, instead of three each called by two or three names, have been copied by every succeeding writer on Kāśmīrian history, and have caused mischief in other respects. He has also omitted to make use of the key to the chronology of the Karkotaka and the later dynasties, which Kalhana gives (I. 52) by saying that the Saptarshi or Laukika year 24 corresponded to Śaka 1070. General Cunningham has supplied this omission in his paper on Kāśmīr coins and chronology published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1848. The dates which he has fixed for the kings following Durlabhaka require few alterations.‡

As regards Mr. Troyer's work, it is impossible to commend either his translation or the historical and geographical essays attached to it, however much one may admire his patience and industry. He undertook a task very much beyond his strength, for which he was qualified neither by learning nor by natural talent. The *Rājataranginī* is, no doubt, a difficult book, and nobody who attempts to translate it can hope to accomplish his task without making a number of mistakes. But Mr. Troyer has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text, except where Kalhana uses the simplest, plainest language.

* It is customary in Kāśmīr to throw remnants of books into the river, in order to preserve 'the face of Sarasvatī' from defilement. The bodies of children that die before teething are likewise consigned to a watery grave. Similar practices prevail on the Ganges and other particularly holy rivers.

† *As. Res.* XV. p. 43.

‡ The necessity of one alteration in the date of Lalitāditya and his predecessors, whose reigns Kalhana has antedated by thirty years, has been recognized by General Cunningham himself: compare above, p. 43, note, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 91, and the *Ind. Ant.* II. 102 *seqq.*

His renderings of passages in which Kalhana adopts a higher style are invariably wrong, and frequently unintelligible. The worst portions of the translation are Cantos VII. and VIII. The contents of the historical and geographical essays attached to the translation require no condemnation on my part, as they have been estimated at their proper value by other Sanskritists. But I must touch on one point discussed in the preface to Mr. Troyer's 3rd volume, regarding which Professor Lassen also has followed him. Mr. Troyer undertakes there, p. x., an inquiry about the authorship of the last two cantos of the *Rājataranginī*, and comes to the conclusion that the author of these cannot be the same person as he who wrote the first six *tarangas*, because (1) he allots to the last two hundred and fifty years double the number of verses which he devotes to the preceding three thousand two hundred years; (2) because the references and *résumés* made in Cantos VII. and VIII. to and of events narrated in the first six cantos are not exact; (3) because the VIIIth Canto relates events which occurred after A.D. 1148, the year given (I. 42) as the date of the book. To these arguments Professor Lassen adds the difference in style observable in the two portions,* and that in some MSS. the last two books are wanting.

These arguments, plausible as they may seem, are altogether insufficient to support the assertion made. For, with regard to the first point, Mr. Troyer himself has already given the objection which is fatal to it. If a chronicler narrates the events of his own time and of the period immediately preceding it at greater length than the remoter portions of the history of his country, that is no more than might be expected. His materials were more abundant, and the events in which he himself, his immediate ancestors and his patron, played their parts, possessed for him an interest which the more distant times did not possess. This interest which he took in his surroundings explains also why he introduces details which to men of later times appear trivial and uninteresting. To say less would also have been considered an offence against the Rājā, in whose employ Kalhana's father was. The answer to the second argument, the discrepancies between statements in the first six cantos and the last two, is that these discrepancies are mostly, if not wholly, due to Mr. Troyer's bad material and faulty translation. It is true that the successor of Chandrāpīḍa is called Lalitāditya in the IVth canto, and Muktāpīḍa in the *résumé* attached to the VIIIth.

* *Ind. Alt.* III. 481.

But it is not the fault of Kalhaṇa that Mr. Troyer has not been able to understand the verses (IV. 42, 43) in which it is clearly stated that Muktāpīḍa and Lalitāditya are names of the same person. As regards the third argument, Mr. Troyer has overlooked the fact that Kalhaṇa states that he *began* to write his poem in Saptarshi Samvat 24. It contains more than 8,000 *śloka*s, and it cannot be supposed that the author completed it in the same year. The fact that he mentions in the VIIIth book events which happened nine years later, in Saptarshi Samvat 33,* merely proves that the poem was not completed until after that time.

Professor Lassen's additional arguments are not more conclusive. Neither myself nor the Kāśmīrians have been able to detect any difference in the style of the two parts. The incorrect Calcutta text is hardly a fair basis for the argument. The MSS., finally, in which the last books are wanting are secondary sources, modern transcripts, which prove nothing.

While it is thus not difficult to meet the objections against Kalhaṇa's authorship of cantos VII. and VIII., there are some important facts in favour of it. The first is that the VIth canto ends too abruptly to be considered the real conclusion of a *mahākāvya*. Secondly, the obscurity of the narrative in the VIIIth canto, of which Mr. Troyer justly complains, is such as might easily be caused in a contemporary history by the chronicler's omitting, as superfluous, details which were so notorious that he might presume them to be known to his readers, or, to speak more accurately, to his hearers. Thirdly, and this is the really conclusive argument, Jonarāja, who wrote, about two hundred years after Kalhaṇa, a continuation of the history of Kāśmīr, states distinctly that his predecessor's work ended with the reign of Jayasimha, which is described in the VIIIth canto of the *Rājataranginī*. He says in the beginning of his poem,

śrīgonandamukhair dharmasamukhair ā kaleḥ kīla |
kāśmīrakāśyapī bhūpair apāli guṇasālibhiḥ || 4 ||
teshām abhāgyahemantanisātamasi tishṭhati |
naiva kaśchid apāsyat tām kāvyārkanudayāch chiram || 5 ||†
rasamayyā girā vṛiddhām nityatārūṇyam āpipat |
atha śrījayasinhāntām tatkārtim kalhaṇadvijah || 6 ||

* *Rājat.* VIII. 3193, Troyer.

† *Tin* instead of *tām* is the reading of the Śāraḍa MSS.

(4) "From the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* righteous kings, endowed with (*great*) qualities, the first among whom is the illustrious *Gonanda*, protected Kaśmīr-land, the daughter of Kaśyapa.

(5) "As long as the darkness of night (caused) by the winter of their misfortune lasted, nobody perceived them. For late it was ere the sun of poetry rose.

(6) "Then the Brahman *Kalhana* gave, by the nectar of his song, eternal youth to the ancient fame of these (*princes*), *the last among whom was the illustrious Jayasinhha*.*

I think we may trust Jonarāja's word and accept it as a fact that Kalhana wrote the whole of the eight cantos which go under his name.

A new attempt to translate and to explain the *Rājataranginī*, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience. As no commentary on the book exists, it is firstly necessary to study all the Kaśmīrian poets and writers on *Alaṅkāra* who immediately preceded and followed Kalhana, especially the *Haravijaya*, the *Śrikanṭhacharita*, Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's *Rājataranginīs*, etc. A close attention to their style, similes, and turns of expression will solve most of the difficulties which arise from Kalhana's style. Next the ancient geography of Kaśmīr must be minutely studied. Nearly all the localities mentioned can be identified with more or less precision by means of the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa*, the *Māhātmyas*, the later *Rājataranginīs*, Sâhebrâm's *Tīrthasaṅgraha*, the set of native maps procured by me, the large map of the Trigonometrical Survey, and the works and articles of modern travellers and archaeologists. But some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmīr. As regards the use of the contents of the *Rājataranginī* for the history of Kaśmīr and of India, a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Kārkoṭa dynasty. Kalhana's chronology of the Gonandīya dynasties is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen, and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhisṭhira, and boasts that "his narrative resembles a medicine, and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (*statements of previous writers regard-*

* In the text the adjective translated by 'last of whom,' etc. refers to *fame*. But the general sense of the passage is the same.

ing) kings, place, and time,"* must always be sharply controlled, and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts. The improbabilities and absurdities in the first three cantos are so numerous that I think the *Rājataranginī* ought to be consulted much less for the period comprised therein than has been done by the illustrious Orientalists named above. I would not fill the intervals between the historically certain dates of Aśoka, Kanishka, and Durlabhaka by cutting down the years of the kings placed between them by Kalhaṇa. But I would altogether ignore all Kaśmīrian kings for whose existence we have no evidence from other sources, be it through Indian or foreign writers, or through coins, buildings, and inscriptions. If Kalhaṇa had merely given the stories reported by *Suvrata* and other predecessors, there might be a hope that we could re-arrange them. But we do not know what materials he had, nor how he treated them, if in any particular case he lengthened or shortened the reigns, and if he displaced or added kings or not. General Cunningham's constant search for Kaśmīrian coins, which, as I learn from his private letters, is attended with good results, will eventually throw a great deal of light on this dark period of Kaśmīrian history. Full certainty regarding the era of the Guptas, which now seems to be near at hand, will also assist in settling the dates of some kings, especially of Toramāṇa, Mātrigupta, and Pravara-sena.

For the period which begins with the Kārkoṭa dynasty not much remains to be done. The discovery of the initial date of the Saptarshi or Laukika era, which I obtained in Kaśmīr, makes it possible to fix the reigns of the kings after Avantivarman with perfect accuracy. The beginning of the Saptarshi era is placed by the Kaśmīrians on Chaitra sudi 1 of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaliyuga, and the twenty-fourth year, in which *Kalhaṇa* wrote, is consequently the Saptarshi year 4224. For

| | |
|--|-------|
| The distance between Kali 25 and the beginning of the | |
| Śaka era is | 3,154 |
| The distance between Śaka saṃvat 1 and Kalhaṇa's time. | 1,070 |

Hence results a total of Saptarshi years 4,224

My authorities for placing the beginning of the Saptarshi era in Kali 25 are the following. First, P. Dayārām Jotsī gave me the subjoined verse, the origin of which he did not know :—

* *Rājat.* I. 21.

*kuler gataiḥ śūyakanetravarshaiḥ saptarshivaryās tridivāṃ prayātātḥ |
loke hi saṃvatsarapattrikūyūṃ saptarshimūnam pravādanti santaḥ ||*
“When the years of the Kaliyuga marked by the ‘arrows and the eyes’ (i.e. the five and the two, or, as Indian dates have to be read backwards, 25) had elapsed, the most excellent Seven Rishis ascended to heaven. For in the calendar (*used*) in the world* the virtuous declare the computation of the Saptarshi (*years to begin from that point*).”

Pandit Dāmodar explained the verse as I have done in the above translation, and added that each Saptarshi year began on Chaitra sudi 1, and that its length was regulated by the customary mixing of the *chāndra* and *saura mānas*.

The correctness of his statement is confirmed by a passage in P. Sāhebrām’s *Rājataranginīsaṃgraha* (No. 176), where the author says that the Śaka year 1786 (A.D. 1864), in which he writes, corresponds to Kali 4965 and to Saptarshi or Laukika saṃvat 4940.† One of the copyists, too, who copied the *Dhvanyūloka* (No. 255) for me in September 1875, gives in the colophon, as the date of his copy, the Saptarshi year 4951. These facts are sufficient to prove that P. Dāmodar’s statement regarding the beginning of the Saptarshi era is not an invention of his own, but based on the general tradition of the country. I do not doubt for a moment that the calculation which throws the beginning of the Saptarshi era back to 3076 B.C. is worth no more than that which fixes the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3101 B.C. But it seems to me certain that it is much older than Kalhana’s time, because his equation $24=1078$ agrees with it.‡ It may therefore be safely used for reducing with exactness the Saptarshi years, months, and days mentioned in his work to years of the Christian era. The results which will be thus obtained will always closely agree with those gained by General Cunningham, who did use the right key.

In concluding this long discussion on the *Rājataranginī*, I will add that the specimen of a new translation given below, pp. lxvi.-lxxxii. of Appendix II., is merely intended to show *some* of the results which may be obtained by means of the new materials brought by me from Kāśmīr. I do not pretend that all the difficulties requiring consideration have been brought to a final solution.

* The word *loke*, ‘in the world,’ alludes to the appellation *Lokakāla*, *Laukika saṃvatsara*.

† *Rājataranginīsaṃgraha*, fol. 4b, l. 7: *tatrādya śāke 1786 kaligale 4965 saptarshichārānumatena saṃvat 4940*.

‡ The use of the Saptarshi era in Kāśmīr and the adjacent hill states, which continues even in the present day, has first been pointed out by General Cunningham.

The little *stotra* attributed to Kalhaṇa (No. 107) is, I think, only a collection of the *mangalācharaṇas* and other verses in the *Rājatarangiṇī* addressed to Śiva-Ardhanārīśvara.

About the same time in which Kalhaṇa wrote, or perhaps a little later, lived *Jayadratha*, the author of the *Haracharitchintāmaṇi*, Nos. 210-14. This poet, who bears the surnames Mahāmāheśvarāchārya and Rājānaka, was, as we learn from No. 449 (Appx. II., cxlviii. *seqq.*), a brother of *Jayaratha*, the author of the *Tantrāloka-viveka*. His poem narrates a number of Śaiva myths, and is full of the Śaiva doctrines of *Vasugupta's* school.

The remaining dated Kāśmīrian poems contained in the collection are the *Rājatarangiṇīs* of Jonarāja and of Śrīvara, which belong to the 15th century, and the *Rājavalipitākā* of Prājyabhaṭṭa, which was composed after Akbar's conquest of the Valley. To these may be added the *Subhūshitāvalī* of Śrīvara and the *Kathākautuka* of the same author. The new MSS. of the three historical poems will permit the preparation of a much more trustworthy edition than has been given by the Calcutta Pandits. The Kasmir MSS. of Jonarāja's work are defective, like the Calcutta edition. The Dīlhi MS., a Devanāgarī copy which is executed with a great deal of care, and ornamented with red initials and a gold border, is complete. It remains to be seen if it is derived from a genuine complete MS., or if it has been completed at random.

Śrīvara's *Subhūshitāvalī* is of great interest for the history of Indian literature. It is arranged on the same principle as Śārngadhara's *Paddhati*, and contains extracts from more than 350 poets* and works whose names are given. The persons whose works Śrīvara used are mostly Kāśmīrians. But comparatively modern writers from India have also furnished contributions, *e.g.* the great Jaina teacher Hemachandra, who lived in the 12th century. His *Kathākautuka* is a collection of stories translated from the Persian, by order of his patron Zain-ul-Ābidīn.

The collection contains further some poems which have been written by Kāśmīrian authors of uncertain date, viz. the *Ānandakāvya*, No. 108, various *stotras* or hymns, Nos. 109, 117, 134-138, 151, 155, 160, 165, the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* or *Arjunarāvaṇīya*, and the *Stutikuśumānjali*. None of these except the first and the last two are of any great extent or of any particular importance. The *Ānandakāvya* is a work like the *Rāmakṛishnakāvya*, each verse of which has two meanings. Bhīma-

* I had an index made by Mārtanda Śāstri. Professor Peterson is going to publish a separate article on the book.

bhatta's *Rūpañjūñya* resembles the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, and is intended to illustrate the rules of grammar. The *Stutikusumāñjali* is a highly esteemed poem in praise of Śiva. It might have found its place just as well under *Śaivadarśana* as here. I do not think that any of the books of uncertain date is older than the 10th century.

The poetical MSS. of the second class, which contain works by Indian poets, with or without Kāśmīrian commentaries, are, partly at least, very interesting. The old Bhūrja MS. of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*, No. 192, gives a new redaction of this famous play, the fourth which has been discovered. As the question if the Bengālī or the so-called Devanāgarī version is the original one, has lately been discussed by Professors Weber and Pischel, I have printed, Appx. II., lxxv.-c., the first Act as it stands in the new MS., allowing all the clerical mistakes even to remain. From a comparison of this text with the printed editions it will appear that the Kāśmīrian version agrees neither with the Bengālī redaction nor with the Devanāgarī. If the quotations from the *Śākuntalanāṭaka* in the *Kāvya prakāśa* may be trusted, its readings go back to the end of the 12th or to the beginning of the 13th century.

The MSS. of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* and of its commentary, Nos. 219-222, are of considerable importance. With the assistance of these new materials a critical edition of this poem is possible. Copies of the *Harshacharita* are by no means as rare as seemed to be the case a few years back. During the last few years I have obtained several transcripts of ancient MSS. from Benares, and two old copies, on loan, from the same place. Kāśmīr has now furnished two old copies and a transcript of a third MS. In the library of the Mahārāja of Jēpur there are two good old MSS. Other MSS. have been acquired by the Calcutta editor, Mr. Jibānand, by Dr. Burnell, and by the late Dr. Bhāu Dāji. Besides these there is Mr. Raṇchoḍ Nīlkaṇṭha's fine Ahmadābād copy. The materials collected by myself have been made over to Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, from whose competent hand a critical edition may be shortly expected.

The *Yudhishṭhirakāvya*, Nos. 166 and 167, is the same work of which I gave a short notice in my Report for 1874-75. I have only to add that the name of its author is *Vāsudeva*. Neither the MSS. nor the commentary state when or where he lived. The author of the commentary, Ratnakaṇṭha, wrote under Aurangzeb, in the 17th century.

The *Prithvīrājaviṇaya*, No. 150, is an historical work describing the victories of the famous Chāhumāna king Prithvīrāja of Ajmir and Dīlhi, who fell in 1193 A.D.

It is a great pity that the old MS. is mutilated, and in such a condition as to make the work of reading it very difficult. The beginning is wanting. The leaves which contain cantos I.-X. have been broken in the middle by the friction of the thick string used for sewing the volume. Further, the lower portions of a considerable number of leaves have been lost, and as the lower left-hand side of the margin, on which stood the figures numbering the leaves, has also been broken off, it is impossible to determine the connection of the upper and the lower halves by any other means than by the sense. In order to make quite sure, I began to decipher and to transcribe first Sarga XI. and the small portion of Sarga XII., which, though hardly a single verse is without lacunæ, can be read and understood most easily. My intention was to go later backwards over the first cantos. I regret that other more pressing work has prevented me from doing this. All I can give, at present, is a note on the contents of canto XI. Its first verses state that the king, Prithvîrāja, was angry. His minister *Kādambavāma*, tried to appease him. While the latter was speaking the chamberlain (*pratîhāra*) entered and announced the arrival of a messenger from Gujarât. The king ordered him to be introduced at once. The messenger appeared and announced a great victory gained by the *Gūjaras* over the *Gauris*. The next two verses, 12 and 13, are greatly mutilated, and their sense is not clear. In the 14th verse begins a consolatory speech of one *Prithivîbhaṭa*, which is addressed to the king. After its conclusion the Rāja dismisses the messenger from Gujarât with presents, and enters his picture-gallery. There *Prithivîbhaṭa*, who is now called 'the king of bards,' *vandî-rāja*, shows to the king illustrations of the history of Râma and explains them to him, saying that the king is an incarnation of Râma, and that he may read his fate in them. These absurdities fill the remainder of the canto.

It seems very probable that the battle between the Gūjaras and *Gauris*, i.e. the Musalmans, under *Shihâbuddîn Ghorî*, referred to in the text, is the victory gained by Mûlarāja II. and Bhîmadeva II. A.D. 1176. The beginning of the poem gives the pedigree of the Châhûmânas, and notices of Prithvîrāja's predecessors. The *Prithivî-râjavijaya* seems to be the work of a Pandit who lived at the Dîlhi court. One of the chief reasons for this supposition is that the commentary on the work is by the same Jonarāja who wrote the *Râja-taranginî* and lived in the beginning of the 15th century, a little more than two hundred years after Prithvîrāja's time. The poem

deserves, therefore, to be analysed as far as the state of the MS. allows it. Other copies will no doubt be found if they are inquired after. The recovery of this work is a proof for the assertion which I made in the introduction to the *Vikramānka-charita* that the Hindus did, and do still, possess many historical poems, and that with a little patience they will come out. Since the discovery of the *Prithivīrāja-vijaya* another historical work, written by a contemporary of the persons whose history is narrated, has turned up in Gujarāt. This is Someśvara's *Kīrtikumudī*, of which I have given some notice in my article on 'Eleven Land-Grants of the Chaulukyas,' which will appear in the July number of the *Indian Antiquary*.

The other Kāśmīrian MSS. of Sanskrit works written in India proper do not appear to possess any great value. I have collated portions of the *Mahābhārata* with the version commented on by Nīlakaṇṭha, and one Act of the *Mālatīmādhava* with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's excellent edition. The differences which I found were not of great importance. Among the commentaries on *kāvya*s written by Kāśmīrians, those of *Abhinavagupta* on the *Ghaṭākharpāra* and of Jonarāja on the *Kirātārjunīya* deserve attention. The former is really a work of the great Śaiva Āchārya, who wrote about the year 1000 A.D.

In concluding this notice of the MSS. containing *kāvya*s, I will state that a MS. of the *Gītagovinda*, which I could not acquire, has the following note at the end:—*samāptau chedau śrīgītagovindā-bhidhan samāchinatamau śāstram sampūrṇam || || kṛtiḥ śrībhōjadevātmajaśrīrāmadevaputraśrījayadevapandītarājasyeti tṛeyaḥ || aṭha lakṣmaṇasenanāmanripatisamayē śrījayadevasya kavirājapratishṭhā*, etc.

According to this statement *Jayadeva* lived under a king called *Lakṣmaṇasena*. As *Jayadeva* is thought to have been an inhabitant of Eastern India, it is not improbable that *Lakṣmaṇasena* is the Vaidya king of Bengal whose inscription at Gayā is dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1173, or A.D. 1116.*

Both according to their own account and according to the admissions of the learned in India, the Kāśmīrians were formerly as distinguished in the *Alaṅkārasāstra*, or poetics, as in poetry, and produced a long series of writers on this subject. The oldest text-books on *Alaṅkāra*, those of Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭanāyaka, have been lost, but a great number are still extant, the earliest of which belong to the times of king Jayāpīḍa,

* See Prinsep's *Essays*, II. 272.

779-813 A.D. One of these, the *Alanṅkārasūtra* of Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, I found, together with a commentary of Pratihāra Indurāja, in Jesalmīr. Of this Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, Kalhana says* that he was Jayāpīḍa's *Sabhāpati*, or chief pandit, and that he was paid daily a lakh of *dīnāras*. It is to be regretted that the recipient of such magnificent pay did not write a more extensive book, and did not give us extracts from contemporaneous poets. He has only composed a short treatise on the *Alanṅkāras*, or 'ornaments' to be used in poetry, and most egotistically takes his examples from his own work, a *Kumārasaṁbhava*.†

The second work which probably belongs to this time is *Vāmana*'s well-known *Kāvyaṭalanṅkāravṛtti*. Its editor, Dr. Cappeller, places it in the 12th century. But that is no longer possible, since Abhinavagupta, who wrote in the beginning of the eleventh century, quotes *Vāmana* (see below) as one of his authorities. This quotation makes it impossible to place *Vāmana* later than the middle of the tenth century. But I am inclined to give credence to the tradition of the Kāśmīrian Pandits that he was the *Vāman* whom Jayāpīḍa employed as one of his ministers. A copy of the *Kāvyaṭalanṅkāravṛtti*, No. 260, procured from Gwalior, is found in the collection.

After the writers of *Jayāpīḍa*'s reign follow *Ānandavardhana* and *Ratnākara*, who both belong to the middle of the ninth century. I have given above‡ the facts which bear on the date of the latter. The former, *Ānandavardhana*, too, is mentioned by Kalhaṇa§ as one of the ornaments of *Avantivarman*'s court. His great work is the *Dhvanyāloka*,|| *Kāvyaḍloka*, or *Sihṛidayāloka*, Nos. 254-257, a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating of *Dhvani*, 'implied meaning,' which is considered the soul of poetry.

From *Abhinavagupta*'s *Ṭikā*¶ it appears that these verses are the composition of some older writer whose name is not given. But it is remarkable that they contain no *mangalāccharaṇa*. *Ānandavardhana* quotes the following poets and writers on *Alanṅkāra* :—

Kālidāsa, fol. 20b, l. 4.**

Puṇḍarīka, fol. 111b, l. 2.

Bāṇa, fol. 67a, l. 8.

Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, fol. 71b, l. 3.

* *Rājat.* IV. 494. Mr. Troyer has not seen that *Udbhaṭa* was a proper name.

† Compare also Śankar P. Pandit, *Trans. Or. Congr.*, p. 253.

‡ P. 42. § *Rājat.* V. 34.

|| Compare Appx. II., pp. cxxx.-cxxxii.

¶ Appx. II., p. cxxxi., line 14.

** These figures refer to MS. No. 254.

Bhāmaha, fol. 27b, l. 2.

Sarvaśena, fol. 99a, l. 6.

Sātavāhana, fol. 97b, l. 2.

He calls Bāṇa *sthānviśvarākhyajanapadavarṇanākartā*, the author of the description of the country called *Sthānviśvara*, i.e. Thānesar, and indicates thereby that we have to look out for yet another composition, probably a geographical one, of the famous friend of Harshavardhana—Śīlāditya. *Sarvaśena*, a writer whose works have not yet been recovered, is said by Ānandavardhana to have composed a *Harivijayakāvya*, apparently a poem describing the great deeds of Viṣṇu. Ānandavardhana says nothing about his own parentage or circumstances. The first three chapters of his work have been commented on by *Abhinavagupta*, regarding whom I shall say more in his proper place. According to the latter, No. 254, fol. 61, l. 1, Ānandavardhana wrote a *vivṛiti* of the *Dharmottamā viniścayaṭikā*. A bad copy of the *Dhvanyūloka* is, as Prof. Aufrecht informs me, in the India Office library.

Ratnākara's work (No. 253) is a very small one. It contains an explanation of the Prakrit verses used in a work called *dhvaniśūtra*, which the collection does not include.*

The next author on *Alaṅkāra* is *Mukula*, the son of the famous *Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa*. His father was a contemporary of Ratnākara, and one of the great authorities on Śaiva philosophy.† *Mukula*'s short treatise (No. 224) contains the theories of the Indian rhetoricians on *abhidhā*, the 'appellative power' residing in words. I found this work first in the Jesalmir *Bhaṇḍār*, the copy of which is accompanied by a commentary.

After *Mukula* comes the great Śaiva philosopher, *mahāmāheśvarācārya*, *Abhinavagupta*, who wrote in the last quarter of the 10th, and in the first half of the 11th century.‡ Like many other holy men of the East, this saint did not disdain secular poetry, and gained as great a reputation in the *Alaṅkārasūtra* as in the *Saivadarśana*. His work on poetics, the *Lochana*, is a very profound and difficult commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyūloka*. It contains quotations from, and mentions by name, the following authors and works:—

Indurāja, fol. 1a, l. 3 of No. 254.

* The only guarantee for the identity of this *Ratnākara* with the author of the *Haravijaya* is the statement of the Kāśmīrian Pandits, and the epithet *kāśmītrakāchārya* given to him in the colophon.

† See *Rājat*, V. 66 and Appx. II., pp. cxxvi. seqq. ‡ See below.

Tauta, fol. 20a, l. 3.

Dharmottamā viniścayaṭikā, fol. 61a, l. 1.

Bhaṭṭanāyaka, fol. 11b, l. 11.

Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, fol. 7b, l. 6.

Bhartrihari, fol. 33a, l. 12.

Bhāmaha, fol. 7, l. 6.

Manoratha, fol. 6b, l. 8.

Vāmana, fol. 7b, l. 6.

Amongst these the first two were Abhinavagupta's teachers. *Tauta* especially instructed him in *Alaṅkāra*, and was the author of a work, called *Kāvya-kautuka*, on which Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary. Of *Manoratha* it is stated that he was a contemporary of *Ānandavardhana*.

In the latter half of the eleventh century falls *Rudraṭa*, the author of the *Kāvya-ālaṅkāra*, No. 248. The sign of interrogation which stands against the author's name in the classified list may be removed. For, a comparison of the Kāśmirian MS. with the fragment of the work which I obtained from Jesalmîr settles the question of the authorship of the book definitively. The Jesalmîr copy contains *adhyāyas* 3-5 with a commentary by *Śvetāmbara*, and mentions *Rudraṭa*'s name in the colophon of each chapter. The fifteenth *śloka* of the 5th *adhyāya*, which contains an example illustrating one of the author's rules, gives also his name *Rudraṭa*, and states further that he was also called *Śatānanda*, and that he was the son of one *Bhaṭṭa Vāmuka*.* *Rudraṭa*'s time is fixed by the fact that *Ruyyaka*, who wrote in the beginning of the 12th century, quotes him. The *Kāvya-ālaṅkāra* is a work which not only treats of the *ālaṅkāras*, but contains, like Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-ādarśa*, a complete view of the Indian speculations on poetical composition. It gives many details which are left out in other works. It is divided into 16 *adhyāyas*, and written in the Āryā metre. The quotations illustrating the rules are numerous, but in no case has the source been given. *Rudraṭa*'s *Śṛīngūratilaka*, No. 264,

* The text of the verse and *Śvetāmbara*'s comment thereon are as follows:—

शतानन्दापराख्येन भट्टवामुकसूनुना ।

साधितं रुद्रटेनेदं सामाजा धीमता हितम् ॥ १५ ॥

तस्यार्थः । वामुकाख्यभट्टसूनेन शतानन्द इत्यपरनाम्ना रुद्रटेन कविना साधितं निष्पादितमिदं चक्रं काव्ये वा । कीदृशेन । साम गीतिविशेषमजति प्राप्नोति । सामाकेन [सामकेन] सामवेदपाठकेनेत्यर्थः तच्च धीमता बुद्धिमता हितमुपकारकम् ॥ १५ ॥

has been known for a long time, and has been published by Professor Stenzler as an appendix to the *Meghadūta*.

Ruyyaka's Alanṅkārasarvasva, Nos. 236-239, has already been described by Professor Aufrecht, *Oxford Catal.*, p. 210a. In the Oxford MS. the name has been changed to *Rājānaka Ruppaka*; *ppa* for *yya* is a very common mistake in Indian transcripts of Kaśmīrian Devanāgarī MSS., because the Bāch-Bhaṭṭas will make the two groups look nearly alike. Regarding *Ruyyaka's* date I have spoken above. The identification of the author of the *Alanṅkārasarvasva* with *Mankha's* teacher is still further confirmed by the date of his commentator, *Jayaratha*, who explained the *Sarvasva* by his *Alanṅkāvimarśinī*, Nos. 230-33.* This Pandit was a son of Śṛṅgāra, and the author of the *Tantrālokaṭīkā*. In the concluding verses of that work† we are told that Śṛṅgāra had two sons, *Jayaratha* and *Jayadratha*, the former of whom wrote the *Viveka*. The MSS. frequently vacillate between the two names. In the colophon of the *Viveka* we have *Jayadratha* instead of *Jayaratha*, and in No. 231 the author is likewise called pr. m. *Jayadratha*. In Nos. 232-33 of the *Alanṅkāvimarśinī* the name is *Jayaratha*, and this must therefore be considered the right name. The entry in the classified list, Appx. I., p. xv., ought to be corrected accordingly. The date of *Jayaratha* will be discussed below. It may suffice to say here that he certainly wrote about the end of the 12th century.

The remaining Kaśmīrian works on *Alanṅkāra* the authors of which are named, the *Alanṅkāratanākara*, Nos. 227, 227A, the *Alanṅkāraśekhara*, Nos. 234-35, and the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and *Śabdavyāpāravicāra*, are, I think, all later than the *Vimarśinī*. With regard to the last two, whose author is *Mammaṭa*, I rely not so much on the story of the Pandits, which makes him the maternal uncle of Śṛṅharsha, the author of the *Naishadhacharita*,‡ as on the fact that *Mammaṭa*, who has enjoyed a great reputation both in Kaśmīr and in India proper for the last three or four hundred years, is not quoted once by the earlier writers. I do not think that this fact can be explained otherwise than by assuming that he came after them. The Kaśmīrian MSS. of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* differ somewhat from the Indian *vulgata*. One of the most

* *Oxf. Catal.*, loc. cit.

† Appx. II., p. cliii., vv. 36-38, 41.

‡ Hall's *Vāsavādattā*, p. 55.

important various readings is that in the well-known passage,* *Śrīharṣāder bhāṣādīnāṁ dhanam* for *dhāvakādīnāṁ dhanam*. Dhāvaka, whose name is unknown in Kāsmīr, may be struck off the list of Indian poets.

Māṇikyadeva or Māṇikyachandra, the prince who caused the *Alaṅkārah* to be written, is not a Kāsmīrian, but ruled or lived in Dīlhi just before the Mahommedan period, as he says that his grandfather defeated the king of Kābila, i.e. Kābul.

The new treatise on metrics, *Kṣhemendra's Suvṛittatilaka*, No. 270, is very clearly written, and valuable on account of numerous quotations which illustrate the rules. The authors' names are added to many of them.

In the collection of grammatical MSS. those belonging to Pāṇini's school take the precedence. Among the latter the *Vyākhyāparibhāṣāśūrti*, Nos. 319-20,† bears the most ancient name. The Kāsmīrian Pandits are unanimous in declaring it to be a production of the author of the *Samgraha*. But Dr. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted the book immediately after its discovery, tells me that he cannot discover in it any proof of great antiquity, and that it contains only the well-known *Paribhāṣās*. He thinks it not unlikely that the title has been given to it because some Pandit believed the *Paribhāṣās* to belong to Vyāḍi. I must leave the question to the decision of those Sanskritists who make the *Vyākaraṇasūtra* their speciality.

The three MSS. Nos. 303-305 represent the meagre result of a long and laborious inquiry regarding Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, a work which for the present is, as it were, the corner-stone for the history of Sanskrit grammar and literature. As the controversy regarding the genuineness of our present text of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been going on for some time before my visit to Kāsmīr, I was particularly anxious to obtain a trustworthy and complete Kāsmīrian MS. of the work, in order to ascertain if Kāsmīr possessed a redaction different from the Indian one. When I began my inquiries the Pandits told me that the *Bhāṣya* was not studied in Kāsmīr, and that they knew only of two complete MSS. of the work. One of these belonged to Pan-

* Hall, *Vāsavadattā*, p. 16. I will add that the Government copy attributes the *Kāvyaṭprakāśanidarāna* to Ānandaka who was a Kāsmīrian, not to Śitikan-ṭha, as Dr. Hall states. It says : "Shadanga saptaśruti miteshu gateshu varsheshu kalera darāi kāvyaparakāśo vidhivadvirityānandena sallakṣhaṇanandanena || śrīmadrājānakānvyatilakena rājānanandakena virachitam kāvyaparakāśanidarānam samāptam. The date of the *Nidarāna* is therefore 1665 A.D.

† See Appx. II., p. cxxxix.

dit Keśavram, and the other to the sons of the late Pandit Sâhebrâm. With some trouble I got a sight of both these copies, and found that they were Devanâgarî MSS., brought from India. Keśavram's copy had been imported into the Valley by a Pandit of Bâramûla who had resided for some time in Benares. His heirs had sold it for one hundred Kaśmirî rupees (of ten annas each) to its present owner. After this transfer had been effected, Pandit Sâhebrâm also had found it necessary to procure a copy, and had finally obtained one from the Panjâb. Both these copies are new, not older than fifty or sixty years. They contain Kaiyata's *Pradîpa* also. As soon as the origin of these two MSS. had been determined, I told my friends that I neither desired to acquire them nor to have them copied, and that they must hunt for Bhûrja or old Śârada paper MSS. They grumbled a good deal, and complained of my unreasonableness. But gradually they produced the three MSS. which now belong to the collection. All three are certainly more than a hundred years old, and most probably copied from older Bhûrja MSS. I sent them, immediately after I received them, to Dr. Kielhorn, for comparison with his Indian MSS. He informs me that they do not differ materially from the latter. I think that this fact is not without importance for the question regarding the genuineness of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, though it is desirable that it should be confirmed by the discovery and collation of an old Bhûrja MS. Just when I left Kaśmir I heard that such a MS. had been found in the library of an ignorant Brahman, who believed it to be a MS. of the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, and used it, as is frequently done with MSS. of that work, for purposes of divination.* Efforts have been made to obtain the book, but hitherto without success.

In connection with the subject of the *Mahâbhâshya* I may also state that I have examined with particular care in all accessible MSS. of the *Râjataranginî* the verse, I. 176, which refers to its introduction into Kaśmir. Most MSS. read *chandrâchâryâdibhir labdhvâ deśâtâsmât tadâgamam | pravartitan mahâbhâshyan svan chavyâkaraṇaṇ kṛitam ||* But some, and among them Keśavram's *codex archetypus*, read *prima manu, labdhvâdeśan tasmât*, etc. I think that this is the original but corrupt reading of the MS., and that the vulgata *deśâtâsmât* is purely conjectural. The Kaśmîrians felt, and now feel, that the reading

* A pin is driven into the MS., and the verse in which the point sticks is supposed to give some clue to the future fate of the inquirer. The practice is well known in Europe too.

ladhdhvâdeśam does not readily give any sense. The attempt to restore the passage by writing *deśât tasmât* * is, in my opinion, not a happy one. I accept Dr. Kielhorn's† emendation, *deśântarât*, as the most probable, both on account of the analogy of the passage in the *Vâkyapadîya* and on account of *Rûjat*. IV. 487,† where *deśântarât* actually occurs. As to the translation of the word *âgama*, I think with Dr. Kielhorn that it means 'the tradition' or 'the traditional interpretation' of the *śâstra*. I have consulted the most learned grammarians in Benares, Indore, and other parts of India on this point. All unanimously declare that *âgama* must be taken in the sense for which Dr. Kielhorn contends, and some even go so far as to deny the possibility that *âgama* can ever mean *grantha*. Though they are undoubtedly correct as far as the usage of the *Vaiyâkaraṇas* is concerned, and *âgama* is not used in the sense of a *grammatical* work, still their assertion goes too far. For the *Jainas* speak of their *forty-five âgamas* or sacred works, and the *Śaivas* recognize the authority of *eighteen âgamas*. In these two cases the word is certainly used as a synonym of *grantha*, and is frequently, by *lakṣhaṇâ*, applied to designate MSS. As may be inferred from these remarks, I stand on the side of those who are disposed, until the very strongest proofs to the contrary are adduced, to consider the present text of the *Mahâbhûshya* to be genuine.

My search for copies of *Kaiyaṭa's Pradîpa* were attended with still scantier results than the inquiry regarding the *Mahâbhûshya*. No. 306 contains a very small portion of the commentary on the *Navâhnikî*. The MS. dates, I think, from the same time as the pieces of the *Bhûshya*. The Kāśmîrians tell an anecdote regarding Kaiyaṭa, which is perhaps worth mentioning. Kaiyaṭa was, they say, an inhabitant of one of the smaller towns of the Valley, according to some of *Pāmpur*, according to others of *Yechgām*. He lived in great poverty, and entirely gave himself up to the study of the *Mahâbhûshya* and of grammar. In this *śâstra* he acquired so great a proficiency that at last he could explain the whole *Bhûshya* to his pupils without looking at a MS., and he understood even those passages which *Vararuchi* (?) had marked by *kuṇḍalas* (O) as unintelligible. Once a foreign Pandit from southern India, named according to one authority *Krishṇambhaṭṭa*, came into Kāśmîr and went to see Kaiyaṭa at his home. He found him sitting before his house,

* The copy in the Government collection has *deśam tasmât tadâgamat*. Here the last *t* is a clerical mistake.

† *Ind. Ant.* IV. 107.

‡ See Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* V. 243.

engaged in manual labour, and explaining at the same time to his pupils the most difficult portions of the *Bhūshya* from memory. Amazed at the Pandit's great learning and his abject condition, the foreigner hastened to the king of Kaśmīr and obtained from him a *śāsana* granting to Kaiyaṭa a village and an allowance of grain. But when he brought the deed to the Pandit the latter steadfastly refused to accept the gift, because he considered it unlawful as coming from a king. Later Kaiyaṭa left Kaśmīr and wandered to Benares. There he vanquished the Pandits at a *sabhā* by his great learning, and composed the *Pradīpa* at the request of the Sabhāpati. According to this story the *Pradīpa* was not written in Kaśmīr, and, if the statement that Kaiyaṭa lived at *Pāmpur* is true, it cannot be older than the 9th century. For that town was built by Padma in the reign of Ajitāpīḍa, 844-849 A.D.* Dr. Kielhorn has lately stated in his pamphlet on the *Mahābhāshya* that he does not think Kaiyaṭa an old writer. I agree with him on this point, and do not believe that he is older than the 13th century A.D. The earliest Indian grammarian who quotes him is, as far as I know, Śāyana-Mādhava. I have heard it asserted by Indian Pandits that Kaiyaṭa was a brother of Mammata.

The small fragment of *Chandra's* Grammar, No. 289, is more curious than useful. As *Chandra* was a Kaśmīrian, or at least taught in Kaśmīr, there is no reason to doubt of its genuineness. Dr. Kielhorn thinks that, to judge from the fragment, the arrangement of *Chandra's* grammar must have resembled that of the *Kaumudī*, or, as Dr. Burnell would say, that of the grammarians of the *Aindra* school.

The MS. of the *Kāśikā vṛtti*, No. 283, is a real gem. It is the most correct and best written birch-bark MS. in the whole collection, and almost without a lacuna. I collated a small portion of its contents with Professor Bālaśāstri's edition, and found not inconsiderable differences. The readings of the Kaśmīrian MS. appeared to me the better ones. It also gives the correct statement regarding the authors of the work. In the colophons of the first four *adhyāyas* *Jayāditya* is named as the author, and in those of the last four *Vāmana*. Professor Bālaśāstri told me that he had found the same statements in one other MS.† He considers the authors to have been *nāstikas*, and men of small grammatical learning, who had not penetrated to the deepest depth of the *śāstra*. The Kaśmīrians think that probably *Jayāditya* is another name of the learned king *Jayāpīḍa*, and that

* *Rājat.* IV. 693. The date is General Cunningham's correct one.

† Compare also Dr. Kielhorn's pamphlet on the *Mahābhāshya*.

Pāmāna is his minister, who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Be that as it may, the *Kāśikā vṛtti* is not a modern work, and most probably has been written by a Kāśmīrian. The Government MS. has been made over to Professor Bālaśāstri to be used for his edition of the *Kāśikā*.

The pieces of *Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa*, Nos. 284-86, have been transcribed from a dilapidated birch-bark volume belonging to P. Bal Kōl. Other portions of the work have been acquired in former years, in the Dekhaṇ, in Ahmadābād, and in Bikāner. But the Government collection does not yet contain copies of the VIth and VIIIth *adhyāyas*. I have stated already above that Jinendrabuddhi lived, according to the Kāśmīrians, at Varāhamūla-Hushkapura. He was a Bauddha ascetic, and is certainly not later than the 12th century, as the *Nyāsa* is quoted by Vopadeva.*

Among the smaller works explaining the appendices to Pāṇini's grammar, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *nipāta-avyaya-upasargapāṭhas*, and the *lingasūtras*, Kshīrasvāmin's treatises, Nos. 272, 287-88, 290, are of some interest, as the date of this author is known. He is, according to the perfectly credible Kāśmīrian tradition, the grammarian Kshīra, who instructed king *Jayapīḍa*.† The *Lingānuśāsanaṭīkā, sarvārtha-lakṣhaṇā*, Nos. 310-11, shows as authors two well-known names, *Śavarasvāmin*, the son of Dīptasvāmin, and *Harshavardhana*, the son of Śrīvardhana. The latter appears to have been a prince.‡ I am, however, doubtful if it is permissible to identify him with the patron of Bāṇa and Hiwen Thsang, as the latter's father is called *Prabhākara-vardhana*. Still it is quite possible that Prabhākara-vardhana may have had a second name. In like manner I am doubtful if the *Śavarasvāmin* of the *Lingānuśāsana* is the same as the famous commentator on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras*. It is a curious fact that the name of the father of the latter is not mentioned in any of the MSS. of the *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya* accessible to me, and that the best Śāstris at Puṇa and Benares do not know it. This question, too, cannot yet be decided. But I think there is a chance that the MSS. of the *Lingānuśāsana* may finally settle the date of the famous Mīmāṃsist.

The collection of works referring to the Kātantra or Kalāpa grammar of Śarvavarman includes—

A. The *Sūtras*, No. 281.

B. Commentaries:—

* Aufrecht, *Oxf. Catal.*, p. 176.

† *Rājat.* IV. 488: compare also S. P. Pandit, *Trans. Or. Congr.*, p. 252.

‡ Compare Appx. II., p. cxxxix, concluding verse.

1. *Laghuvṛitti*, by Chhuchchhukabhṭṭa, Nos. 279-80.
2. *Bālabodhinī*, by Jagaddhara, Nos. 297-299, and the *Nyāsa* thereon, No. 300.
3. *Śishyahitānyāsa*, by Ugrabhūti, No. 322.

C. Some auxiliary works:—

1. The *Kātantra* *kaumudī*, by Govardhana, Nos. 77-78, arranged like Bhaṭṭoji's *Kaumudī*.
2. *Pādaprakaraṇasaṃgati*, by Yogarāja, No. 292.
3. *Vyākṛhānaprakriyā*, Nos. 316-18, which last two refer to the method of interpreting the *Kātantrasūtras*.

In order to show what may be expected from these new materials for the text of the *Kātantra* grammar, I have printed in Appendix II., p. lxxxiv., the various readings found in Chhuchhuka's *vṛitti* and the *Bālabodhinī* as compared with Professor Eggeling's edition, which is based on Indian MSS.

I do not think that any one of the Kaśmīrian commentaries on the *Kātantra* is older than the 13th century, though I have only circumstantial proofs for this assertion. But in the Kaśmīrian poems of the 11th and 12th centuries the Pandits never boast of, or are praised for, their proficiency in the *Kātantra*. Bilhana, Mankha, Alankāra, and others always represent themselves, or are represented, as students of Pāṇini's grammar and of the *Bhāṣya*. It seems to me, therefore, that the *Kātantra* cannot have enjoyed in those times that great popularity which it now has in Kaśmīr, and that it must have come later into so very general use, when Kaśmīrian scholarship declined. On the other hand, the *Śishyahitānyāsa* is mentioned by the Thibetan Pandit Tārānātha. The Kaśmīrians say (and their statement is also found in the MSS.*) that Śarvavarman wrote the *Kātantra* for king *Sātavāhana*, who when engaged with his wives in the *jalakṛīḍā* had to blush for his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar. In answer to an exclamation '*modukairmān kṣhipa*,' which was addressed to him by one of his queens, he pelted her with sweetmeats, and was laughed at as a fool. He then took to studying grammar, and employed Śarvavarman to compose an *easy* treatise on the subject. The anecdote is worth nothing, but there is no reason to reject the tradition that Śarvavarman was a *protégé* of one of the Sātavāhana kings of the Dekhaṇ. Sātavāhana is family name : vide Nāsik Inscr. No. 6, *Trans. Or. Congr.*, pp. 338, 350.

* *Kātantra* *kaumudī* beginning: *naumi tam śarvavarmānam yaḥ samādrādhyā pāvakiṃ (?) | sātavāhanarājārtham śabdāśāstram subham vyadhāt||*

Among the remaining MSS. the *Uṇḍivṛitti*, *daśapādi*, by *Māṇikya-deva*, Nos. 274-76, deserves a remark. It seems to be the work quoted by Ujjvaladatta, but I am unable to find out to which grammatical system it belongs. The *sūtras* given have certainly nothing in common with those commented on by Ujjvaladatta.* The *Rūpavatāra* is a work which gives all the verbal forms and derivatives, and resembles the *Mādhavīyā dhātuvṛitti* and the so-called *Dhundhis* of the Jains.

As regards the works on Prakrit grammar, the text of the copies of the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* and of its *Tīkā*, Nos. 293-4, differs very considerably from that given in Professor Cowell's edition. The two MSS. are, unfortunately, not very good. The oldest has apparently been copied from a mutilated birch-bark volume, the leaves of which had lost pieces on the right-hand side. But if a new edition of the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* is prepared, Kāśmīrian MSS. ought to be consulted. This is so much the more necessary as Bhāmaha certainly was a Kāśmīrian.

Among the *koshas* the most important work is the *Lokaprakāśa* of *Kshemendra*, *Vyāsadāsa*, Nos. 339-40, a copy of which is preserved in the Berlin library, and has been described by Professor Weber, *Catalog.*, p. 224. I cannot agree with Professor Weber either as to the age of the book or as to its value. *Kshemendra Vyāsadāsa* can be nobody but the poet, who wrote, as I have shown above, in the eleventh century. If the surname were not sufficient to prove this, the contents of the book would. For Kshemendra the poet was a practical man, who loved to describe the actual daily life of his times. He shows this in the *Kalāvilāsa* and the *Samayamātrikā*. Exactly the same spirit pervades the *Lokaprakāśa*. This work gives a great amount of information on the daily life of the Hindus, which elsewhere we seek in vain. He gives forms for *huṇḍis*, or letters of exchange, bonds, and the like, the titles of most of the Kāśmīrian officials, in some cases with explanations, a list of the pargaṇās into which Kāśmīr was divided, etc. The importance of such information cannot be overrated, as all the other *koshakūaras* live too high in the clouds of the *śāstras* and of poetry to care about such trivial matters as the geography, administration, and commerce of their country. I regret nothing more than that I could obtain only the two copies of the work entered in the classified list, and that a commentary was not to be had. The two copies are too bad to allow an edition to be made. I have

* See Appx. II., p. cxiii.

offered to my Kāśmīrian friends a considerable reward for a good MS., and encouraged P. Dāmodar to write a commentary on the book. The complete copy, No. 339, which is probably fifty-two years old, I fear has been 'cooked,' as in some of the formulas Musalman names are used.

The new *Kosha* by Mankha, Nos. 337-38, is not very important, but its author is probably the poet of the 12th century who composed the *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita*. For the *Kosha* is quoted by the pupil of Hemachandra (died 1174) who wrote the *Anekārthakairavakumudī*, the commentary on Hemachandra's *Anekārthakosha*. In Mankha's glossary the words are arranged according to their final letters, e.g. *kūntāḥ*, *ekāksharāḥ*, *dvyaḥsharāḥ*, *tryaksharāḥ*, etc. The new copy of the *Anekārthadhvanimanjarī* proves that its author was *Mahākshapanakī*, and that the oft-quoted *Kshapanīkakosha* may be struck off the list of desiderata.*

The most interesting works in section X. of the classified list are the *Prasastabhūṣya*, by *Prasasta*, Nos. 396 and 397, which explains the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* and its commentary the *Nyāyakandaḥ* by Śrīdhara. The latter is particularly valuable, because its author gives his date Śaka saṁvat 913, or 991 A.D. Śrīdhara's father was named *Baladeva*, and his mother *Abbokā*. He lived under the protection of a prince called *Pāṇḍudāsa*, in the village of *Bhūrisriṣṭī* in *Dakṣiṇārādhā*.† I do not know where these localities are to be found. I obtained copies of both these works on the *Vaiśeṣikadūrasana* from the Jesalmīr *Bhaṇḍār*.

A curious and very useful though modern treatise is the *Laukika-nyāyasamgraha*, Nos. 400-401, of *Raghunātha*, a Rājput.‡ This worthy has collected the *nyāyas* or 'inferences from familiar instances,' which occur in the *śāstras*, especially those from the *Vedāntasūtra*, e.g. *daṇḍāpūpikanyāya dehalidīpanyāya*, etc. The collection is not complete, but contains a good deal more than what Professor Bālaśāstrī has given in his article in the *Pandit*. P. Vāmanāchārya Jhalkīkar is at present engaged on a still more extensive work on this subject, which will comprise about 900 such *nyāyas*.

Among the few Vedānta works from Kāśmīr, the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* is the only one to which it is necessary to call attention, because its author is the famous Saiva philosopher *Abhinavagupta*,

* See Appx. II., p. cxl.

† See Appx. II., pp. clxiii, seqq.

‡ See Appx. II., p. clxvi.

regarding whose date, as will appear presently, there can be no doubt. That is more than can be said of the authors of the other ancient *śikṣā*s of this work.

The works placed in class XIII. of the list in Appx. I., 'Śaiva Philosophy and Tantras,' are comprised by the Kāsmīrians under the general name *Śaiva śāstra*. But in reality they belong to several distinct *śāstras* which all draw their origin from the Śaiva creed. We have firstly a certain number of works referring to the ritual of Śaivism, professed in Kāsmīr, viz. :—

(a) *Dīkshāvidhis*, or, as they are commonly called in Kāsmīr, *Kalūdikshās*.

(b) Works on the *nitya*, *naimittika*, *kāmya kriyās*, i.e. rites which a Śaiva has to perform daily, or on particular occasions, or in order to obtain particular benefits.

(c) Works on the Tāntrika *anushthānas*, the magic rites which also are *kāmya* rites, or at least closely resemble them.

Another portion of the MSS., and by far the largest, refers to the transcendental doctrines, or the philosophy, of the Śaivas. These must be divided into two classes, according to the two great Śaiva schools of Kāsmīr :—

(a) Works referring to the so-called *Spandaśāstra* of *Vasugupta*,

(b) Works belonging to the *Pratyabhijñāśāstra* of *Somānanda* and *Utpala*.

To a third division belong the various *stotras*, or hymns addressed to Śiva, which, on account of their purely philosophical contents, have been placed here instead of under Poetry.

There are, further, a few of the Śaiva *Āgamas* and pieces of two *Sūtras*, the *Kula* and *Vātūla*, which I am unable to classify, though it is not difficult to see that they refer to Śaivism.*

The works belonging to the first class require not many remarks. The rites which they teach are, as I have stated above, imitations of Vedic ceremonies, and some of the *mantras* employed are real Vedic *mantras*, while others are the well-known formulas of the *Mantraśāstra*, consisting of monosyllables. The *Karmakriyākāṇḍa*, Nos. 438-39, was composed in Vikrama S. 1130, or 1073-74 A.D.† The *guru* of *Somaśambhu*, its author, was called *Saśiva*, and his *paramaguru* *Īśāna*.

* One work, the *Sādhanaśpikā* has been placed by mistake in class XIII. It is a Vaishṇava book, and should stand in class XII.

† No. 438, fol. 57b, l. 12 : *śrīvikramānkanṛīpakūlasamudbhaveshu śūngāgnibhiḥ samadhikeshu sateshvekādaśasu*, etc.

As regards the works comprised in the second division, not one of them is older than the end of the eighth century. *Vasugupta*, the author of the *Spandakārikā*, No. 508,* to whom, as tradition has it, the *Spandasūtras* were revealed, taught his doctrine to Bhatta Kallaṭa,† a contemporary of *Avantivarman*, A.D. 854.‡ It may therefore be inferred that *Vasugupta* came forward with his doctrine about the end of the eighth century, or even a little later. In no case can he have been earlier. His system has been described by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava in the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* under the title *Saivadarśana*.§ I cannot characterize it better than by quoting Professor Gough's words in his prefatory note to the translation: "The Śaivas have a considerable resemblance to the Theistic Sāṅkhya; they hold that God, souls, and matter are from eternity distinct entities, and the object of philosophy is to disunite the soul from matter, and gradually to unite it to God. Śiva is the chief deity of the system, and the relation of the three is quaintly expressed by the allegory of a beast, its fetters and its owner." I may add that while Śiva is the Ātman, his spouse Pārvatī is the *parāmarśasakti* of the Ātman, and, according to the *Spandasāṃdoha*,|| is also called *Spanda*, *kiñchichchalūbhāsarupatayā*, 'because she appears to be somewhat moveable.' Other names of the Śakti are *ūrmi*, *hala*, *udyoga*, *hṛidaya*, *mālinī*, *parā*, etc., each of which refers to a peculiar aspect of the 'power.' From the resemblance which, as Professor Gough has shown, the Kāśmīrian Śaiva philosophy bears to the Śaivism of Southern India, as well as from the statements which Bāṇa, in the *Śrīharṣacharita*, and the Chinese pilgrims, make regarding the religious sects of India, it is perfectly clear that *Vasugupta* was not the founder of the Śaiva *darśana*. He probably did nothing more than change some of its doctrines.¶

The *Spandasūtras*, Nos. 518-19, which, as well as the *Kārikā* No. 508-10, must be considered as belonging to him, have been noticed by Dr. FitzEdward Hall, *Catalogue*, p. 196. *Vasugupta's* pupil Bhatta Kallaṭa composed the *Spandasarvasva*, a commentary on his

* Appx. II. clxv.

† See Bhāskarāchārya's *Vārttika*, v. 4, Appx. II. clxviii., and Hall, *Catalogue*, p. 196.

‡ *Rājat.* V. 68.

§ See *The Benares Pandit*, New Series, I., pp. 52 *seqq.* It ought to be noted that all Sāyaṇa's authorities seem to be Kāśmīrian works.

|| Fol. 2a, l. 7.

¶ Compare also Dr. Hall, *Catalogue*, 196, where Nāgabodha is mentioned as one of *Vasugupta's* predecessors.

teacher's *Kārikā*.* According to Bhāskara's *Vārttika*, vv. 4-5, Kallāṭa seems also to have composed *Sūtras* of his own.† Among the other commentators on the *Spandasūtras* and *Spandakārikā*, *Utpala*, the author of the *Spandapradīpika*, No. 512, belongs probably to the first half of the tenth century, i. e. if he is the same person as he who wrote the *Pratyabhijñāsūtra*. Rāmakaṇṭha, the author of the *Tippaṇa* on the *Spandasarvasva* calls himself a pupil of *Utpaladeva*, and lived therefore in the latter half of the tenth century (App. II. p. clxvii.). *Kshemendra*, the author of the *Spandanirṇaya*, No. 511, and of the *Spandasāṇdoha*, 517, appears to be identical with Kshemarāja, the pupil of *Abhinavagupta*, and belongs to the first half of the eleventh century. To the same period belongs, I think, *Bhāskara*, the son of *Divākara*, the author of the *Vārttika*, between whom and Kallāṭa four generations of teachers intervened.‡ I am unable to make out the dates of the other authors.

The second branch of the Śāiva *Darśana* represented in the collection, the *Pratyabhijñādarśana*, has also been described by Śāyaṇa.§ Its name means 'Recognitive system.' It appears to be a pure idealism, and an application of Śaṅkarāchārya's principles to the Śāiva philosophy. Śāyaṇa says regarding it|| :—"Other Māheśvaras are dissatisfied with the views set out in the Śāiva system as erroneous in attributing to motiveless and insentient things causality in regard to the bondage and liberation of transmigrating spirits. They therefore seek another system, and proclaim that the construction of the world or series of environments of those spirits is by the mere will of the Supreme Lord. They pronounce that this Supreme Lord, who is at once other than and the same with the several cognitions and cognita, who is identical with the transcendent self posited by one's own consciousness, by rational proof and by revelation, and who possesses independence, that is, the power of witnessing all things without reference to aught ulterior, gives manifestation in the mirror of one's own soul to all entities as if they were images reflected upon it. Thus looking upon

* Appx. II. clxv-clxvii. The misprint in the heading, which makes Kallāṭa the author of the *Vivaraṇa*, ought to be corrected. It ought to be "*Spandasarvasva*, by Kallāṭa, with the *Spandavivaraṇa sārāṇvītra* by Rāmakaṇṭha."

† Appx. II. clxviii. I must confess that I do not quite understand the verses. They appear to be corrupt.

‡ See Appx. II., *loc. cit.*

§ The *Pañḍit*, New Series, pp. 184 *seqq.*

|| The translation is Professor Gough's, given in the *Pañḍit*, *loc. cit.*

recognition as a new method for the attainment of ends, and of the highest end, to all men alike without any the slightest trouble and exertion such as external and internal worship, suppression of the breath, and the like, these Māheśvaras set forth the system of recognition."

This system does not appear to be older than the end of the ninth century A.D., and because it is of so late a date it seems to me most probable that its resemblance to Śaṅkarāchārya's doctrines cannot be purely accidental. To a connection between Śaṅkarāchārya's school and the *Pratyabhijñādarśana* points also a Kāśmīrian tradition which asserts that the great Āchārya of the South came to Kāśmīr and was vanquished in a disputation by the chief exponent of the *Pratyabhijñā* doctrines, *Abhinavagupta*. He is also said to have taken with him from Kāśmīr the Vindhyaśāsinī devī, which used to be located on the Dal lake near the present Shalimār gardens. Not one of these particulars can be true, but the story probably indicates that the Kāśmīrians knew of a connection between the doctrines of the South and their own. The basis for the history of the *Pratyabhijñāśāstra* is the date of *Abhinavagupta*. This author gives the dates of two of his compositions. He says at the end of the *Pratyabhijñāvimarsinī*, *bṛihatī vṛitti*,* that, "impelled by the worshipful Śambhu, he explained the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* in the (Laukika) year 90, which corresponded to the Kaliyuga year 4115,† in the month of Mārgaśīrsha, or A.D. 1015. Again, at the end of the *Bhairavastotra*‡ he declares that he finished this hymn in the (Laukika) year 68, or if the hundreds are added, 4068, i. e. in 993 A.D. His literary activity falls, therefore, in the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh. This date is further confirmed by the statement of the poet *Kṣhemendra Vyāsa* that *Abhinavagupta* was his teacher in *Alaṅkāra*. One of Kṣhemendra's compositions, as stated above, is dated 1050 A.D.§ *Abhinavagupta* says, in the beginning|| of the *Dhvanyāloka* and of the *Bhagavadgītāṭīkā*, that his teacher was *Indurāja*, and at the end of the latter work he refers to him as to the son of *Śrībhūtīrāja*, and grandson of *Saughuka*, of the *Kātyāyana gotra*. He further states at the beginning of the *bṛihatī vṛitti*¶ that he received instruction in the *Pratyabhijñāvidhi* from *Lakṣmaṇa-*

* Appx. II., p. clix., ll. 22 seqq.

† *Tithi* (15) *śāśi* (1) *jaladhi* (4) *sthe* (*antye yugānīse*).

‡ Appx. II., p. clxii.

§ See above, p. 46.

|| See Appx. II., pp. cxxxi. and cxlvii.

¶ Appx. II., p. clix., ll. 3-4: compare also p. clx., l. 16, and p. clxi., l. 5.

gupta, the son of *Narasimhagupta*, and that he is the *prāśishya*, or pupil's pupil, of the *guru* whose work he explains. Consequently *Utpala*, the author of the *Pratyabhijñāśāstra*, and son of *Udayākara*, was the teacher of *Lakshmanagupta*. Again, *Somānanda** was the teacher of *Utpala*, and it seems to me the first promulgator of the *Pratyabhijñā* system, since he is the oldest authority quoted for it both by *Abhinavagupta* and by *Sāyaṇa*.† Now, as *Abhinavagupta* wrote between 993 and 1015 A.D., *Somānanda* must be placed about the beginning of the tenth century. *Utpala* probably wrote between 930 and 950 A.D., and *Lakshmanagupta* taught between 950 and 975 or 980. *Abhinavagupta*'s pupil was *Kshemarāja*,‡ who wrote the commentary on *Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa*'s *Stavachintāmaṇi*, the *Svachchhandodyota*, the *Paramēśastotrāvalīrīti*, the *Paramārthasaṅgrahavīrīti*, the *Pratyabhijñāhṛidaya*, the *Sāmbapanchāśikāvicaraṇa*, and other works not included in the collection. These treatises must all of them have been composed in the first half of the eleventh century. As *Kshemarāja* calls *Abhinavagupta*§ the *prāśishya*, or pupil's pupil, of *Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa*, it follows that the latter must have been a contemporary of *Utpala*, and either have taught *Indurāja* or *Lakshmanagupta*.

The latest of all the writers on the *Pratyabhijñā* who are represented in our collection is *Jayaratha*, the author of the *Viveka*, the commentary on *Abhinavagupta*'s *Tantrāloka*. He gives his pedigree at great length,|| and says that his great great grandfather's brother *Sivaratha* (l. c. v. 21) was the minister of king *Uchchala*, A.D. 1101-1111, and that his father and he himself lived under the protection of one *Rājārāja* (*ibid.* vv. 28-34). As four generations intervene between the minister of *Uchchala* and *Jayaratha*, he must have written about the beginning of the 13th century.

In order to make these chronological deductions clearer, I give a tabular statement of the authors and works on the *Pratyabhijñāśāstra* whose dates are known, together with some additional information.

* Appx. II., p. clix., l. 19.

† See particularly Appx. II. *Praty. laghu vṛitti*, introductory verses 2 and 3.

‡ Appx. II., pp. clxiii. and clxviii. He is, I think, the same as the *Kshemendra* who wrote the *Spandasamādhā*, but certainly different from the poet *Kahemendra Vyāsadhā*.

§ Appx. II., p. cxv., l. 5.

|| Appx. II., pp. cli.-cliv. The name *Jayadratha* on page xxix. ought to be corrected to *Jayaratha*.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-----------------|--|---|
| Orca | 800 <i>Somānanda</i> , author of the <i>Sivadhīśi</i> [Śāyana]. | | | | { <i>Pratyabhijñāsūtra</i> , Nos. 464-66, embodying the opinions of his teacher. <i>Ajāḍapramāṭrīśiddhi</i> , No. 433. <i>Paramasatotrāvali</i> , No. 458. <i>Spandopradīpikā</i> , No. 512. |
| " | 980 <i>Utpala</i> , | { pupil of the preceding, son of <i>Udayākara</i> , | { author of | | |
| " | 980 <i>Bhaṭṭānandāyapa</i> , | | author of | | <i>Śivachintāmāṇi</i> , No. 505. |
| " | 950 <i>Lakṣmaṇasagupta</i> , { | { pupil of <i>Utpala</i> , " also of <i>Bhaṭṭānandāyapa</i> . | | | |
| " | 993-1015 <i>Abhinavagupta</i> , | { pupil of the preceding, " also of <i>Indarāja</i> , " also of <i>Tauta</i> , son of <i>Chukhala</i> , grandson of <i>Varāha-gupta</i> , brother of <i>Manorathagupta</i> , | { author of | | { <i>Tantrāloka</i> , Nos. 449-53. <i>Tantrasāra</i> , Nos. 447-48. <i>Paramārthasamgraha</i> , No. 459. <i>Parātrīṣṇikāvivaraṇa</i> , No. 460. <i>Bhātravastava</i> , No. 476. <i>Pratyabhijñāvimarsinī</i> , Nos. 464-66. <i>Bodhapanchāśikā</i> , No. 470. |
| " | 1080 <i>Kaṣemārāja</i> , | pupil of the preceding, | author of | | { <i>Vṛitti</i> on No. 458. <i>Vivṛiti</i> on No. 459. <i>Vivaraṇa</i> on No. 500. <i>Vṛitti</i> on No. 505. <i>Vṛitti</i> on No. 507. <i>Śivachhandoddyota</i> , Nos. 521-523. |
| " | 1200 <i>Jayarātha</i> , | { <i>Śringāra</i> or <i>Śringārāṭha</i> , pupil of <i>Kaṭyāyabhāṭya</i> , | { author of the | | <i>Tantrāloka</i> <i>vivēka</i> , Nos. 449-453. |

In conclusion I have to add that the complete MS. of the *Tantrāloka-viveka*, No. 449, which comes from Dīlhi, is probably unique. The MSS. from Kāsmīr are all mutilated, and the Pandits asserted that the commentary on a number of *āhnikas* had been lost.

The little hymn by Avadhūta, No. 474, is ascribed by the Kāsmīrians to the Siddha who, according to Kalhaṇa, I. 112, conquered the Bauddhas in the reign of Jaloka, *circa* 220 B.C. But I find no evidence to support this statement.

I have now only to add a few remarks regarding the Kāsmīrī language and the MSS. containing works written in Kāsmīrī, Nos. 789-812. Kāsmīrī is a Prakrit, one of the languages descended from Sanskrit, or rather from one of the dialects out of which the classical Sanskrit was formed. It differs, however, very considerably from all its Indian sister-tongues. Nearest to it comes Sindhī, but the differences between Sindhī and Kāsmīrī are greater than those between Sindhī and Gujarātī or Hindī. The chief peculiarities of Kāsmīrī phonetics are :—

(1) The preservation or development of a clear short *a* as a substitute for ancient *ā*, e.g. *atha*,† ‘the hand’ = Hindi *hāth*, Sanskrit *hastā*; *chūra*, (*tsūra*) ablat. sing. of *chūr*, ‘a thief’ = Sansk. *chorāt*, *chūran*, obj. case pl. = Sansk. *chorāṇām*, *karūn*, pres. part. of *karun*, ‘to do.’

(2) A great confusion between *e* and *i* and *o* and *u*, which are frequently difficult to distinguish from each other. Hence the Pandits wrote *ṛ* for *i* and *ṛ* for *e*, *ṛ* for *e*, and *ṛ* for *u*.

(3) The development of the letters *ḍ*, *ṛ*, and *ṛ* (pronounced nearly like the German sounds thus marked), either by the influence of a following *i* (Umlaut), or in the case of *u* directly from *i*, e.g. *brōr*, ‘a cat,’ fem. of *brōr*, ‘a tom-cat’ = Sansk. *vidālī*, developed by means of an intermediate stage. *brōrī*; *karūm*, fem. of *kor*, 1st pers. sing. perf. fem. of *kar*, from *karun*, ‘to do,’ with the affixed pronoun *me*, ‘I,’ derived from *kārī-me*, through an intermediate stage **kārī-me*.

(4) The regular change of medial *a* and *e* to *u* or *o*, through the influence of an original following *u*: compare, e.g. *karun*, nom. sing. verb noun of the verb *kar*, ‘to do,’ with the objective case *karnas*, where the *u* of the nominative is owing to the lost *u* of the termination, as Sindhī *karanu* shows, *host*“, nom. sing., ‘an elephant,’ *hastis*, obj. case.

† The pure clear *a* will be noted here and in the sequel by *a* or *ā*; *ch* is to be pronounced *ts*.

On the same principle rests also the intrusion of original final *u* into the preceding syllable, in case the vowel of the latter was *i*; e. g. *nyul**, nom. sing. masc. 'blue,' obj. case *nīlis*, *dyūṭh**, perf. pass. part. and perfect tense, 'seen, he saw': compare Gujarāṭi *dīṭho*, Sindhi *dīṭhu*. The Kāśmīrī fem. is also *dīṭhī*.

(5) The development of a final exceedingly short vowel *u*, the representative of original *o* or *u*, of a final *i* of the same description, a remnant of ancient *ī*, e. g. *gur**, nom. sing. 'a horse' = Hindī *ghoṛo* or *ghoḍo*. The sound occurs regularly in the nominative of all words following the second or *i* declension. In the old Kāśmīrian works, e. g. the Sayings of Lallā, गोरु *goro* is written, which is to be pronounced *gur**, and the word is dissyllabic. This is not the case in modern poems.

(5) The almost complete disappearance of the soft aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *ḍh*, and *bh*, for which the corresponding unaspirated letters appear, e. g. *gur**, 'a horse' = Hindī *ghoḍo*; *bāvun*, 'the telling, the discovering,' or 'to tell, to discover' = Sansk. *bhāvanam*; *bōi*, 'the brother' = Hindi *bhāī*.

(7) The occasional development of *ch* (pronounce *ts*) out of the ancient च *cha*, e. g. *chūr*, 'a thief' = Sansk. *chora*.

(8) The development of a new soft sibilant, *za*, which takes the place of ancient Sansk. *dhya*, Prakrit *jha*, e. g. *manz*, 'in' = Sansk. *madhye*; *bōzun*, 'the hearing, to hear,' from Sansk. *budhya-te*.

(9) The frequency of the change, which Schleicher calls *zetacism*, e. g. *hokhu*, masc. 'dry' = Sansk. *śushka*, fem. *hochhī* (= *śushkī* = *sukhī*); masc. *nyūṭ**, fem. *nīj* (= *nūt* or *nūy*); masc. *gomut** 'gone,' fem. *gomūch*.

(10) The nearly complete suppression of lingual *ṇa*, e. g. *karun* = Sansk. *karaṇam*, Marāṭhi *karaṇem*; *kan*, 'the ear' = Sansk. *karna*.

(11) The insertion of an epenthetic *r*, e. g. in the name of the towns Bijbrōr, which stands for Vijayavihāra, and Prūnch = Puanacha (Hiwen Thsang) and Sansk. *Parṇotsa*.

In the treatment and in the declensions I note the following peculiarities:—

(1) The unification of the neuter and masculine genders, for which one single form is used, e. g. *nyūṭ**, 'blue,' corresponds to Sansk. *nīlaḥ* and *nīlam*, Gujarāṭi *nīlo* and *nīluṇ*. (The Gujarāṭi forms, too, are pronounced, by everybody except pedants, exactly alike.)

(2) The retention of four of the ancient cases and of two declensions for the masculine and two for the feminine, viz. :—

I.—Stems in a, masculine.

Singular.

| | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom. | <i>chûr</i> , 'a thief' = Sansk. | <i>choraḥ</i> . |
| Acc. | <i>chûr</i> | = „ <i>choram</i> . |
| Inst. | <i>churan</i> | = „ <i>choreṇa</i> . |
| *Ablat. | <i>chûra</i> | = „ <i>chorât</i> . |
| Obj. | <i>chûras</i> | = „ <i>chorasya</i> . |
| Voc. | <i>chûrâ</i> | |

Plural.

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------|--------------------|
| Nom. | <i>chûr</i> | = | <i>chorâḥ</i> . |
| Acc. | <i>chûr</i> | = | <i>chorân</i> . |
| Inst. | <i>chûrav</i> | = Vedic | <i>chorebhiḥ</i> . |
| Obj. | <i>chûran</i> | = Sansk. | <i>chorâṇâm</i> . |
| Voc. | <i>chûro</i> . | | |

II.—Stems in i and ya.

Singular.

| | |
|-------|---|
| Nom. | <i>host^u</i> , an elephant. |
| Acc. | <i>host^u</i> |
| Inst. | <i>hastⁱ</i> , = <i>ī</i> + <i>á</i> . |
| Obj. | <i>hastis</i> = Prak. <i>-issa</i> . |
| Voc. | <i>hastyâ</i> . |

Plural.

| | |
|-------|--|
| Nom. | <i>hastⁱ</i> = Sansk. <i>-ayaḥ</i> . |
| Acc. | <i>hast</i> „ <i>în</i> . |
| Inst. | <i>hastyav</i> or <i>hastyau</i> = { <i>ibhiḥ</i> . <i>yebhiḥ</i> . |
| Obj. | <i>hastyan</i> or <i>hastyau</i> { <i>înâm</i> |
| Voc. | <i>hastyo</i> . { <i>yânâm</i> . |

III.—Stems in ī.

Singular.

| | |
|-------|--|
| Nom. | <i>devī</i> , a goddess = Sansk. <i>devī</i> . |
| Acc. | <i>devī</i> = „ <i>devīm</i> . |
| Inst. | <i>deviyi</i> = „ <i>devyâ</i> . |
| Obj. | <i>deviyi</i> = „ <i>devyâḥ</i> . |
| Vov. | <i>deviyī</i> |

* This case is of rare occurrence, and not formed from all nouns; examples actually noted are *manṣa*, Sansk. *madhyāt*; *tāla*, Sansk. *talāt*; *nāra*, 'by fire,' etc.

Plural.

| | | | | |
|--------|---------|---|--------|-----------|
| Nom. | deviyi | = | Sansk. | devyaḥ. |
| Acc. | deviyi | = | „ | deviḥ. |
| *Inst. | deviyav | = | „ | devibhiḥ. |
| *Obj. | deviyan | = | „ | devinām. |
| Voc. | deviyo | | | |

IV.—Mixed *i* and *yā* stems, the latter in the plural only.

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|-------|----------------|---------|
| Nom. | gâḍ, 'a fish.' | gâḍa. |
| Inst. | gâḍi. | gâḍav. |
| Obj. | gâḍi. | gâḍan. |
| Voc. | gâḍi. | gâḍo. |

All Kāśmīrī nouns follow one or other of these four declensions, with a few exceptions which have lost the case-terminations nearly or altogether. To the latter class belongs, e.g. *yed*, the belly, which only substitutes *yaḍ* in the oblique cases. The only real difficulties consist in the internal vowel-changes, which are most capricious, though always depending on original final *u* or *i*. Thus *brōr*, 'a cat,' (fem.) shows in the objective case the old *ā* of *vidāli*, and makes *brāri*, while its masc. has in the same case *brōris* = Sansk. *vidāli*[ka] *śya*.

Besides these ancient cases, Kāśmīrī forms, like the other Indian Prakrits, a new genitive by means of adjectival affixes, most frequently by the affix *-hyund** or *-hyünd**, masc., pl. *hind*ⁱ, fem. *hinz*, pl. *hinza*, which is attached to the objective case, and becomes, in case the latter ends in *s*—

*sund** (for *shyund*) masc., pl. = *sund*ⁱ,

sünz fem., pl. *sünza*,

e.g. *chūrasund**, 'belonging to a thief,'

*chūrankhyund**, 'belonging to thieves,'

deviyi- $\begin{cases} \text{hyund}^* \\ \text{hyünd}^* \end{cases}$ = 'belonging to a goddess.'

Substitute for these terminations in the cases of lifeless things adjectives in *uk** formed from the base of the word (Sansk. *uka*) fem. *üch*ⁱ,

e.g. *srarguk**, masc., 'referring to heaven,'

*svargüch*ⁱ, fem.

or *-uv**, fem. *-üv*ⁱ, e.g. *ghasuv**, *ghasüv*ⁱ, 'of grass.'

For N. Pr. *un** m., *un*ⁱ, fem. (Sansk. *üna*, Guj. *no*, *nī*, *nan*, is used,

* These two cases are rather formed from a stem in *yā*.

e.g. *Chandrāmuna*, *mūnī*, 'belonging to Chandrām.'

Numerous other cases may be formed by adding postpositions to the objective cases.

The Pronouns, too, preserve a good many old forms, which do not occur in the other Prakrits, e.g. the nominatives *su*, Sansk. *sa(h)*, and fem. *so*=Sansk. *sā*. But some remarkable new forms have been produced, such as *bo* (spelt by the Pandits *ṣ*, 'I'), which I take to be a representative of Sansk. *bhanat*, originally pres. part. of *bhū*, 'to be,' but used as a respectful mode of addressing others, and *cha* (*tsa*), 'thou,' which shows a zetacism utterly unknown to Indian vernaculars.

In the verb one of the most striking features is that the *verbum substantivum* is a nominal base with masc. and fem., which has been formed from the root *chha*, which occurs in many Indian vernaculars, viz. :—

Present tense.

| | Singular. | Plural. |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 { | Masc. <i>bo chhu-s</i> . | <i>asī chhi</i> . |
| | Fem. <i>bo chhe-s</i> . | <i>asī chhe</i> . |
| 2 { | Masc. <i>cha chhu-k</i> . | <i>tohi chhi-va</i> . |
| | Fem. <i>cha chha-k</i> . | <i>tohi chha-va</i> . |
| 3 { | Masc. <i>su chhu</i> . | <i>tim chi</i> . |
| | Fem. <i>so chhe</i> . | <i>tima che</i> . |

This paradigm shows also curious affixes in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and in the 2nd person plural, which I believe to be remnants of the personal pronouns that were first attached to the nominal bases, and afterwards once more placed before them. The other tenses of the verb subst. are formed from the root *ās-un*, 'to be.'

In the conjugation of other verbs only three old tenses and moods have been preserved, the imperative, the present, and the future. This agrees with the practice of some of the Indian vernaculars, e.g. of Gujarātī. But the present tense has obtained the sense of the future, and the future tense serves for the conditional, viz. :—

Imper. 2nd pers. *gachh* (*gats*) = Sansk. *gachha*.

Fut. 3rd pers. *so gachhi* = Sanskrit *gachhati* = Prakrit *gachhai* : compare Guj. Hindī *kare*.

Fut. 3rd pers. pl. *tim gachhan* = Sansk. Prak. *gachhanti*.

Conditional 3rd pers. sing. see *gachhake*, 'he would go.'

„ 3rd pers. plur. *tim gachhaluhahan*, 'they would go.'

The change of the original *aya* to *ha* of the affix is well known in Prakrit.

The affixes mentioned under the verb substantive as being attached to the 2nd person singular and plural occur also here, e.g. *gacchha-k*, 'thou wilt go,' *tohi gacchi-v*, 'you will go.'

The new present tense is formed by the pres. part. with the verb substantive, e.g. *bo gacchhān* (or *gacchhan*) *chhus*, 'I am going, I go.'

The past tense is formed, as in all Indian Prakrits, by the old past part. passive, to which in case of neuter verbs the same affixes are attached which appear in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and 2nd person plural of the verb substantive. With neuter verbs the personal pronouns stand in the nominative case, viz.:—

Past tense of gacchun, 'to go.'

Singular.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | { m. <i>bo gô-s</i> f. <i>bo gaye-s</i> | <i>asī gaī</i> <i>asī gayi</i> |
| 2 | { <i>cha gô-k</i> <i>cha gaye-k</i> | <i>tohi ga-va</i> <i>thi gayi-va</i> |
| 3 | { <i>su gav</i> <i>sa gayi</i> | <i>tim gaī</i> <i>tima gayi</i> |

Transitive verbs do not take the affix *s*, *k* in the perfect, but may take the instrumental of the personal pronouns before or behind the participle or both ways in the 1st and 3rd persons, and in the 2nd person either after the participle or before and after it.* The conjugation becomes particularly complicated by the re-appearance of the old final vowels of the nominative of the participle, and by the fact that the affixed pronouns appear in older forms than when they stood before the verb, and that frequently if the object is expressed by a pronoun the latter is added after the personal pronoun, viz. :—

Past tense of karun, 'to do.'

Singular.

Plural.

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 Masc. (a) <i>me kor = Guj. me karyô.</i> | 1 Masc. <i>asi kor.</i> |
| (b) <i>me koru-m.</i> | Fem. <i>asi kar.</i> |
| (c) <i>koru-m.</i> | 2 Masc. <i>tohi koru-va.</i> |
| 1 Fem. (a) <i>me kar.</i> | Fem. <i>tohi kar-va.</i> |
| (b) <i>me karü-m.</i> | 3 Masc. <i>timav kor.</i> |
| (c) <i>karü-m.</i> | <i>timav koru-k.</i> |
| 2 Masc. (a) <i>che koru-t (t = ti = trayâ).</i> | <i>koru-k.</i> |
| (b) <i>koru-t,</i> | 3 Fem. <i>timav kar.</i> |
| 2 Fem. <i>che karü-t.</i> | <i>timav kara-k.</i> |
| <i>karü-t.</i> | <i>kara-k.</i> |

* The construction is, of course, always a passive one, or *Karmanī* as the Indian grammar expresses it.

- 3 Masc. (a) $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{tami} \\ \text{tami} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{kor.}$
 (b) $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{tami} \\ \text{tami} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{koru-n.}$
 (c) koru-m.
 3 Fem. (a) $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{tami} \\ \text{tami} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{kar.}$
 (b) $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{tami} \\ \text{tami} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{karü-n.}$
 (c) karü-n.

The derivation of the preterites from the root of the verb always follows the Sanskrit, and it is impossible to explain them by Kaśmīrī. Thus *deshun*, 'to see,' makes *dyûṭh* = *dīḥo* = *drishṭa*; *dyun*, 'to give,' *dyût* = **dito* = Guj. *dīdho* = Sans. *dattaḥ*. The difficulties for the ordinary learner are further increased by the changes in the radical vowels caused by the original *u* of the nominative termination of the participle.

There is the usual liberal allowance of periphrastic tenses formed with the participles pres. in *ân*, the new past part. in *mut*, the participle future = *arun* or *-anvôl*, and all the tenses of the verb substantive, e.g.

- bo ôsus *gachhân*, 'I was going,'
 bo chhus *gômüt*, 'I have gone,'
 bo chhus *gachhianvôl*, 'I am about to go,'
 bo chhus *gachhavan*, 'I am just about to go.'

Among the old verbal derivatives the Kaśmīrī has preserved the Sanskrit absolutive in *tvā*. Thus we have from *gachhun*, 'to go,' *gachhit*, 'having gone,' which stands for **gachhitvā* = **gachhittā*.

This slight sketch will show that Kaśmīrī is a very peculiar language, and worthy of being studied. I believe that it has the greatest importance for the comparative grammar of the Indian vernaculars, because, for instance, it so clearly reveals the manner in which the new cases of the declension have been formed from the old bases, a point which in the other languages is exceedingly difficult. The facts which I have given above differ somewhat from those given by Mr. Bowring,† Dr. Elmslie,‡ and others. They have been obtained partly from Munshi Yâr Mahommed, whom I have mentioned above as the late Dr. Elmslie's teacher, and from two Kaśmīrī poems, *Nâgârjunacharita*

† *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*

‡ *Kaśmīrī Vocabulary and Grammar.*

and *Mahmūd-i-Gaznav*. I hope to publish the latter soon, and to give a fuller sketch of Kaśmīrī grammar with it.

Kaśmīrī has, like all modern Indian vernaculars, three chief varieties, one used by Brahmans, which is distinguished by the prevalence of Sanskrit words, one used by Musalmans, which is full of Arabic and Persian words that are frequently even pronounced like Persian and Arabic with *Āin*, *Ghain*, *Kh*, etc., and one which is used by women and by uneducated people in general. The last is the most precious one for the philologist, because it gives the old Deśī forms. It also shows invariably numerous dialectic changes occurring in different parts of the country.

The Government collection of MSS. includes works both in the Brahminical and in the Musalman styles. To the first belong the *Lallāvākyāni*, Nos. 800-1, the *Bāṇasuravadha*, No. 796, the *Krishṇavatāra*, No. 792, the *Janmacharita*, No. 793, etc., in fact all works with Sanskrit titles and written in Śārada characters. The remainder are Mahommedan books, which sometimes contain two-thirds Persian and Arabic, and one-third Kaśmīrī. The oldest book is the *Lallāvākyā*, a poem on Śaiva philosophy by a poetess called Lallā. Next follows the *Bāṇasuravadha*, which was written in the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn. It is to be regretted that these two works are not easy to make out, even with the help of a Sanskrit translation. Munshi Yār Mahommed entirely refuses to meddle with them. The Pandits said they understood them, but could not explain them at once when asked to do so. I have only succeeded in making out a few single verses here and there.

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Appendix I.
CLASSIFIED LIST OF MSS. PURCHASED IN 1875-76.
A. BRAHMINICAL LITERATURE.
I.—VEDICA.

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
|-----|---|------------------------|----------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Atharvavedasamhitā, Paippalādasākṣhā ... | O | 251 | 12 | N. C. | Paper... | Dev. | Kāśmir. | Incomplete. |
| 2 | Atharvasāhikhopaniṣat | O | 4 | 6 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Complete. |
| 3 | Āraḥādhyāya, from Laugākṣhisūtra | O | 5 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 4 | R̥gvedaprātisākhyaśāhya | Uvaṇa. | 14 | 11 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 5 | R̥gvedasamhitā, with Khilakāṇḍa and Āraṇyaka. | O | 191 | 31 | Saptarshi ⁵⁰ | Bhūrja... | Śār. | Ditto | Complete. |
| 6 | Richaka | O | 246 | 26 | O | Paper... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 7 | Richaka | O | 566 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 8 | Aitareyopaniṣat | O | 7 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 9 | Kāthavallī | O | 17 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 10 | Kāthaka, I. 7—17 and I. 6 | O | 88 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 11 | Kāthakagr̥hyasūtra śābhāhya | Laugākṣhi Devapāla. | 178 | 14 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 12 | The same | The same. | 125 & 67 | 25 | Saptarshi ⁴⁷ | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. |
|-----|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| 13 | Kāthakagrihyasūtra sabhāshya | Laugākshi Devapāla. | 148 | 16 | O | Paper. | Śār. | Kāsmīr. |
| 14 | The same | The same. | 335 | 15 | O | Bhāḍṛja. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 15 | Kūshmāṇḍadīpikā | Hararāta. | 37 | 10 | Saptarshi ³¹ | Paper. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 16 | Kenopanishat | O | 6 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 17 | Kaivalyopanishat | O | 5 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 18 | Gopātāpini | O | 16 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 19 | Grāmageyagāna | O | 233 | 10 | 1793* | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto |
| 20 | Chāturāstramyadharna | Kānvāyana | 4 | 6 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāsmīr. |
| 21 | Chārāyanīyā śikshā | O | ... | ... | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto |
| 22 | Pravarādhayas, two | Laugākshi & from Vish-nudhar-mottara. | 20 | 13 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 23 | Prasnopanishat | O | 12 | 6 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto |
| 24 | Bṛhannārāyaṇopanishat | O | 33 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 25 | Brahmopanishat | O | 3 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 26 | Mantrārthadīpikā | Śatrughna | 70 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto |

* Dates to which nothing is added refer to the Vikrama era.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----|-----|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------------|
| 27 | Māṇḍūkyaupanishat | 0 | 5 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 28 | Mātaṇḍavedoddhāra | 0 | 15 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 29 | Munḍakopanishat..... | 0 | 11 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 30 | Mekhalāpaddhati | 0 | 35 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 31 | Yajurvedabhashya..... | Uvaṭa | 19 | 23 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 32 | The same | The same. | 38 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 33 | Rudrāchya..... | 0 | 7 | 23 | 0 | Bhārja. | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 34 | Vājasaneyī upanishat | 0 | 10 | 6 | 0 | Paper. | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 35 | Vivāhapaddhati..... | 0 | 24 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 36 | Veyagāna | 0 | 203 | 9 | 1674 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 37 | Śvetāśvataropanishat | 0 | 17 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 38 | Sarvopanishat | 0 | 4 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 39 | Sāmavedasārṇhitā, 1st half | 0 | 36 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 40 | The same, padapāṭha | 0 | 91 | 8 | 1686 | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 41 | Sāmavedasārṇhitā, 2nd half..... | 0 | 15 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 42 | The same, padapāṭha | 0 | 68 | 9 | 1799 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 43 | Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa | 0 | 45 | 7 | 1850 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 44 | A roll with notes on the Gotras | ... | 0 | ... | ... | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| II.—PURĀṆAS, MĀHĀTMYAS, etc. | | | | | | | | | |
| 45 | Adhikamāśaphala..... | O | 1 | 16 | O | Paper. | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Complete. |
| 46 | Anvayabodhinī, commentary on the Veda- stuti in the Bhāgavata. | Kavi Chu- dāmanicha- kravartin. | 38 | 14 | 1847 | Ditto | Dev. | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 47 | Aparājita | O | 1 | 16 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 48 | Amaranāthamāh. | O | 4 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 49 | Amareśvarakalpa | O | 7 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 50 | The same | O | 12 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 51 | Amareśvaramāh. | O | 4 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 52 | Amareśvarayātrā | O | 3 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 53 | Indraprasthamāh. | O | 33 | 9 | O | Ditto | Dev. | Dilhi. | Incomplete. |
| 54 | Kedārapurāṇa | O | 46 | 16 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Complete. |
| 55 | Khelanamāh. | O | 1 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 56 | Gaṅganāh. | O | 3 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 57 | Gaṅgeśvaramāh. | O | 2 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 58 | Gaṅgesathidā | O | 317 | 9 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |

| | | 0 | 107 | 14 | 1905 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
|----|------------------------------|-----------|-----|-----|-------------------------|-------|-------|---------|-------------|
| 59 | Godāvarimāhātmya | 0 | | | | | | | Ditto |
| 60 | Tirthamāhātmyasāṅgraha | 0 | 34 | 18 | N. C. | Ditto | Śār. | Kāsmīr. | Ditto |
| 61 | Tirthasāṅgraha..... | Sāhebrām. | 15 | 14 | Ditto | Ditto | Dev. | Surat. | Ditto |
| 62 | Dānarakagarbhāgāmāh. | 0 | 2 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kāsmīr. | Ditto |
| 63 | Dvārikāmāhātmya | 0 | 198 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 64 | Nilamatapurāṇa | 0 | 50 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 65 | The same | 0 | 65 | 22 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 66 | The same | 0 | 109 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 67 | The same | 0 | 77 | 17 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 68 | The same | 0 | 47 | ... | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 69 | Naubandhanamāh. | 0 | 26 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 70 | The same | 0 | 21 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 71 | Pushkaramāh. | 0 | 85 | 10 | 1844 | Ditto | Dev. | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 72 | Bahurūpakalpa | 0 | 4 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kāsmīr. | Ditto |
| 73 | Bṛhannāradyapurāṇa | 0 | 135 | 12 | Saptarshi ²⁹ | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 74 | Brahmapurāṇa | 0 | 299 | 21 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 75 | Bhṛīgutrīthamāh. | 0 | 3 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 76 | Bhṛīngesaśamhitā..... | 0 | 73 | 15 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Dilhi. | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
|-----|------------------------------------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 77 | Mahāgaṇapatividyā | 0 | 7 | 12 | 0 | Paper. | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Complete. |
| 78 | Mātaṇḍamāh. | 0 | 13 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 79 | The same | 0 | 14 | 13 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 80 | Mitrpaṭhādīkuraṇḍamāh. | 0 | 4 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 81 | Rāsāpanchādhyāyī | 0 | 45 | 15 | 1848 | Ditto | Dev. | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 82 | Lambodarīnadmāh. | 0 | 3 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 83 | Līṅgapurāṇa | 0 | 144 | 15 | 0 | Bhārja. | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 84 | Vāyuvālanapanchatarangīnāmāh. | 0 | 4 | 12 | 0 | Paper. | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 85 | Vārāhamāh. | 0 | 11 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 86 | Vārāhapurāṇa | 0 | 333 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 87 | Vijayēśvaramāh. | 0 | 51 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 88 | Vitastāmāh. | 0 | 4 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 89 | Viṣṇupadmarmottara, K. I. | 0 | 275 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 90 | The same, K. II. | 0 | 260 | 13 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 91 | The same, K. III. | 0 | 120 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 92 | The same, K. I. & II. | 0 | 1-480 | 18 | 0 | Bhārja. | Śār. | Ditto | Incomplete. |

| | | 0 | 488— 755 | 17 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|-------------|----|-------|--------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------------|
| 93 | The same, K. III. | 0 | 488— 755 | 17 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 94 | Śarvavatāramāh. | 0 | 43 | 16 | 0 | Paper. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 95 | Śāradāmāh. | 0 | 5 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 96 | Śivadharmottara | 0 | 38 | 10 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 97 | Sandhyāmāh. | 0 | 9 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 98 | Another copy | 0 | 14 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 99 | Sāmeśvaramāh. | 0 | 2 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 100 | Sthānāśramamāh. | 0 | 3 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 101 | Haramukutāmāh. | 0 | 19 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 102 | Harheśvaramāh. | 0 | 8 | 13 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 103 | The same | 0 | ... | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| III.—POETRY, PLAYS, AND FABLES. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 104 | Aditikuṇḍalāharanānāṣṭaka | Kādamba. | 150 | 7 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Gwalior. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 105 | Adbhutarāmāyana. .... | ..... | 37 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kāsmir. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 106 | Anarghyarāghavanāṣṭaka | Murāri. | 120 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 107 | Ardhanārīśvarastotra | Kalhaṇa. | 2 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 108 | Ānandakāśya, saṭṭika | Ānanda. | 47 | 13 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

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| 333 | Amarakoshaṭikā | The same. | 310 | 20 | 1690 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
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| 364 | Vivādarūpavabhanjana | Gaurikānta | 206 | 11 | 1838 | Bhūdrja. | Dev. | Dilhi. | Complete. |
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| 479 | Mahādvādaśvichāra | 0 | 2 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 480 | Mahānayaprakāśa, or Mahārthaprakāśa | 0 | 30 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 481 | Mahārthaprakāśa, or Mahānayaprakāśa | 0 | 18 | 22 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 482 | Another copy | 0 | 38 | 21 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 483 | Mahārthamanjarī | 0 | 27 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 484 | The same, with a commentary | 0 | 32 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 485 | Mahārthamanjarīṭikā | 0 | 36 | 22 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 486 | Mahārthamanjarīṭikā | Bhadre- śvara. | 60 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 487 | Māyābhāṣakalpa | Śaktidāśa. | 8 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 488 | Mālinivijaya | 0 | 42 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
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| 489 | Vārtasūtra saṅkha | O | 11 | 12 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Kāśmīr. | Complete. |
| 490 | Vijñānabhairava | O | 4 | 13 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 491 | Vijñānabhairavodyotasaṅgraha | Śivachārya. | 120 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 492 | Śivatāṇḍavastora, saṅkha | O Ganeśa- bhārati. | 6 | 9 | O | Ditto | Dev. | Bikaner | Ditto |
| 493 | Śyāmārahasya | Pūrṇā- nanda. | 184 | 10 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 494 | Śyāmārahasya | Pūrṇā- nanda. | 73 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 495 | Śrīpaddhati | O | 96 | 17 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 496 | Śrīpūjāmahāpaddhati | O | ..... | 17 | O | Bhūja. | Ditto | Ditto | ..... |
| 497 | Śrīvidyā | O | 321 | 8 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Surat. | Complete. |
| 498 | Sādhanaḍipikā | Bhaṭṭanā- rāyana. | 121 | 12 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 499 | Sāmbapanchāśikā | Sāmba. | 10 | 13 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 500 | Sāmbapanchāśikāvivarṇa | Kshemarāja | 20 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 501 | Siddhāntachandrikā | Vasugupta. | 38 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 502 | Subhagārcharatna | Rāma- chandra. | 27 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 503 | Surāśodhana | O | 29 | 8 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 504 | Saubhāgyaratnāṅkara | Vidyānātha | 413 | 8 | 1666 | Ditto | Dev. | Dilhi. | Ditto |

| | | 19 | 14 | N. C. | Ditto | Kaśmīr. | Ditto |
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| 505 | Śivachintāmañi, savṛitti..... | | | | Ditto | | Ditto |
| 506 | Another copy | 12 | 13 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 507 | Śotrāvali savṛitti..... | 52 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 508 | Spandakārikā | 9 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 509 | Spandakārikāvivarṇa | 21 | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 510 | Spandakārikāvṛiti | 76 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 511 | Spandanirṇaya | 20 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 512 | Spandapradīpikā | 25 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 513 | Spandapradīpa | 24 | 21 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 514 | Spandasarvasva..... | 21 | 21 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
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| 516 | Another copy..... | 33 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 517 | Spandasandoha..... | 7 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 518 | Spandasūtra, saṭippaṇa..... | 5 | 13 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
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| 520 | Śvachchhandabhairava | 197 | 13 | Saptarshi30 | Bhūṛja. | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Charac- ter. | Place where bought. | |
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| 521 | Svachchhandoddya..... | Kshemarāja | 299 | 14 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Dilhi. | Complete. |
| 522 | Another copy..... | The same. | 403 | 24 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 523 | Another copy..... | The same. | 266 | 14 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| XIV.—ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, etc. | | | | | | | | | |
| 524 | Adbhutaśāgara | O | 191 | 17 | 1881 | Paper. | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 525 | Kshemakutūhala | Kshemasar- man. | 36 | 15 | O | Ditto | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |
| 526 | Khaṇḍakhāḍya, savivarāṇa | Brahma- gupta. Cha- turvedi Pri- thūdaka. | 136 | 13 | 1938 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 527 | Another copy | The same. | 133 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 528 | Khaṇḍakhāḍya savivṛiti | The same | 180 | 25 | O | Bhūja. | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 529 | Khaṇḍakhāḍya, with a commentary | Bhaṭṭotpala The same. O | 69 | 10 | N. C. | Paper. | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 530 | Gaṇakamaṇḍana | Nandikeś- vara. | 62 | 7 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Complete. |
| 531 | Jaiminīsūtra, saṅkha | Jaimini Kṛishṇā- nanda Sara- svatī. | 156 | 14 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 532 | Jyotiṣharatnamālā, saṅkha | Śrīpati. Mahādeva. | 48 | 21 | 1637 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 533 | Jyotiṣharatnamālā, saṅkha | Mahādeva. | 242 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Kāśmīr. | Ditto |

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| 534 | Tattvapradīpikā..... | Śrīpati. | 7 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 535 | Narapatījayacharyā | Narapati. | 80 | 14 | 1837 | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 536 | Nareśvaraparīkshā..... | O | 221 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kaśmīr. | Incomplete. |
| 537 | Panchāṅgautuka | Ratnakap- tha. | 38 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Complete. |
| 538 | Pārāśarīpaddhati saṭīkā | Pārāśara. | 10 | 11 | 1906 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 539 | Brahmatulyatīkā | O | 11 | 16 | 1745 | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 540 | Bhāsvatīvarāna | Mādhava. | 45 | 20 | 1861 | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 541 | Bhuvanadīpikā | O | 47 | 17 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kaśmīr. | Ditto |
| 542 | Makarandpanchāṅgavidhī | O | 12 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 543 | Makarandavivarāna | O | 10 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 544 | Mayūrachitraka..... | Nārada. | 22 | 12 | 1894 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 545 | Yogārṇava..... | Varāhami- hira. | 19 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 546 | Ramalaśāstra..... | O | 10 | 15 | 1803 | Ditto | Dev. | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 547 | Līlāvatī sagarītmīptasāgarī | Bhāskara. Gangā- dhara. | 60 | 18 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Kaśmīr. | Ditto |
| 548 | Varāhi saṁhitā..... | Varāha- mihira. | 148 | 10 | 1828 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 549 | Vṛiddhagārgī saṁhitā | O | 78 | 10 | 0 | Ditto | Śār. | Kaśmīr. | Incomplete. |
| 550 | Saṁvītprakāśa | Kaṇvakavi. | 48 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Dev. | Jepur. | Complete. |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
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| 551 | Sarvārbachintāmaṇi..... | O | 84 | 12 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Dilhi. | Complete. |
| 552 | Sūryādigrahaḥalakunḍali | O | 14 | 22 | O | Bhūja. | O | Kāśmīr. | Incomplete. |
| 553 | Hāyanaratna | Balibhadra. | 269 | 11 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Ditto | Complete. |
| 554 | Another copy..... | The same. | 174 | 13 | 1786 | Ditto | Ditto | Bikaner. | Ditto |
| XV.—VAIDYASĀSTRA. | | | | | | | | | |
| 555 | Charakasūtra | Charaka | 483 | 17 | Saptarshi 63 | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 556 | Nāmamālā, with explanation in Hindi | Dhanvantari. O | 34 | 14 | O | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 557 | Virasimhāvalokana | O | 397 | 12 | O | Bhūja. | Śār. | Kāśmīr. | Incomplete. |
| XVI.—MISCELLANEOUS. | | | | | | | | | |
| 558 | Dhanurveda | Śārngadatta. O | 16 | 9 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Ditto | Complete. |
| 559 | Nandikeśvarakārikā | O | 4 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 560 | Prāastikāśikā | Bālakrishna. | 16 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| B.—JAINA LITERATURE. | | | | | | | | | |
| I.—DIGAMBARA. | | | | | | | | | |
| 561 | Ankurārpanavidhi..... | O | 9 | 10 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 562 | Aṣṭaphuḍa bālāvabodha (Hindī)..... | Kundahun- dāchārya O. | 284 | 9 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Charac- ter. | Place where bought. | |
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| 580 | Chandanacharita | Śubhachan- dra. | 44 | 8 | 1832 | Paper. | Dev. | Jepur. | Complete. |
| 581 | Chandrashashthikathā | Brahmaśru- tasāgara. | 4 | 11 | 1798 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 582 | Chandraprabhanakāvya | Vīranandi. | 109 | 11 | 1861 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 583 | Chovisvayambhū | O | 3 | 8 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 584 | Jinayajñakalpa | Asādharma. | 134 | 8 | 1928 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 585 | Jinayajñādiviḥāna | O | 18 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 586 | Jinaśatapanjikā | Śambasā- dhu. | 27 | 17 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 587 | Jinasahasranāmastotra | O | 27 | 7 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 588 | Jinamantrasāstrastotrādi | O | 56 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 589 | Jainendravākarapaṇcavastu | Devanandi | 138 | 10 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 590 | Jainendravākarapaṇabhāvṛitti | Abhayadeva | 386 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 591 | Jainendravākarapaṇāvṛitti śabdārpavachan- dikā. | Somadeva. | 262 | 10 | 1909 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 592 | Jñānakṛiyāsūtravāda | O | 3 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 593 | Tattvārthasūtra | O | 16 | 8 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 594 | Tattvārthavārttikāhānkāra or Rājavārttika. | O | 328 | 15 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 595 | Tattvārthavṛitti | Siddhasena. | 541 | 13 | 1684 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

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| 596 | Tattvārthavṛtti, sarvārthasiddhi..... | 0 | 420 | 7 | 1919 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 597 | Tripanchāśatkriyākāthānaka (H.) | Krishna- simha. | 81 | 14 | 1797 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 598 | Trilokadarpanakathā (H.) | Khaḍga- sena. | 99 | 17 | 1798 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 599 | Trilokasāra, savṛtti | Abhaya- mandi. Mā- dhavachan- dra. | 184 | 12 | 1904 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 600 | Trivarnāchāraparāṇa | Somasena. | 44 | 16 | 1892 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 601 | Trivarnāchārasamhitā | Jīnasenā- chārya. | 148 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
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| 603 | Trailokyadīpikā, illustrated | Indravā- madeva. | 86 | 11 | 1793 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 604 | Trailokyasārachhopai (H.) | 0 | 41 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
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| 606 | Dśāsaṁgrahikā | Umāsvā- min. | 117 | 16 | 1797 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 607 | Dśāsaṁgrahikā, tattvārthi | Śrutasa- gara. | 366 | 9 | 1857 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 608 | Dśāśrutasaṁdṛa (M.) | 0 | 50 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 609 | Duriarayasamiravṛtti | Samaya- sundara. | 16 | 15 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 610 | Dṛishṭivāda | 0 | 42 | 15 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 611 | Devāgamastotra..... | Sāmanta- bhādra. | 10 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 612 | Devān kī pōjā | 0 | 14 | 10 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

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| 613 | Dravyasaṅgraha (M., H.) | O | 14 | 6 | O | Paper. | Dev. | Jepur. | Complete. |
| 614 | Dhammilacharitra..... | Jaysēkhara. Jinadāsa. | 77 | 15 | 1508 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 615 | Dharmapanchaviṃśatikā | | 3 | 8 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 616 | Dharmaparikshā | O | 101 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 617 | Dharmaparikshā | Harishena. | 138 | 9 | 1585 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 618 | Dharmarāṣyaṇa | O | 16 | 8 | 1812 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 619 | Dharmopadeśanā | Nemidatta. | 11 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 620 | Nirjaraprakaraṇādī | O | 260 | 10 | 1656-57 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 621 | Nirvāṇakārḍa | O | 2 | 8 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 622 | Nemipurāṇa, with Tabā | Nemidatta. | 402 | 6 | 1782 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 623 | Nyāyadiṇikā | Dharma- bhāṣhana. The same. | 33 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 624 | The same .. | | 42 | 10 | 1948 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 625 | Nyāyasadarthasaṅgraha | O | 513 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Incomplete. |
| 626 | Panchāstikāyabālavabodha (M., H.) | Hemarāja Pāṇḍa. | 105 | 13 | 1791 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Complete. |
| 627 | Panchāstikāvyākhyā, with Tabā | O | 32 | 5 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 628 | Pattāvali | O | 12 | 10 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| | Pattāvali | 0 | 12 | 10 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
|-----|---|---------------------|-----|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| 629 | Pattāvali | 0 | | | | | | | Ditto |
| 630 | Padmanandipanehavinśatika | 0 | 69 | 10 | 1891 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 631 | Padmapurāṇa or Rāmapurāṇa | Somasena. | 318 | 11 | 1609 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 632 | Padmapurāṇa (H.) | Ravisheṇa. | 596 | 15 | 1865 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 633 | Paramātmaprakāśavivarṇa (M., S.) | Yogindra- deva. | 148 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 634 | Palyakathapushpājali | 0 | 48 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 635 | Pāṇḍavapurāṇa | Śubhachan- dra. | 167 | 13 | 1833 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 636 | Pārasvānāthapurāṇa (H.) | 0 | 104 | 10 | 1843 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 637 | Purushārthanūsāsana | 0 | 72 | 13 | 1860 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 638 | Prameyakamalamārtanā | Prabhā- chandra. | 344 | 11 | 1795 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 639 | Pravachanasāragāthā, with Tabā (M., H.) | 0 | 54 | 5 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 640 | Pravachanasāroddhāra (M.) | 0 | 82 | 11 | 1559 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 641 | Another copy with Tabā (M., H.) | 0 | 164 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 642 | Balimahānarendrākhyāna | 0 | 67 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 643 | Bṛihadgurvāvalipūjāsāntividhāna (H.) | 0 | 38 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 644 | Bṛihatshodasākāranapujā | Keśavāchā- rya. | 15 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 645 | Blaktāmara saṭika | Mānatunga. | 16 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 646 | Blaktāmarastotra | The same. | 6 | 8 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
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| 647 | Bhadrabāhucharita | Ratanandi | 40 | 8 | 1616 | Paper. | Dev. | Jepur. | Complete. |
| 648 | Another copy | The same. | 27 | 9 | 1887 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 649 | Bhadrabāhusaṁhitā | Bhadrabāhū | 78 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 650 | Bhāvatribhāṅgī | 0 | 80 | 15 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 651 | Bhāvasātaka | Hemavijaya | 8 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 652 | Bhāvādīprābhṛita | Kundakun- dāchārya. | 23 | 19 | 1807 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 653 | Bhūpālāstotra saṭika | Āśādharma. | 12 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 654 | Madanaparājaya | Jinadeva. | 28 | 11 | 1918 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 655 | Malināthacharitra | Sakalakīrti. | 50 | 9 | 1678 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | 1st half gone. |
| 656 | Malāchāra | Vartakera- chārya. | 126 | 5 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 657 | The same | The same. | 78 | 9 | 1858 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 658 | Yuktiprakāśa | Padmasa- gara. | 5 | 20 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 659 | Yogārṇava | Subha- chandra. | 85 | 12 | 1583 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 660 | Ratnakaraṇḍaka (M., H.) | Sāman- tābhādra. | 415 | 16 | 1932 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 661 | Ratnatrayajayamālā (M., II.) | 0 | 7 | 5 | 1920 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 662 | Ratnatrayavidhānakathā | 0 | 5 | 10 | 1865 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

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| 663 | Ratnatrayodyāpana | 0 | 14 | 10 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 664 | Rayanasāra | 0 | 13 | 18 | 1812 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 665 | Rohinivratodyāpana | 0 | 12 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 666 | Laghunāntividhāna | 0 | 12 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 667 | Vardhamānapurāna | Sakalakīrti. | 126 | 12 | 1901 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 668 | Varshamahodaya | Megha- vijaya. Chinmaurām | 120 | 11 | 1912 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 669 | Vasusahasranāmajnapūjā (H.) | | 70 | 10 | 1619 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 670 | Another copy | The same. | 63 | 14 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 671 | Vimānasūddhipūjā | Chandra- kīrti. | 13 | 8 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 672 | Vishāpahāratotra | 0 | 16 | 11 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 673 | Śāntināthacharitra | Sakalakīrti | 174 | 12 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 674 | Śīlavilāsa | 0 | 21 | 14 | 1829 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 675 | Śrāddhagunasaingraha | Somasun- dara. | 50 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 676 | Śrāvakanushthānavidhi | 0 | 29 | 21 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 677 | Śrīślokapaddhati | 0 | 30 | 13 | 1848 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 678 | Śreṇikapurāna | Śubha- chandra. | 129 | 10 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 679 | Shoḍaśakāranajayamālā (M., H.) | 0 | 23 | 5 | 1920 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 680 | Shoḍaśakāranapūjā | 0 | 8 | 6 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 681 | Saptavyasanakathā | Somakṛti. | 99 | 10 | 1888 | Paper | Dev. | Jepur | Complete. |
| 682 | Samayasāra savṛitti | Kundakun- dāchārya. O | 137 | 12 | 1790 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 683 | Samayasāra, with Ṭabā ..... | ..... | 61 | 5 | 1885 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 684 | Saṁmedasīkharamāhātmya..... | Devadatta. | 83 | 10 | 1881 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 685 | Another copy | The same. | 114 | 9 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 686 | Saptāstīślokaśāstratīkā | O | 48 | 13 | 1454 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 687 | Sambadhapanchāsīkā | Gautama- svāmin. | 51 | 8 | ..... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 688 | Samyaktvakaumudīkathā | Sāh Jodh- rāj Godikā. | 46 | 11 | 1840 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 689 | Sarasvatīpūjana..... | O | 14 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 690 | Sāmāyikavachanīkā (H.) | O | 39 | 9 | 1866 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 691 | Sārachaturvīṅśatikā | Sakalakṛti. | 117 | 10 | 1884 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 692 | Siddhāntasāradīpikā..... | The same. | 288 | 10 | 1798 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 693 | Another copy | The same. | 136 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 694 | Subhābodhārthamālapaddhaṭi | Devasena. | 15 | 8 | 1812 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| | | 98 | 10 | 1772 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|-----|------|-------|-------|----------|-------------|
| 695 | Subhāshitārnava | Bhatāraka Subha- chandra. | | | | | | Ditto |
| 696 | Syādvādachūlikā (H.) | O | 42 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 697 | Svarāpasambodhanapanchavinīśatīrīti | O | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 698 | Svāmikārtikānuprekshā | O | 27 | 1593 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 699 | The same | O | 65 | 1837 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 700 | Hariavinīśapurāna | Jinasena. | 209 | 1822 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 701 | The same Bālāvabodha (H.) | The same. | 423 | 1932 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| II.—ŚVETĀMBARA WORKS. | | | | | | | | |
| 702 | Anekārthakairavakaumudī | Hemachan- dra. | 184 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 703 | Abhāvagrānthavyākhyā | O | 66 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 704 | Upadēśarāyana | O | 50 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 705 | Kathākoshā | O | 113 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 706 | Karmagrānthashatka | O | 19 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat | Complete. |
| 707 | Karmagrānthashatkāvacchūri | O | 59 | 1537 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 708 | Kāvyaalpapatā | Amarachan- dra. | 70 | 1672 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 709 | Kumārāpālapratibodhacharitra | Somatilaka. | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 710 | Krishnayudhishchiradharmagoshtī (S., M., G.) | O | 36 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 711 | Kriyākālāpaṭikā | Prabhā- chandra. | 17 | 20 | 1483 | Paper. | Dev. | Surat. | Complete. |
| 712 | Ksheṇākī | Kshauma- bhaṭṭa. | 14 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 713 | Gayasinhārājacharitra (S., H.) | O | 26 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 714 | Gurvāli | Munisun- dara. | 15 | 18 | 1657 | Ditto | Ditto | Rander. | Ditto |
| 715 | Gurvāli | O | 9 | 14 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 716 | Gautamprichhāṇṭī | O | 58 | 10 | 1846 | Ditto | Ditto | Ujjain. | Ditto |
| 717 | Champakavyavahārikathā | O | 18 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 718 | Another copy | O | 4 | 20 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 719 | Jinadattakathāsamuchchaya | Bhadra- chārya. | 103 | 7 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 720 | Jyotishkaraṇḍatikā | Malayagiri. | 197 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 721 | Daśavaikālikasūtrabṛihadvṛitti | Haribhadra | 160 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Incomplete. |
| 722 | Dīpālikakalpa | Vināya- chandra. | 5 | 15 | 1746 | Ditto | Ditto | Rander. | Complete. |
| 723 | Devarājaprabandha | O | 145 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 724 | Deśīnāmālā | Hema- chandra. | 90 | 13 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Vaḍhvāp. | Ditto |
| 725 | Dvayārayakoṣhavṛitti | Hema- chandra. | ... | 13 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 726 | Dharmasaṃgrahiniṣṭhiti | Malayagiri. | 165 | 17 | 1522 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |

| | | Merutuaga | 86 | 16 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | ..... | Ditto |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|----|-------|-------|-------|----------|-------|
| 727 | Dharmopadeśa | | | | | | | | Ditto |
| 728 | Dhātupāraya pavṛitti..... | Hemā- chārya. | 112 | 17 | 1665 | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 729 | Nandopākhyāna | O | 10 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 730 | Namaskāraṣṭava savṛitti | Jinakīrti. | 4 | 11 | 1484 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 731 | Naranārāyanānandakāvya | Vasantapāla or Vastupāla. | 48 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 732 | Naravarmanṛipatikathā | O | 32 | 11 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 733 | Narmadāsundarīrās | O | 40 | 17 | 1785 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 734 | Narasainvādasundara... .. | O | 10 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 735 | Nighaṇṭuśeṣha | Hema- chandra. | 20 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 736 | Niśithaparyāya | O | 41 | 21 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 737 | Nitivākyāmrīta | Somadeva- sūri. | 56 | 9 | O | Ditto | Ditto | O | Ditto |
| 738 | Nyāyapraveśatīkā..... | Haribhadra. | 12 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 739 | Nyāyārthamanjūśhikā | Hemaharī- sagan. | 65 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 740 | Panchasūtra, saṭika | O. Hari- bhadra. | 28 | 13 | ..... | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 741 | Panchākhyānavārtika | O | 26 | 16 | 1730 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 742 | Panchāśikāṛṇṇīti | Haribhadra | 168 | 14 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 743 | Paṭṭāvali | O | 10 | 13 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Rander. | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Character. | Place where bought. |
|-----|---|----------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| 744 | Padyālaya savṛitti..... | Jayavallabha. | 143 | 10 | N. C. | Paper. | Dev. | Pāṭhan. |
| 745 | Paramahansa-prabodha..... | O | 27 | 11 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 746 | Pratyākhyāna, with Ṭabā | O | 12 | 6 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. |
| 747 | Pratyekabuddhachatusṭaya | Tilakāchārya. | 215 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. |
| 748 | Prabandhakosha | Rājasekhara. | 164 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 749 | Another copy..... | The same. | 66 | 11 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 750 | Prāśamaratīśtra savṛitti | O | 64 | 16 | 1761 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. |
| 751 | Prākṛitachandakosha | O | 5 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. |
| 752 | Priyāṅkaraṇīpacharitra | O | 23 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 753 | Bharadeśavarṛitti | Śubhaśilagani. | 280 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 754 | Manipaticharitra | Jambūnāga | 128 | 14 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. |
| 755 | Mahādaṇḍakacharaṇānuyogachopai (H.) ... | O | 117 | 13 | 1849 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. |
| 756 | Mahābalarās | O | 29 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 757 | Mṛigavṛatīcharitra | Devaprabha | 36 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. |
| 758 | Yogaḍṛishṭisamuchchhayavyākhyā | Haribhadra. | 17 | 21 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 759 | Rasavṛatīstavārtha | O | 6 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|-------|-------|----------|-------|
| 760 | Raghuvilāpanātaka | Rāmachan- dra. O | 118 | 16 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāthan. | Ditto |
| 761 | Lalitānganarēvaracharita | O | 34 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 762 | Lingānirṇaya..... | Kalyāṇasūri | 18 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 763 | Vākyaprakāśa | Sudaya- dharna. O | 4 | 15 | 1731 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 764 | Vikramasenarāṣ (G.)..... | O | 55 | 16 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 765 | Vikramādityacharita..... | Śubhaśīla. | 251 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāthan. | Ditto |
| 766 | Vichārāmrītasāṅgraha | Jinabar- shagani. Guṇavijaya. | 50 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 767 | Vijayaprasastikāvya | ... | 432 | 11 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Pāthan. | Ditto |
| 768 | Viśeshāśyakaniriyukti | Bhadrabahu O | ... | 9 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 769 | Vṛndānuvṛtta..... | Devakuśala. | 181 | 7 | 1801 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 770 | Vyākaranādḥundhika | Hema- chandra. O | 168 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāthan. | Ditto |
| 771 | Śālibhadracharitra sāvachūri | O | 22 | 15 | 1522 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 772 | Śeshasaṅgraha..... | Hema- chandra. | 7 | 14 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Dilhi. | Ditto |
| 773 | Śeshasaṅgrahanāmamāla | Sādhukīrti | 41 | 15 | 1744 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 774 | Śrāvākṛtiya (M.) | O | 14 | 21 | ..... | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 775 | Shatsthānakavṛtti | Leśa. | 76 | 15 | 1527 | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 776 | Samdehaviśaushadhi, a commentary on the Kāpasūtra. | Jinaprabha. | 62 | 16 | 1635 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 777 | Samyaktvaparakāśa | O | 37 | 9 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Charac- ter. | Place where bought. | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 778 | Sādhupratikramasūtra | O | 16 | 9 | 1863 | Paper. | Dev. | Dilh. | Complete. |
| 779 | Sāmbapradhyumnaprabandha | Sundara- sūtri. Harshakīrti | 29 | 11 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. | Ditto |
| 780 | Sāraṇīśā nāmamālā | | 15 | 12 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Dilh. | Ditto |
| 781 | Siddhāntavichāragāthā | O | 7 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 782 | Subhāshitaratnasandoha | Amitagati. | 83 | 11 | 1903 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 783 | Sūtrakṛtāṅgavṛtti | Śīlāṅga. | 230 | 15 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | 4 leaves miss- ing. Complete. |
| 784 | Somaśataka | O | 9 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | |
| 785 | Svopajñadhātupāṭhavivarṇa | Harshakīrti | 59 | 17 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 786 | Haribhadrastūrikathā (M.) | O | 48 | 11 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pāṭhan. | Ditto |
| 787 | Hemavibhramasūtra saṭika | O | 7 | 18 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 788 | Haimaprākṛitadhunḍhikā | Hema- chandra. | 158 | 16 | 1645 | Ditto | Ditto | O | Ditto |
| C—VERNACULAR LITERATURE. I.—KASHMIRI. | | | | | | | | | |
| 789 | Amarakosha, with Kāśmīrī explanation..... | O | 51 | 10 | N. C. | Ditto | Śār. | Bikāner. | Ditto |
| 790 | Amsillā, a poem..... | O | 11 | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Persian. | Ditto | Ditto |
| 791 | Kāśmīrī kosha | O | 11 | 10 | Ditto | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |

| | | Sâhib Kol. | 159 | 10 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
|-----|--|------------------|-----|-----|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|
| 792 | Krishnâvatâra | | | | | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 793 | Jannacharitra, with another unknown piece. | O | 25 | 14 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 794 | Nirvânadesâśloketava ..... | ..... | 1 | 18 | O | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
| 795 | Nisâb | Sumty Pan-dit. | 3 | ... | N. C. | Ditto | Persian. | Ditto |
| 796 | Bânâsuravadha | O | 80 | 10 | O | Ditto | Śâr. | Incomplete. |
| 797 | Mahmûd-i-ghaznav | O | 8 | ... | N. C. | Ditto | Persian. | Complete. |
| 798 | Yusuf Zulaikhâ | O | 28 | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 799 | Râmâvatâr | O | 128 | 10 | Ditto | Ditto | Śâr. | Ditto |
| 800 | Lallâvâkya..... | Lallâ. | 6 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Dev. | Ditto |
| 801 | Lallâvâkya..... | The same. | 13 | 18 | O | Ditto | Śâr. | Complete. |
| 802 | Lailâ va Majdn | Mahmudi Gâmi. | 21 | ... | N. C. | Ditto | Persian. | Ditto |
| 803 | Vâmik-ujra | Saifuddin. | 28 | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 804 | The same | The same. | 43 | 8 | Ditto | Ditto | Śâr. | Ditto |
| 805 | Śivalagnavarnana | O | 68 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 806 | Śitrin-u-Khosru..... | Mahmudi Gâmi. | 22 | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Persian | Ditto |
| 807 | Another copy | The same. | 41 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Śâr. | Ditto |
| 808 | Śekh Sannâ | O | 4 | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Persian. | Ditto |
| 809 | Smâśaramâ-yâmohâśâsukhaduhk hacharita. | Ganaka-prâśasta. | 18 | 21 | Saptarshi 91 | Ditto | Śâr. | Ditto |

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Age. | Material. | Charac- ter. | Place where bought. | |
|---------------|---|-------------|-------------------------|--------|-------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 810 | Hārūn-rašīd | O | 5 | ... | N. C. | Paper. | Persian | Bikāner. | Complete. |
| 811 | A Kāśmīrī grammar and dictionary | O | ... | ... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 812 | A collection of Kāśmīrī songs | O | 54 | 8 | Ditto | Ditto | Śār. | Ditto | Ditto |
| II.—HINDI. | | | | | | | | | |
| 813 | Krishnarukhmīvēlī | Prithvirāja | 47 | 15 | 1638 | Ditto | Dev. | Jepur. | Ditto |
| 814 | Another copy, with a commentary | The same. | 34 | 17 | 1717 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 815 | Vaiśāvalī of the Chachvāhas ..... | ..... | ... | ... | ..... | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| III.—PERSIAN. | | | | | | | | | |
| 816 | Upanishads translated from the Sanskrit .. | By Bir Bal | } Received from Kāśmīr. | | | | | | |
| 817 | Tārīkh-i-Kāśmīr translated from the Rājatarangīn. | Kācharu. | | | | | | | |
| 818 | Prabodhachandrodayanāṭaka translated from the Sanskrit. | By Bunvali | | | | | | | |
| 819 | Bhāgavata, 10th Skandha Ditto ... | 2 vols. | | | | | | | |
| 820 | Mokshopāya Ditto ... | | | | | | | | |
| 821 | Vikramādityacharitra Ditto ... | | | | | | | | |
| 822 | Śivapurāṇa Ditto ... | | | | | | | | |
| 823 | A work regarding Kṛishna | | | | | | | | |

Appendix II.

EXTRACTS FROM MSS. PURCHASED IN 1875-76.

No. 12, Kāthakagrihyasūtra and bhāṣya.

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः ॥ नमो नारायणाय ॥

श्रीः ॥ नमो नरहरिं घोरदंष्ट्रानखरदारुणम् ।

सन्मानोत्सादिदुर्दान्तदैत्यनिर्मूलनोद्यतम् ॥

*आवावरीं धीतिमिरस्य पीवरीं संसारसिद्धोः [द्वेः] परमार्थदृश्वरीम् ।

सुधीवरीं सत्पुरुषार्थसंपदं नमामि भक्त्या परया सरस्वतीम् ॥

पितुः श्रीहरिपालस्य नत्वा पादौ निबन्धनम् ।

समन्त्रकूटगृह्यस्य देवपालोभिधास्यते ॥

ओं एकोनचत्वारिंशाध्यायैर्वैतानिकानि कर्माणि प्रतिपादितानि (स-
यापि प्रत्यक्षवि) साम्प्रतं गृह्याग्निसाध्यानि कथ्यन्ते । यद्यापि गृह्यानुष्ठान-
पूर्वाणि वैतानिकानि विधिमूलत्वात्सूत्रकृता पूर्वं प्रतिपादितानि ततो विध्यु-
तोऽश+वाक्यत्वेन निकटतरत्वादर्थवादानां तद्व्यं व्रताद्यं विधाय मन्त्रवर्ण-
गम्यान्संस्कारान्वक्ष्यति । तत्र त्रैवर्णिकाणां कृतविवाहानां गृह्यकर्मण्यधिकारः
विवाहोप्यधीतवेदस्यानतर(*)वेदानधीत्य स्नायात्स्नात्वा भार्यामधिगच्छेदित्या-
दिस्मृतेः अध्ययनमप्युपनीतस्य ब्रह्मचारिणस्तत्रोपनयनं वक्ष्यति । संस्का-
रव्रतानि [नी] त्याह ॥

उपनयनप्रभृति ब्रह्मचारी स्यात् ॥ २ ॥

(Contents extracted by Mārtaṇḍa Śāstri :)

1. ब्रह्मचारिप्रकरणम्—सूत्राणि ३२.—2. संध्योपयोगिमन्त्रभाष्यम्—
सू० ६.—3. अभिसन्निधनप्रकरणम्—सू० १०.—4. स्नातकप्रकरणम्—
सू० ६.—5. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्सम्मितं व्रतप्रकरणम्—सू० २८.—6. कृ-
च्छ्रविधिः—सू० १९.—7. तप्तकृच्छ्रम्—सू० २.—8. सातपथम्—सू० २.—

* Read आभास्वरीं.

† Read विध्युक्तशेषवा.

9. व्रतोपायनप्रकरणं—मन्त्रभाष्यं च—सू० २.—10. अनध्यायप्रकरणम्—सू० १५.—11. अथोपनिषदर्हाः—सू० ६.—12. वास्तोष्पतीयपाकयज्ञः—सू० २.—13. पाकयज्ञः—सू० १३.—14. ब्राह्मविवाहप्रकरणम्—सू० १७.—15. आसुरविवाहप्रकरणम्—सू० १०.—16. विवाहप्रकरणम् सू० ७.—17. हविष्यकल्पः—सू० १९.—18. प्रास्थानिकम्—सू० ४१.—19. पाणिग्रहणप्रकरणम्—सू० २३.—20. गृहप्रवेशप्रकरणम्—सू० २०.—21. गर्भाधानम्—सू० ४.—22. सीमन्तप्रकरणम्—सू० ८.—23. पुंसवनप्रकरणम्—सू० ४.—24. सोष्यन्तीसवनप्रकरणम्—सू० १.—25. जातकर्मप्रकरणं—नामकर्म च—सू० १०.—26. नामकरणप्रकरणम्—सू० १५.—27. निष्क्रमणप्रकरणम्—सू० ७.—28. चन्द्रदर्शनप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—29. अन्नप्राशनप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—30. चूडाकर्मप्रकरणम्—सू० १५.—31. उपनयनप्रकरणम् सू० ४१.—32. त्रैविद्यकप्रकरणम्—सू० ६.—33. चातुर्होतृकप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—34. प्रवर्ग्यव्रते शान्तिविमोक्तप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—35. गोदानव्रतप्रकरणम्—सू० ७.—36. एकाम्रेः साधनप्रकरणम्—सू० २२.—37. औपसदाग्निप्रकरणम्—सू० २८.—38. पुत्रेष्टिप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—39. नक्षत्रेष्टिप्रकरणम्—सू० ५.—40. अथोपहारप्रकरणम्—सू० २४.—41. शूलगवप्रकरणम्—सू० ११.—42. औपसदेष्टौ होमप्रकरणम्—सू० ९.—43. आययणप्रकरणम्—सू० २३.—44. वैश्वदेवप्रकरणम्—सू० ७.—45. आश्वयुजीप्रकरणम्—सू० ९.—46. गोमतां विधिप्रकरणम्—सू० २.—47. वृषोत्सर्गप्रकरणम्—सू० ६.—48. स्वस्थयनान्तरप्रकरणम्—सू० ८.—49. अष्टकाप्रकरणम्—सू० ७.—50. श्राद्धप्रकरणम्—सू० २१.—51. अन्वष्टकाश्राद्धप्रकरणम्—सू० १२.—52. अन्वष्टक्यां विशेषप्रकरणम्—सू० ५.—53. सपिण्डीकरणप्रकरणम्—सू० १६.—54. नान्दीमुखादिश्राद्धविधिप्रकरणम्—सू० ८.—55. फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासीयप्रकरणं—गोयज्ञादिप्रकरणं च—सू० १९.—56. मन्त्रभाष्यम् ।

End :

इति चारायणीयमन्त्रभाष्यं भट्टहरिपालपुत्रदेवपालकृतं संपूर्णं समाप्तम् । इति शुभम् ॥ शमस्तु ॥

संवत् ४७ खाव ति पञ्चदश्यां परतः षष्ठ्यां मया बौबरामभट्टेन लिखितं
स्वात्मार्थम् ॥ शुभं बोभवीतुतराम् ॥ सर्वत्र ॥ ॥

* Nos. 64—68, *Nilamata purāṇa*.

Beginning :

श्रीनिवासं हरिं देवं वरदं परमेश्वरं ।
त्रैलोक्यनाथं गोविंदं प्रणम्याक्षरमव्ययम् ॥ १ ॥
परिक्षिप्तं शभृच्छ्रीमान्नृपतिर्जनमेजयः ।
पप्रच्छ शिष्यं व्यासस्य वैशम्पायनमन्तिकात् ॥ २ ॥

जनमेजयः ।

महाभारतसंग्रामे नानादेशा नराधिपाः ।
महाशूराः समायाताः पितॄणां मे महात्मनाम् ॥ ३ ॥
कथं काश्मीरिको राजा नायातस्तत्र कीर्तय ।
पाण्डवैर्धार्तराष्ट्रैश्च न वृतः स कथं नृपः ॥ ४ ॥
कश्मीरमण्डलं चैव प्रधानं जगति स्थितम् ।
[कथं नासौ समाहूतस्तत्र पाण्डवकौरवैः ॥ ५ ॥
किं नामाभूत्स राजा च कश्मीराणां महाशयः ।
कथं वासौ निशम्यैतन्नायातश्चात्मना तदा ॥ ६ ॥
नायातं भारतं युद्धं राजा काश्मीरिको महान्]

वैशम्पायनः ।

[सत्यमेतन्महाराज त्वया प्रोक्तं महीपते ॥ ७ ॥
यथा नासौ समायातः तन्निशामय सुव्रत ।
कुरुपाण्डववेलायां भूमिर्भगवता स्वयम् ॥ ८ ॥
पाविताभूदितिसुतानवतीर्णाञ्जघान यत् ।
तस्मिन्कलित्र समभूद्राजा विशदकीर्तिमान् ॥ ९ ॥

* Collation and abstract of the *Purāṇa* by Mātaṇḍa Śāstri, the former revised by myself.

Śl. 3. नानादेशा.—Sāhebrām.

Śl. 5b—22b, as well as all subsequent ślokas included between brackets [], are found in Sāh. MS. only, and are therefore spurious.

Śl. 7, read नायातो.

कश्मीरान्यालयन्सौम्य गोमन्द इति संज्ञया ।
 असौ प्रतापकलितो दिशं सौम्यां समाश्रितः ॥ १० ॥
 शुशुभे विक्रमोदयो मानी कलितसंस्थितिः ।
 अयोत्थिते कलिमहाविरोधे दैत्यबन्धुना ॥ ११ ॥
 वृष्णीनां कृष्णमुख्यानां जरासन्धेन भूभृता ।
 अनेन बन्धुना मानस्थानमेष महीपतिः ॥ १२ ॥
 काश्मीरिकोभ्यर्थनयाहूतः साहाय्यकाम्यया ।
 गत्वासौ बन्धुगृह्यत्वाञ्जरासन्धस्य भूपतेः ॥ १३ ॥
 चक्रे साहाय्यकं धीमाञ्जरासन्धस्य भूपतेः ।
 रूरोधाय च कंसारेर्मथुरां मधुराकृतिः ॥ १४ ॥
 बलैः स्वैर्बलवान्राजा त्रेमुस्ते यत्र दानवाः ।
 भूरिशोय बले भ्रमे यादवानां बलाद्धतः ॥ १५ ॥
 बलो बलेन रुरुधे महता तं जिगीषया ।
 अतीव तुमुले तस्मिन्युद्वेन्योन्यजिगीषया ॥ १६ ॥
 काश्मीरिकोसौ क्रुद्धेन बलेन बलवान्बलात् ।
 रुद्धोभूत्पन्नितो भूमौ शस्त्रास्त्रक्षतविग्रहः ॥ १७ ॥
 इत्यस्मिन्वीरकलितां गतिमाप्ते महात्मनि ।
 दामोदराभिधस्तस्य सूनू राजाभवत्सुधीः ॥ १८ ॥
 विभूतिकलितेनाय समृद्धेन महात्मना ।
 येन काश्मीरभू राज्ञान्विता सौम्या जहास ह ॥ १९ ॥
 स राजबीजी सत्कीर्तिर्वीर्यशाली महाभुजः ।
 अन्तश्चिन्तातुरो जातु न लेभे निर्वृतिं पराम् ॥ २० ॥
 अहो महात्मा राजा स कथं नास हतो बलात् ।
 द्वीपान्तर्वासिना तातो बलेन बलवान्मम ॥ २१ ॥
 अथोपसिन्धुगान्धारविषयोभूत्स्त्रयंवरः ।
 यत्राहूताः समाजगमू राजानो वीर्यशालिनः ॥ २२ ॥
 तत्रागतं समाकर्ण्य] वासुदेवं स्वयंवरे ।
 जगाम माधवं योद्धुं चतुरङ्गबलान्वितः ॥ २३ ॥*

* Śl. 23 ends in Sâh. वासुदेवेन धीमता. The Śâr. MSS. show that several verses have been lost after śl. 23.

यादृशं वासुदेवस्य नरकेण सहाभवत् ।
 ततः स वासुदेवेन युद्धे तस्मिन्निपातितः ॥ २४ ॥
 अन्तर्वत्नीं तस्य पत्नीं वासुदेवोभ्यषेचयत् ।
 भविष्यत्पुत्ररक्षार्थं तस्य देशस्य गौरवात् ॥ २५ ॥
 ततः सा सुषुवे पुत्रं बालं गोनन्दसंज्ञितम् ।
 बालभावात्पाण्डुसुतैर्नानीतः कौरवैर्न वा ॥ २६ ॥

जनमेजयः ॥

देशस्य गौरवं चक्रे किमर्थं द्विजसत्तम ।
 वासुदेवो महात्मा यदभ्यषिञ्चत्स्वयं स्त्रियम् ॥ २७ ॥

वैशम्पायनः ॥

यैव देवी उमा सैव कश्मीरा नृपसत्तम ।
 आसीत्सरः पूर्णजलं सुरभ्यं सुमनोहरम् ॥ २८ ॥
 शालिमालाकुलं स्फीतं सत्फलाद्यैः समन्वितम् ।
 स्वाध्यायध्याननिरतैर्यज्ञशीलैर्जनैर्युतम् ॥ २९ ॥
 तपस्विभिर्धर्मपरैर्वेदवेदाङ्गपारगैः ।
 क्षत्रियैः सुमहाभागैः सर्वशस्त्रास्त्रपारगैः ॥ ३० ॥
 वैश्यैर्वृत्तिरतैः शूद्रैर्द्विजातिपरिचारकैः ।
 देवतायतनोपेतं सर्वतीर्थमयं शुभम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि तानि तत्र नराधिप ।
 ऋष्याश्रमैरसम्बाधं शीतातपशुभं सुखम् ॥ ३२ ॥
 अधृष्यं परराष्ट्राणां तद्व्यानामकोविदम् ।
 गोश्वनागादिबहुलं दुर्भिक्षातङ्कवर्जितम् ॥ ३३ ॥
 अदेवमातृकं पुण्यं रम्यं प्राणभृतां हितम् ।
 सर्वसस्यगुणोपेतमनातङ्कं बहुप्रजम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 स्त्रीभिश्च सकुमाराभिर्दालयसमाश्रयम् ।
 दुष्टैर्भुजंगशार्दूलमहिषक्षैर्विवर्जितम् ॥ ३५ ॥

Śl. 28. After this verse the Śār. MSS. insert कल्पारम्भात्प्रभृति यः । पुरा मन्त्र-
 न्तराणि षट् ॥ अस्मिन्मन्त्रन्तरे जातम् ॥ and indicate thereby a considerable lacuna.

ब्रह्मघोषधनुर्घोषानियोत्सवसमाकुलम् ।
 केलिप्रायजनाक्रीर्णं नित्यदृष्टबुधावृतम् ॥ ३६ ॥
 उदानारामसम्बाधवीणापटहनादितम् ।
 नित्यशौण्डजनोपेतं सतां हृदयवल्लभम् ॥ ३७ ॥
 नानापुष्पफलोपेतं नानाद्रुमलतोज्ज्वलम् ।
 नानामृगगणाक्रीर्णं सिद्धचारणसेवितम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 कश्मीरमण्डलं पुण्यं सर्वतीर्थमरिंदम ।
 तत्र नागहृदाः पुण्यास्तत्र पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः ॥ ३९ ॥
 तत्र नद्यस्तथा पुण्याः पुण्यान्यपि सरांसि च ।
 देवालयं सुपुण्यं च तेषां चैव तथाश्रमाः ॥ ४० ॥
 तस्य मध्येन निर्याता सीमन्तमिव कुर्वती ।
 वितस्ता परमा देवी साक्षाद्विमनगोद्वया ॥ ४१ ॥

जनमेजयः ॥

मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु यदासीद्विमलं सरः ।
 कथं वैवस्वते जातं तन्मण्डलमिति प्रभो ॥ ४२ ॥
 [ब्रूहि मे भगवन्किञ्चिन्नास्ति तेऽविदितं खलु ।
 प्रियशिष्योसि तस्यर्वेर्व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ॥ ४३ ॥]

वैशम्पायनः ॥

इममर्थं पुरा जातु गोमन्दाख्यो नृपोत्तमः ।
 तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन बृहदश्वमुपागतम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 पूजयित्वा स नृपतिः पप्रच्छ नृपसत्तम ।
 [सुखासीनं समादाय पादार्घ्याद्यमनुक्रमात् ॥ ४५ ॥]

गोनन्द उवाच ॥

मन्वन्तरेषु पूर्वेषु नासीद्विशभिदं किल ।
 कश्मीराख्यं बभूवास्मिन्कथं वैवस्वतेन्तरे ॥ ४६ ॥

Śl. 44, पुरा वत्स.—Sâhebrâm.

Śl. 45, पप्रच्छ मुनिसत्तमं, Sâh.

Śl. 46, 'सीदेतत्पुं किल । Sâh.

बृहदश्वः ॥

राशिभोगो रवेर्मासः सौर इत्यभिधीयते ।
 ऋतुस्तु मासौ द्वौ ज्ञेयावयनं तदृतुत्रयम् ॥ ४७ ॥
 अयने द्वे तथैवाब्दं नृपैवं वर्षसंख्यया ।
 द्वात्रिंशच्च सहस्राणि तथा लक्षचतुष्टयम् ॥ ४८ ॥
 प्रोक्तं कलियुगं राजन्द्वापरं द्विगुणं स्मृतम् ।
 त्रिगुणं तु तथा त्रेता कृतं ज्ञेयं चतुर्गुणम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 [कलिमानं ४३२०००) द्वापरमानं ८६४०००) ।
 त्रेतामानं १२५६०००) कृतमानं १७२८०००) ।
 चतुर्युगैकसप्तत्या मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ।
 युगप्रमाणं ४३२०००) मन्वन्तरप्रमाणं ३०६७२०००]
 तस्मिन्मन्वन्तरेतीते प्रजाः सस्थाणुजङ्गमाः ॥ ५० ॥
 भूर्लोकमाश्रिताः सर्वा नाशमायान्ति सर्वशः ।
 एकार्णवं जगत्सर्वं तदा भवति भूपते ॥ ५१ ॥
 हिमवान्हेमकूटश्च निषधो नीलपर्वतः ।
 श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान्मेरुर्माल्यवान्गन्धमादनः ॥ ५२ ॥
 महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षवानपि ।
 विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः ॥ ५३ ॥
 शेषं विनश्यते सर्वं जम्बूद्वीपं विशेषतः ।
 तदा विनष्टे लोकेस्मिन्महादेवः स्वयं प्रभुः ॥ ५४ ॥
 आपो भूलेच्छया लोके तिष्ठत्यस्मिन्समन्ततः ।
 सती देवी च तत्कालं तस्मिन्नौखं करोति हि ॥ ५५ ॥
 मनुर्भविष्यंस्तस्मिन् सर्वबीजानि मायया ।
 तदा स्थापयते राजंस्तां च नावं जगद्गुरुः ॥ ५६ ॥
 मत्स्यरूपधरो विष्णुः शृङ्गे कृत्वापकर्षति ।
 आकृष्य नावं तां देवस्तस्मिन्पर्वतमस्तके ॥ ५७ ॥
 बद्धा व्रजति भूपाल ह्यविज्ञातां तदा गतिम् ॥ ५८ ॥
 [इति नीलमते मन्वन्तरपर्ययवर्णनम्]

End, according to No. 65 :

इत्येवमुक्तं जनमेजयस्य
व्यासस्य शिष्येण महाव्रतेन ।
क्षिप्तं न यद्रन्यगुरुत्वभीत्या
समग्रशास्त्रैः खलु भारते वै ॥
सर्वत्र नैतद्विषयोपयोग्यं
तदा न चक्रे भगवान्महात्मा ।
अतीव हृद्यो बहुविस्तरेपि
जनप्रिये भारतपूर्णचन्द्रे ॥
नीलमते वितस्तामाहात्म्यम् । संपूर्णं नीलमतपुराणम् ॥

No. 127.

Chaurásuratapanchásiká, by Bilhāṇa.

Beginning :

श्रीपुरुषोत्तमायो[य] नमः ॥ ओं स्वास्ति ॥ श्रीप्रमथपतये नमः ॥ श्री-
श्रीपतये नमः ॥

सर्वस्वं गृह्वर्ति कुन्तलपतिर्गृह्णातु तन्मेपुन-
र्भाण्डागारमखण्डमेव हृदये जागर्ति सारस्वतम् ।
रे क्षुद्रास्यजत प्रमोदमचिरादेष्यन्ति मन्मन्दिरं
हेलान्दोलितकर्णतालकरटिस्कन्धाधिरूढाः श्रियः ॥ १ ॥
आयि किमनिशं राजद्वारे समुदुरकंधरे
कुवलयदलस्निग्धे मुग्धे विमुञ्चसि लोचने ।
अमररमणीलीलावल्गद्विलोचनवागुरा-
विषयपतितो न व्यावृत्तिं करिष्यति बिल्हणः ॥ २ ॥

अद्यापि तां कनकचम्पकदामगौरीमित्यादि

End :

इति चौरीसुरतपञ्चाशिका पण्डितबिल्हणकृता समाप्ता ॥

No. 129.

*Tárachandrodāya, by Vaidyanátha.**

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
गणेशं नमस्कृत्य सत्यव्रतानामिहैवाशिषं वाददानः करोति ।
महीपालतारासुचन्द्रस्य वंशावली वैद्यनाथो विशाला मुदैव ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya Jhalkār.

End, fol. 80b, l. 3.

वीरोसी (!) जगदीशवर्तनमथो देव्यास्तथा सत्कथा-
मात्राणामपि वर्तनं सुललितं चक्रे कृती मैथिलः ।
ताराचन्दमहीमहेन्द्रचरितैरानन्दितो नित्यदा
काशीवासमथाकरोदयमहो गङ्गासमीपस्थितः ॥ २० ॥
इति श्रीताराचन्द्रोदये महाकाव्ये श्रीवैद्यनाथमैथिलकृता विंशतिः सर्गः (!)॥
संवत् १७३६ समये चैत्र सु [शु] द्वपरिवा ॥

No. 130.

Tripuradahana, by Ravibhū

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीशंभवे नमः ॥
वपुरिति गौरच्छायं जयति विभोरभिदधाति गौरच्छायम् ।
त्रिकटुका येनाहिश्रेणीभूषणमिव स्वकायेनाहि ॥ १ ॥
निजया तन्वा नेत्रप्रमोदनं प्राणिनां वितन्वानेत्र ।
मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् ॥ १० ॥

Fol. 9a, l. 4 :

इति त्रिपुरदहने प्रथम आश्वासः ॥

Fol. 15b, l. 3 :

इति त्रिपुरदहने द्वितीय आश्वासः ॥

Fol. 21b, l. 8 :

बबन्धुरेव बन्धुरे स्ववर्त्मनि स्थितिं जनाः ।
पिनाकिनापि नाकिनाममोदि मोदकारिणा ॥ ६० ॥
इति त्रिपुरदहने तृतीयाश्वासः ॥

No. 133.

Daśavatāra, by Kāshemendra.

Beginning :

ओं नमो नारायणाय । अशेषविश्वेचिन्त्यरचनारूचये नमः ।
मायागहनगूढाय नानारूपाय विष्णवे ॥

Fol. 3b, l. 4 : इति श्रीदशावतारे मत्स्यावतारः प्रथमः ॥

* Extracts by Vāmanāchārya.

Fol. 5a, l. 12 : इति श्रीव्यासदासापराख्यक्षेमेन्द्रकृते दशा० कूमावतारो
द्वितीयः ॥

Fol. 6b, l. 9 : इति वराहावतारः

Fol. 10a, l. 3 : इति व्यासदासापराख्यक्षेमेन्द्रविरचिते दशा० नरसि-
हावतारश्चतुर्थः ॥

Fol. 17b, l. 9 : इति व्यास० क्षेमेन्द्रवि० दशा० वामनावतारः पञ्चमः ॥

Fol. 19a, l. 10 : इति श्रीव्यास० क्षेमेन्द्रवि० दशा० श्रीरामावतारः षष्ठः ॥

Fol. 32a, l. 5 : इति श्रीव्यास० क्षेमेन्द्रकृते दशा० श्रीरामचन्द्रावतारः
सप्तमः ॥

Fol. 62a, l. 8 : इति श्रीव्यास० क्षेमेन्द्रकृते दशा० श्रीकृष्णावतारोष्टमः ॥

Fol. 65 : इति व्यासदासा० क्षेमेन्द्रकृते दशा० बुद्धावतारो नवमः ॥

End :

इत्येष विष्णोरवतारमूर्तेः कथामृतास्वादविशेषभक्त्या ।

श्रीव्यासदासान्यतमाभिधानक्षेमेन्द्रनाम्ना विहितः स्तवाग्र्यः ॥

इति श्रीव्यासदासापराख्यक्षेमेन्द्रकृते दशावतारे कर्णवतारो * द-
शमः ॥ समाप्तश्चायं दशावतारस्तवः ॥

यो मत्स्यकूर्मादिविचित्ररूपैराश्चर्यकारी हृदयस्य रत्नैः ।

श्रीमाननन्तः स्फुटशङ्खचक्रः श्रियेस्तु विष्णुर्विभवोदधिर्वः ॥ १ ॥

कश्मीरेषु बभूव सिन्धुरधिकः सिन्धोश्च निम्नाशयः

प्राप्तस्तस्य गुणप्रकर्षयशसा पुत्रः प्रकाशेन्द्रताम् ।

विप्रेन्द्रप्रतिपादिताभधनभूगोसङ्घकृष्णाजिनैः

प्रख्यातातिशयस्य तस्य तनयः क्षेमेन्द्रनामाभवत् ॥ २ ॥

तेन श्रीत्रिपुरेशशैलशिखरे विश्रान्तिस्ततोषिणा

विष्णोः स्वल्पविलोकिताकृतिसुधासंवर्धितोऽकण्ठया ।

वाक्पुष्पैरमलैर्गुणप्रणिहितैरम्लानशोभैः स्थिरै-

र्भक्तिव्यक्तदशावतारसरसः पूजाप्रबन्धः कृतः ॥ ३ ॥

स्तुतिसंकीर्तनाद्विष्णोर्विपुलं यन्मयार्जितम् ।

तेनास्तु सर्वलोकानां कल्याणकुशलोदयः ॥ ४ ॥

* कर्क is the Kāśmīrian form for कल्की.

एकाधिकेब्दे विहितचत्वारिंशे सकांतिके ।

राज्ये कलशभूभर्तुः कश्मीरेष्वच्युतस्त्ववः ॥ ५ ॥

No. 142.

Nuishadhīyāṭīkū, by Vidhyādhara.

End of Sarga XI.,—fol. 220b, l. 9 :

लीलाद्योते [त] नगूढभावसुभगालंकारवृन्दान्विता
संसेव्या सुमनोवरैर्नवरं सप्रोलासिनी शोभना ।
चित्रासेचनके नलस्य चरिते बद्धास्पदा या सदा
टीका कान्तिगुणान्विता जयति सा साहित्यविद्याधरी ॥ १ ॥
श्रीसौरद्विजवंशमौक्तिकमणिः श्रीरामचन्द्रो भिष-
क्क्रीसीता सुपतिव्रता गुणवती सीतेव माता च यम् ।
श्रीविद्याधरमात्मजं प्रसुषुवे साहित्यविद्याधरं
तद्रूपे विमले गतोतिविमलः सर्गोयमेकादशः ॥ २ ॥

अनैषधनिषाधानाम सर्गः समाप्त [ः] ॥ ६ ॥ इत्यपरार्जुनचौलुका [क्य]
चूडामणिराजनारायणातवारभुजबलमलमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वीसल-
देवस्य भारतीभाण्डागारे नैषधस्यैकादशोऽध्यायः निर्मलः सर्गोय-
मेकादश [शः] अनैषधनिषाधा [?] नाम सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ ६ ॥

End of Sarga XXII.,—fol. 455b, l. 5 :

श्रीसौरद्विजवंशमौक्तिकमणिः श्रीरामचन्द्रोभिष-
क्क्रीसीता सुपतिव्रता गुणवती सीतेव माता च यम् ।
श्रीविद्याधरमात्मजं प्रसुषुवे साहित्यविद्याधरं
द्वाविंशस्य सवर्णने वितरणं सर्गे स चक्रे क्रमात् ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीपण्डितविद्याधरविरचितायां नैषधदीपिकायां टीकायां द्वाविंशः स-
र्गः समाप्तमिति ॥ ७ ॥ नैषधदीपिकाविद्याधरीसंज्ञामलिलिखत् ॥ ७ ॥ ग्रन्था-
ग्रम् समस्तग्रन्थसंख्या २०५८६ ॥ ७ ॥ ॥ ७ ॥ शुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु
॥ ७ ॥ ॥ ७ ॥ संवत् १६४९ ॥ बरषे [वर्षे] मागशरशिदिश [शुदि ३]
दिने वार भौमे लिखित । मोढज्ञातीयं पंम्बाजिगनायलिषितः ॥ ७ ॥ ७ ॥
७ ॥ ७ ॥ ० ॥ ० ॥ व्यासनारायणस्य ॥ चार्तुर्वेदज्ञातीयस्य इदं पुस्त-
कम् ॥ नैषधविद्याधरी टीकां संपूर्णः ॥ ० ॥ ० ॥ ७ ॥ श्री ॥ ७ ॥ ७ ॥ ७ ॥

No. 154.

Bhāratamanjarī, by Kshemendra.

Beginning :

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
 देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥ १ ॥
 समस्तवदनोद्रीतब्रह्मणे ब्रह्मणे नमः ।
 नमः प्रज्ञापतिभ्यश्च कृष्णद्वैपायनाय च ॥ २ ॥
 वृद्धश्रवाः पुरा सूतो लोमहर्षणसंभवः ।
 पौराणिको मुनीन्द्रष्टुं नैमिषारण्यमभ्यगात् ॥ ३ ॥

End (for which compare *Ind. Ant.* I. 307, note):—

इति क्षेमेन्द्रविरचितायां महाभारतमञ्जर्यां परिपूर्णो हरिवंशः ॥
 कास्मीरेषु [कश्मीरेषु] गुणाधारः प्रकाशेन्द्राभिधोभवत् ।
 नानार्थिसार्थसंकल्पपूरणे कल्पपादप [ः] ॥
 संपूर्णदानसंतुष्टाः प्राहुर्यं ब्राह्मणाः सदा ।
 इन्द्र एवासि किं लेकः प्रकाशस्ते गुणोधिकः ॥ १ ॥
 यस्य मेरोरिवोदारकल्याणपूर्णसंपदः ।
 अवारितमभूद्देहे भोज्यसत्त्वं द्विजन्मनाम् ॥ २ ॥
 सूर्यग्रहे त्रिभिर्लक्ष्यै[क्षै]र्दत्त्वा कृष्णाजिनत्रयम् ।
 अल्पप्रदोस्मीत्यभवत्क्षणे लज्जानताननः ॥ ३ ॥
 स्वयंभुशंभुविजये यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य देवताः ।
 दत्त्वा कोटिचतुर्भागं देवद्विजमठादिषु ॥ ४ ॥
 पूजयित्वा स्वयं शर्वं प्रसरद्वाष्पनिर्झरः ।
 गाढं दोभ्यां समालिङ्ग्य यस्तत्रैव व्यपदात् ॥ ५ ॥
 क्षेमेन्द्रनामा तनयस्तस्य विद्वत्सपर्यया ।
 प्रयातः कविगोष्ठीषु नामग्रहणयोग्यताम् ॥ ६ ॥
 आचार्यशेखरमणेर्विद्याविवृतिकारिणः ।
 श्रुताभिनवगुप्ताख्यात्साहित्यं बोधवारिधेः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमद्भागवताचार्यसोमपादाब्जरेणुभिः ।
 धन्यतां यः परां प्राप्तो नारायणपरायणः ॥ ८ ॥

कदाचिद्ब्राह्मणेनैव स रामयशसार्थितः ।
 संक्षिप्तां भारतकथां कुरुष्वेत्यार्यचेतसा ॥ ९ ॥
 तमूचेहं करोम्येव प्रागेतच्चरितं मया ।
 दृष्टः सत्यवतीमनूः स्वप्ने ज्ञाननिधिर्यतः ॥ १० ॥
 तं नमस्कृत्य वरदं सज्जोहं तत्समीहिते ।
 इत्युक्त्वा स्वप्नदृष्टस्य मुनेस्तुष्टाव तद्वपुः ॥ ११ ॥
 नमो ज्ञानानलशिखापुञ्जपिञ्जजटाभृते ।
 कृष्णायाकृष्णमहसे कृष्णद्वैपायनाय ते ॥ [इत्यादि]
 इति व्यासाष्टकं कृत्वा महाभारतमञ्जरीम् ।
 स चक्रे विबुधानन्दसुधास्यन्दतरंगिणीम् ॥
 समाप्तं महाभारतमञ्जरी ॥ कृतिः कवेः
व्यासदासापरनाम्नः प्रकाशेन्द्रसूनोः क्षेमेन्द्रस्य ॥
 अहो कविसरस्वत्या विचित्रेयं प्रसन्नता ।
 सद्यो मलिनतां वक्त्रे खलानां जायते यया ॥
 मद्बचोदर्पणतले महाभारतदिग्द्विपः ।
 समस्तावयवोप्येष मुष्टिमेय इवेक्ष्यते ॥
 रत्नादारचतुःसमुद्ररशनां भुक्त्वा भुवं कौरवो
 भयोरुः पतितः स निष्परिजनो जीवन्वृकैर्भक्षितः ।
 गोपैर्विश्वजयी जितः स विजयः कक्षैः क्षता वृष्णय-
 स्तस्मात्सर्वभिदं विचार्य सुचिरं शान्त्यै मनो दीयताम् ॥
 फुलेन्दीवरसुन्दरद्युतिमुषः शौरेः शरीरत्विषः
 पायासुर्निजनाभिपङ्क[ज]रजोलुब्धालिमालोपमाः ।
 याः कुर्वन्ति शशाङ्कबिम्बविष[श]दे लक्ष्मीमुखाब्जे मुहुः
 कस्तूरीरसपत्रभङ्गसुभगा लक्ष्मीप्रभाविभ्रमम् ॥
 एष विष्णुकथातीर्थपुण्यवत्सलिलोक्षितः ।
 प्राप्तः सामान्यजल्पोपि क्षेमेन्द्रोद्य कवीन्द्रताम् ॥
 शुभम् ॥ ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 संवत् १२ द्वार्व (?) ति अष्टम्यां परतः शुभम् ॥

No. 170.

*Specimen of a translation of the Rājataranginī.**

I. 1-107.

1. Reverence to Hara, who (grants his worshippers' desires) like the tree of Paradise, who is beautified by a seam of light emitted by the jewels that are concealed in the heads of the serpents adorning him, and in whom those freed (from the circle of births) find eternal rest.

2. May both the halves of the body of the god, whose cognizance is the bull, and who is united with his spouse, give you glory,—the left, whose forehead wears a saffron Tilak, the colour of whose throat near the ear is fair like the splendour of the ocean-born (moon), and is enhanced by numerous tremulous earrings, and whose breast wears a faultless boddice; — the right, whose forehead carries a flame of fire, the colour of whose throat near the ear is concealed by the ocean-born (poison) and enhanced by numerous playfully moving snakes, and whose chest is encircled by the lord of snakes as by a boddice.

1. G¹ and other MSS. read *bhūshāhīna* instead of *bhūshābhogi*. Hara or Śiva wears a serpent instead of a Jenvi or brahminical string, and smaller serpents instead of bracelets. The Kāśmīrians, being Śaivas, consider Śiva to be the Universal soul, and expect to be absorbed by him. The preposition *pra* in *pralīna*, which adds force to the meaning of the root, indicates that absorption is complete,—*sāyujya*, not *sūlokya*.

This verse, it seems to me, is an imitation of Bāṇa's *Śrīharshacharita* I. 1.

2. A translation of this verse being impossible, I have given a paraphrase. Almost the whole of its first three *pādas* is made up of a succession of puns. Śiva is invoked in his form of Ardhanārī, in union with Pārvatī. The words describing the appearances of the two halves are chosen in such a manner that they apply to the female form and its dress as well as to the male. *Kuṇḍalin*, lit. 'containing a ring,' must be taken as, I think, in the sense of 'earring' or 'necklace,' when it refers to *Pārvatī*. *Jaladhijachhhāyāchha* if referred to Pārvatī must be dissolved into *jaladhijachhhāyāvādachchha*; if referred to Śiva into *jaladhijachchhāyayāchha* or *āchchha*=*āchhādita*. In the description of Śiva, *ahīna* must be dissolved into *ahīnām ina*, 'the lord of snakes,'

* The text has been corrected according to two collated copies written by Ganakāk Pandit, G¹ and G², and the copy in the Government collection, Ch.

3. Worthy of praise is that quality of true poets, whatever it may be, which enables them to sprinkle with the nectar (of their song), and thereby to preserve, their own bodies of glory as well as those of others.

4. Who else but poets resembling the Prajāpatis (in creative power), and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men?

5. If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the existences which he is to reveal to men, what other indication would there be that he is a divine seer?

6. Though for its length the story does not show much variety, still there will be something in it that will gladden the virtuous.

7. That virtuous (poet) alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, restricts his muse to the exposition of facts.

8. If I narrate again the subject-matter of tales of which others have treated, still the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.

9-10. How great a cleverness is required in order that men of modern times may complete the account given in the books of those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was! Hence in this narrative of past events, which is difficult in many respects, *my* endeavour will be to *connect*.

11. The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles (of Kaśmīr) have been lost in consequence of (the appearance) of *Su-*

Vāsuki, who serves Śiva instead of the Jenvī. 'Near the ear' *may* also be referred to the sentence beginning with *dadhat*. The ocean-born poison is the Halāhala which Śiva swallowed.

4. The Prajāpatis are fourteen in number. They caused the successive creations of the world.

Verses 9 and 10 form a *yugalaka*, or couplet, *i. e.* they are interlaced in their construction : compare *Kāvyādarśa* I. 13, comment. They give the 'reasons' alluded to in v. 8. *Yat* must be taken as a conjunction, depending on *kiyaḍ idan dākshyam*. *Sarvaprakāraśkhalite*, 'which is difficult in many respects,' means literally 'in which there are dangers of mistakes of all kinds.'

11. Suvrata apparently wrote a *hind-book* of the history of Kaśmīr, to be committed to memory in the schools, which, as usual in India, caused the loss of the more ancient books on the same subject.

vrata's composition, who condensed them in order that (their substance) might be easily remembered.

12. *Suvrata's* poem, though extensive, does not easily reveal its meaning, since it is made difficult by misplaced learning.

13. Owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in *Kshemendra's* 'List of Kings' free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet.

14. Eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected, as well as the (Purāṇa containing the) opinions of the sage *Nīla*.

15. By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants, at the laudatory inscriptions, and at the Manuscripts, the worry arising from many errors has been overcome.

16. Four among the fifty-two rulers whom they do not mention,

13. Regarding *Kshemendra* see above, the Report.

14. Regarding the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* see above, the Report, and above, pp. lv. *seqq.*

15. According to my interpretation of this passage, *Kalhaṇa* used four kinds of records:—(1) the *pratishṭhāsāna* edicts, *i.e.* inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth; (2) the *vastuśāsana* edicts, *i.e.* inscriptions recording grants of things, chiefly of land, and perhaps also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates; (3) *prastipatīyas*, tablets containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings, *e.g.* the *Arbudaprasasti* in *Vimalaśāha's* temple at *Dailwarra*; (4) the *śāstras*, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the *Manuscripts* of Sanskrit books, which in *Kāśmīr* mostly give at the end some information regarding the author, and the king under which the author wrote, together with the date.

This interpretation comes nearest to Professor *Lassen's*,—vide *Ind. Alt.*, 2nd ed., II. 20,—from whom I differ in the interpretation of *śāstra* 'only.' He gives too narrow an explanation, considering it to mean 'law-books.'

16. *Gonanda* is the reading of all *Śāradā* MSS. Regarding the

on account of the loss of the records, viz. *Gonanda* and (his successors), have been taken from the *Nīlamata* (Purāṇa).

17-19. Having read the opinion of the Pâśupata Brahman *Helārāja*, who formerly composed a 'List of Kings' in twelve thousand ślokas, *Padmamihira* entered in his work the eight kings, beginning with *Lava*, who preceded *Aśoka* and his successors.

19. Those five kings also, among whom *Aśoka* is the first, *Śrī-chhavillākara* declared (to have been taken) from the fifty-two (lost ones). For his verse is as follows:—

20. "The five princes from *Aśoka* to *Abhimanyu*, who have been enumerated, have been obtained by the ancients out of the fifty-two (lost ones)."

21. This narrative (of mine), which is arranged (in proper order) and resembles a medicine, is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place and time.

22. What intelligent man does not rejoice at such a compilation, which treats of the numberless events of ancient times?

23. When (the hearer) has well pondered over the sudden appearance of created beings that lasts for a moment only, then let him

meaning of *āmnāya*, 'tradition,' 'records,' see below, I. 45, and the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. The four rulers intended are *Gonanda I.*, *Dāmodara I.*, *Dāmodara's* queen, and *Gonanda II.*: see above, the Report.

17. *Mahāvratin*, which I have translated by *Pâśupata*, has been usually taken to mean simply 'ascetic.' I should think that a particular sect of ascetics is intended. *A Helārāja*, who was a Kaśmīrian and lived probably in the 9th or 10th century, has written a commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, of which fragments are still extant; see Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.*, III. p. 285.

This and the following verses show that *Kalhaṇa* believed that altogether seventeen kings out of the number of the fifty-two forgotten ones had been rescued.

21. *Yuktā*, 'arranged in proper order,' may possibly mean *parimitā*, 'of limited extent.' The verse gives the key to *Kalhaṇa's* method.

23. *Śānta* is one of the nine *Rasas*, 'flavours or sentiments,' which ought to underlie poetic compositions. *Kalhaṇa*, who has to tell many commonplace events, and to go through endless repetitions,

consider how this (work) is hallowed by the prevalence of the Sentiment of Quietism.

24. Imbibe, therefore, straight with your ears this 'River of Kings,' which is made agreeable by an under-current of powerful sentiment.

25. Formerly, from the beginning of the Kalpa, the land in the womb of the Himâlaya was filled with water during the periods of six Manus, (and constituted) the *Lake of Satî*.

26-27. Afterwards, when the period of the present Manu *Vaivasvata* had arrived, the Prajâpati *Kaśyapa* caused Druhiṇa, Upendra, Rudra, and other gods to descend, caused (the demon) *Jalodbhava*, who dwelt in that lake, to be killed, and changed it into a country, known on earth as *Kaśmîr*.

28. Nîla, the lord of all Nâgas, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond (filled with) the stream of the Vitastâ's newly rising water, protects it.

29. There Gaurî, though she has assumed the form of the Vitastâ, still keeps her wonted inclinations. (For in her river-shape) she turns her

is anxious to prove, in order to guard his character as a poet, that his composition is not *nîrasa*.

24.. The correct reading in the last *pâda* is that given by *Ch.* and *G²*: *spashtam anga rājatarangiṇī*. *G¹* has *spashtamarnū*. *Anga* to be construed with *nipiyatām*.

25-27. The legend of the Satisaras, of its desiccation, and of the destruction of the demon *Jalodbhava* (Water-born), who had made it his dwelling and devastated the surrounding countries, is told at considerable length in the *Nîlamatapurâṇa*,—see the Report. The gods who assisted *Kaśyapa* were *Brahma*, *Vishṇu*, and *Śiva*, as stated in the text.

28. The annotator of *G¹* says: *virīvishayasthitena nîlanâgena viranâga iti prasiddhena*. Conventionally the Vitastâ is said to take its origin from the circular pond called *Vîrnâg* or *Virnâg*, situated about fifteen miles to the south-east of *Islâmâbâd*, at the foot of the *Banihâl*. *Kalhana* calls this pond *âtapatra*, 'the royal parasol' of *Nîlanâga*, who is supposed to reside in or under it. The circular form is the *tertium comparationis*, which suggested the far-fetched simile. Regarding the *Vîrnâg* compare *Vigne*, *Travels*, I. 332.

face towards the ravine (*guha*), just as (in her godlike form) she turns it towards (her son) Kumāra (*guha*); (in her river-shape) the mouths of the Nāgas (*nāgamukha*) drink her abundant water (*āpītabhūripayāḥ*), just as (in her god-like form) (her) elephant-faced (son Gaṇeśa, *nāgamukha*) drank her abundant milk (*āpītabhūripayāḥ*).

30. That (country) is inhabited by Nāgas gleaming with the splendour of various jewels, chief among whom are Śankha and Padma, and thus resembles the town of Kuvera, the depository of the nine treasures (chief among which are Śankha and Padma).

31. To shelter, forsooth, the Nāgas, who came afraid of Garuḍa, it stretched its arms out behind its back in the guise of a wall of mountains

29. The annotator of G¹ says : *guhonmukhī—kumārasaṁmukhī kandarābhīmukhī cha ; nāgamukhāpītabhūripayā nāgamukhena gajavanena āpītam bhūri payo dugdham yasyāḥśā nāgānām mukhena āpītam bhūri payo yasyāḥ [śā cha] ; yathā gaurī pārvatī, vitastātvaṁ yātāpyuchitāṁ ruchim ichchhāṁ nojjhati na tyajati svaruchim sedikāṁ [svachchāṁ] nātyajad gaurī nochitāṁ ruchim guhonmukhītyādikāṁ vitastātve tyajati tatpāpi tatkāraṇam*. The *guha* or ravine towards which the Vitastā turns her face is the pass of Bāramūla.

30. The Nāgas are the snake-formed deities supposed to reside in the springs and lakes of Kāśmīr. They appear to be originally personifications of the former. The winding, restless water easily suggested the comparison with a snake. Now the large springs are called *nāg*, and the small ones *nāginy*, the latter being supposed to be the residence of the females of the Nāgas. The Nāga Mahāpadma is the tutelary deity of the Vollur lake, which is frequently simply called *Māhapadma* ; vide, e.g., *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* III. 9, and Jonarāja thereon. Śankhanāga resides, according to Sāhebrām's *Tīrthasaṁgraha*, in a lake near *Dharindha*, in the Lār pargana.

31. Kāśmīr is here personified and supposed to face Garuḍa, who chased the Nāgas through the 'Gate' of the Valley at Bāramūla. Under this supposition it becomes intelligible how the mountain-chains surrounding the country can be likened to 'arms stretched out behind the back.' The story of the Nāgas' flight to Kāśmīr occurs in the *Nīlmatapurāṇa*.

32. There (worshippers) touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tīrtha called Pāpasūdana obtain heavenly bliss and final liberation as their rewards.

33. There the goddess *Sandhyā* produces water on an arid mountain, and shows the presence of merit and the absence of sin.

34. There self-created fire, rising from the bowels of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers.

35. There the goddess Sarasvatī herself is seen in the form of a swan swimming on a lake situated on the summit of Mount *Bheḍu*, which is sanctified by the source of Gangā.

36. There, even now, drops of sandal-ointment offered by the gods are to be seen in *Nandikshetra*, in the temple, the habitation of the immortals.

37. There, after looking on the goddess Śārādā, (the worshipper) at once reaches the river *Madhumatī* and Sarasvatī who is worshipped by poets.

32. The locality intended is the Pāpasūdana Nāga or Kapaṭeśvara Tīrtha, said to be in the Koṭahāra parganā near Islāmābād,—*Kapaṭeśvara, Koṭahiragrāme Koṭahārākhyavishaye*, G¹. Comp. *Śrīkṛṣṇachar.* III. 14, where the other name of the Tīrtha, Kapaṭeśvara, is given.

33. *Bhranganāmavishaye devagrāmasamīpasthale*, G¹. The story how a certain Mâyāvatu, son of Bhadreśvaravatu, brought the goddess Saṁdhyā-Gangā to his āśrama near Deval, in the Bhring parganā, is told at length in the *Saṁdhyāmāhātmya*.

34. The Svayambhū Agni here mentioned is the burning naphtha spring in Kamrāj or Kramarājya, near Sopur. So also G¹—*Kramarājye svaimiti prasiddhaḥ*, and Sâhebrâm, *Tīrthasaṅgraha*.

35. *Bheḍagiri—bheḍabhraṇḍū iti prasiddhaḥ*, G¹.—The *Gangā-māhātmya*, No. 56, mentions the hill.

36. *Nandikshetra nāronāmagrāme*, G¹. It is situated in the Lār pargana, not far from the Haramukutagangā, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter: see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* XXXV. 226. So also Sâhebrâm's *Tīrthasaṅgraha*. Surâvâsaprâsâda may be a N. pr.

37. *Śrīsaile hareḥ iti prasiddhe sthale daraddeśasamīpavartini*, G¹. *Hôril* is found on the Survey map in the parganā Khuyahâm, to the north of the Vollur lake, into which latter the Madhumatī falls, as marked on the native map. Sâhebrâm (*Tīrthasaṅgraha*) places these *tīrthas* in Lolâb.

38. In that (country) which is adorned by Keśava-Chakrabhṛit, and by Śiva-Vijayeśa and other (deities), there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum which has not its Tirtha.

39. The country may be gained by the strength of spiritual merit, but not by armies of soldiers. Hence people there are chiefly anxious about the next world.

40. There the rivers are free from dangers and aquatic monsters, provided with warm bath-houses for the winter, and comfortable places (for descending) into the current.

41. Out of respect, as it were, the Sun does not fiercely shine, during summer even, in that (country) which has been created by his father, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.

42. Things that elsewhere in the three worlds are difficult to find, viz. lofty halls of learning, saffron, icy water, and grapes, are common there.

43. In these three worlds the jewel-producing region of Kuvera is (chiefly) worthy of praise; (next) in that (region) the mountain range, the father of Gaurī; and (thirdly) the country which is enclosed by that (mountain).

44. Fifty-two princes, beginning with *Gonanda*, who in the Kali-yuga were contemporaries of the Kurus and of the sons of Kuntī, have not been recorded.

45. In consequence of the demerit of those rulers of the land of *Kaśyapa*, no poets of creative power, who produced their bodies of glory, existed in those times.

46. We pay reverence to that naturally sublime craft of poets, without whose favour powerful princes are not remembered, although the earth that is girdled by the oceans was sheltered under the protection of their arms as in the shade of a forest.

38. *Chakrabhṛit keśavaḥ chakradhara iti prasiddhaḥ; vijayeśa śāna bijabrūr iti prasiddhaḥ*, G¹. The ancient fane of Vishṇu-Chakradhara lay on a low hill, situated about a mile below Bijbrôr, on the left bank of the Vitastâ, and is now called Châkdhar. See Report, p. 18. Bijbrôr or Bijbihâr is too well known to need any further notice. But compare Vigne, II. 23.

43. The father of Gaurī, i.e. the Himâlaya.

44. Kuvera is the regent of the North, and the possessor of the nine treasures.

47. Without thee, O brother composer of true poetry, this world does not even dream of the existence of its chiefs, though they rested their feet on the temples of elephants, though they won prosperity, though maidens, moons of the day, dwelt in their palaces,—without thee the universe is blind, why (praise) thee with a hundred hymns?

48-49. Some (authors) have given this (following) calculation of the years wrongly, as they were deceived by the statement that *Gonandī* and his successors protected Kaśmīr during twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight years in the Kaliyuga, (and) that the Bhārata (war) took place at the end of the Dvāpara yuga.

50. If the years of the kings, the length of whose reigns is known, are added together (and deducted) from the passed period of the Kaliyugadiminished by that (time which elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the Bhārata war), no rest remains.

51. When six hundred and fifty-three years of the *Kaliyuga* had passed away, the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas lived on the earth.

52. At present, in the twenty-fourth year (of) the Laukika (era), one thousand and seventy years of the Śaka era have passed.

53. On the whole, at that (time) two thousand three hundred and thirty years have elapsed since (the times of) *Gonanda* (III.).

54. Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are supposed (to be comprised) in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two kings.

55. Since the Great Bear moves in a hundred years from one Nakshatra to the other, the author of the (*Bṛihat*) *Saṁhita* has thus given his decision regarding its motion in this (verse):—

48-49. In the text read कश्मीरान्. कश्मीरान् not काश्मीरः is the form which the Śāradā MSS. give everywhere. The two verses form a *yugalaka* or *yugma*, and v. 48 must therefore be taken as depending on the words *iti vārttayā vimohitāḥ*, which occur in the second half of v. 49.

50. I am unable to make anything of this verse, except by taking *tad* in *tadvivarjitāt* to refer to *bhāratam* in v. 49. For with any other explanation the figures must come wrong, and the verse must be taken as part of the *pūrvapakṣhi*, which it is not, as the opinion of the 'some' has been done with in the preceding verses.

52. Regarding the Laukika or Saptarshi era see above, the Report.

55. The proper reading, instead of the उच्चारं of the Calcutta and Paris editions, is तच्चारं, which is found in all Śāradā MSS. The mistake has been caused by the resemblance of Śāradā *u* and *ta*.

56. "When king *Yudhishthira* ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in (the Nakshatra) *Maghâḥ*. His reign fell 2526 years (before) the Śaka era.

57. The brave king of *Kāśmīr Gonanda* was worshipped by the *Gonanda I.* region (of the North), which *Kailāsa* lights up (with the glitter of its snow), and rolling *Gangā* clothes with a soft and transparent garment.

56. The verse is found *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* XIII. 3.

From vv. 48-56, which give the chronological basis of the *Tarangiṇī*, it would appear that the statement of the *Nīlamata*, which makes *Gonanda II.* contemporary with the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, was the starting-point common to Kalhaṇa and other chronologists. But while others placed *Gonanda* in the beginning of the Kaliyuga, guided by the tradition that the Great War occurred at the end of the *Dvāpara-yuga*, Kalhaṇa used *Varāhamihira's* date of *Yudhishthira*, 2526 before Śaka, or 653 Kali, to determine the beginning of the *Gonandas*. He then cut down or lengthened (*vide* above, v. 21) the reigns of the *Kāśmīrian* kings until their sum total *plus* 653 agreed with the time which had elapsed between the year in which he began to write, viz. 1070, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. His equation, as has been shown by Wilson, Troyer, and others, is—

| Years of the Kaliyuga elapsed in Śaka | Fifty-two lost kings of Kāśmīr— | |
|--|---|--------------|
| 1070 = 1070 | Kings from <i>Gonanda III.</i> + 2330 (v. 33) | 1266 (v. 54) |
| + 3179 | + 653 (v. 51) | |
| <hr/> | <hr/> | |
| 4249 | | 4249 |

The expressions *prāyāḥ*, 'on the whole' (v. 53), and *matāḥ* (v. 54), seem to me further proof (in addition to the direct statement, v. 21) that Kalhaṇa did make alterations in the length of the reigns. Another circumstance shows with what levity Kalhaṇa worked. The period of 1266 years begins with the reign of *Gonanda I.*; and *Gonanda II.*, his grandson, was, according to the *Purāṇa*, the infant king when the Great War began. Nevertheless he assumes that the coronation of *Yudhishthira* occurred in the first year of *Gonanda I.*, as he places the whole of the 1266 years after Kali 653, in which *Yudhishthira* was installed on the throne, according to *Varāhamihira*.

57. This as well as the subsequent stories regarding *Dāmodara* and *Gonanda II.*, down to v. 82, are taken from the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.

58. The earth, afraid as it were that *Śeṣha's* poison might be infused into her, left the serpent's body and rested in the king's arm that was adorned by the jewel sacred to Garuḍa.

59. *Jarāsandha*, his relation, called on him for help. With a large army he besieged *Mathurā*, (the town) of *Kṛishṇa*.

60. When he pitched his camp on the banks of the *Kālindī*, the fame of (the hostile) warriors vanished together with the smiles of the females of *Yadu's* race.

61. Once (*Balarāma*), whose ensign is the plough, engaged that warrior in battle in order to protect his entirely shattered forces.

62. The bridal wreath of the goddess of victory faded, since it remained long in her hands, while those warriors of equal strength were combating each other and the result was doubtful.

63. Finally, with limbs wounded by each other's weapons, the king of *Kaśmīr* embraced the earth, and the scion of *Yadu* the goddess of victory.

Dāmodara I. 64. When that brave warrior travelled the road which great heroes easily find, his son, the illustrious *Dāmodara*, protected the earth.

65. That proud prince, though he had obtained a kingdom which was distinguished by affording the means of enjoyment, found no peace because he brooded over the death of his father.

66. Then that (hero), whose arm, (strong) like a tree, was burning with pride, heard that the *Vṛishṇis* had been invited by the *Gāndhāras* on the banks of the Indus to an approaching *Svayamvara*, and that they had come.

67. Then, (impelled) by excessive fury, he undertook on their approach an expedition against them, obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised.

58. The jewel sacred to Garuḍa, the destroyer of the Serpents, is the emerald. Read देह with the Śār. MSS. instead of the nonsensical देह of the editions.

64. The road to Svarga is meant.

65. Read here and elsewhere with the Śārada MSS. काश्मीरक instead of काश्मीरकः

66. Regarding the *Gāndhāras* on the *Sindhu* see Cunningham, *Arch. Geog.* 47 seqq. *Vṛishṇi* is another name of the *Yādavas*. In the text read दर्वणिदोह्यः

68. In the battle with those (foes), the bride, who was about to choose a husband and was impatient for the wedding, was slain. Then the celestial maidens chose husbands in *Gāndhāra-land*.

69. Then the valiant ruler of the earth-disc, attacking, in the battle with the god whose weapon is the war-disc, the disc-like array of his enemies, went to heaven by the road of the edge of the battle-disc.'

70. Then *Krishṇa*, the descendant of *Yadu*, ordered the Brahmans to install the (king's) pregnant widow *Yaśovati* on the throne.

Yaśovati.

71. When the servants of the *slayer of Madhu* at that time became angry, he, reciting this stanza from the *Purāṇa*, reproved them:—

72. "*Kāśmīr-land* is *Pārvatī*; know that its king is a portion of *Śiva*. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires (his own) welfare will not despise him."

73. The eyes of men, who formerly regarded with contempt (the country and the queen) as two females and objects of enjoyment, looked (after this speech was uttered) upon (*Yaśovati*) as the mother of her subjects, and (upon the country) as a goddess.

74. Then in the proper month that queen bore a son endowed with divine marks, a new sprout of the family tree which had been consumed by fire.

75. The Brahmans performed the coronation and kindred rites for him together with his *Jātakarma* and other sacraments.

76. The infant king received afterwards, together with the regal dignity, the name of his grandfather, *Gonandī*.

Gonandī II.

68. The editions read निच्यतेस्म, a corruption of which is also found in *Ch.*; *G*¹ reads निच्यतेस्म. The former reading gives no sense. *Ni-gṇyate* is apparently intended for *nihanyate*, and it is just possible that *Kaḥṇa* used this incorrect form on account of the metre.

69. The numerous puns on the word *chakra*, disc, make this verse dear to the Pandit. *Chakradhārādhvānā*, 'by the road of the edge of the battle-disc,' may also be dissolved, *chākradhārāṇi kṛishṇaḥ*, *sa eva panthāstena*, and be translated 'the road (being opened to him by) *Kṛishṇa*, the bearer of the war-disc.' To be slain by a person as holy as *Kṛishṇa* would, of course, ensure heaven to the victim. Perhaps *Kaḥṇa* intended it to be taken both ways.

73. The earth, or the country, is always considered to be the *wife* of the king.

76. Read with the *Śāradā MSS.* नरेन्द्रधिया, instead of नगेन्द्रधिया as *Troyer* and the *Calcutta* edition have.

77. Two nurses were engaged in rearing him, the one gave her milk, the other complete prosperity.

78. The ministers of his father, who were careful that his being pleased should not remain without results, bestowed wealth upon his attendants even when he smiled without cause.

79. When his officers, unable to understand his infant stammering, did not fulfil his orders, they considered themselves guilty of a crime.

80. When the infant king ascended his father's throne, he whose legs were dangling in the air did not banish (from the hearts of his subjects) the desire (to prostrate themselves) before his footstool.

81. When the ministers decided the legal and religious disputes of the subjects, they listened to (the opinion of the child) whose locks were moved by the wind from the *chauris*.

82. Thus (it happened that) the king of Kaśmīr, being an infant, was taken neither by Kurus nor Pāṇḍavas to assist them in the Great War.

Thirty-five
kings lost.

83. Thirty-five kings who followed him, and whose names and deeds have perished in consequence of the loss of the records, have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion.

Lava.

84. After them *Lava*, an ornament of the earth, a favourite of Victory that is clothed in a flowing robe of fame, became king.

85. The roar of his army, which roused the universe from its slumber, sent—O wonder!—his enemies to their long slumber.

77. The second nurse is the *earth*, or the country, which gave him entire prosperity.

78. It is the custom and the duty of kings to give presents whenever they are pleased. The ministers watched lest the custom should be neglected in the case of the infant king, and gave presents whenever he smiled.

80. Read हन्ता with the Śāradā MSS. instead of कृता. *Utkañṭhā pādapīṭhasya*, 'the desire for the footstool,' means the desire to use the footstool for its legitimate purposes, *i.e.* for touching it with the forehead. The persons from whom this desire was *not* taken are not named. Hence it must be understood that everybody, all the king's subjects, are meant. The verse is intended to furnish another proof that this infant king was respected quite as much as any grown-up ruler could have been.

86. Constructing eighty-four lakhs of stone buildings, he founded the town of *Lolora*.

87. After giving to a community of Brahmans the Agrahâra of *Levâra*, on the *Lîdar*, the valiant (king) endowed with blameless heroism and splendour ascended to heaven.

88. He was succeeded by his son *Kuśa*, expert in (deeds of) prowess and lotus-eyed, who gave the Agrahâra of *Kuruhâra*. Kuśa.

89. After him his son, the illustrious *Khagendra*, the destroyer of his foes' elephants, the first (among men), an abode of valour, obtained the throne. Khagendra.

90. He settled the two principal Agrahâras (of Kaśmîr), *Khâgi* and *Khonamusha*, and afterwards he ascended to that world which he had bought by deeds brilliant like (the glitter of) Śiva's (teeth in) smiling.

91. After him came his son *Surendra*, possessed of priceless greatness, who was an entire stranger to guilt, who far surpassed Indra's state, and whose deeds astonished the world. Surendra.

92. Surendra, the lord of the gods, could not be compared to this

86. Lolora is situated in the pargaṇâ of Lolâb.

87. The Ledarî, now called Lîdar or Lidder, is the principal northern tributary of the Vitastâ, which it joins not far from Bij-brôr. An *agrahâra* is an Inâm village given to a Brahman, or to a community of Brahmans. See the *Pet. Dict. s. v.* Levâra is said to exist now.

88. According to the annotator of G¹, *Kuruhâra* is now called *Kular*, and Paudit Dayarâm places it in the Dachhinpara pargaṇâ.

90. Khâgi is said to be the modern Kākâpur (Wilson and Troyer), and Khonamusha is Khunmoh, as was first recognized by General Cunningham. See also above, Report, p. 4 *seqq.* The Śâradâ MSS. Khonamusha instead of Khunamusha, and to this form points also the *Khonumukha* of Bilhaṇa, *Vikramânkacharita* XVIII. 7. As there is hardly any difference between the pronunciation of *o* and *u* in Kaśmîr, the spelling does not matter much.

91. *Ārghamaghavattāvahishkṛitah*, of which a double translation has been given, may be taken as two words, *ārgham* and *aghavattāvahishkṛitah*, or as a compound, *ārgha-maghavattāvahishkṛitah*. The author, like a good Kavi, loves his pun dearly, and intends it to be taken both ways.

92. Indra or Surendra is called *Gotrabhit* because he opened the

Surendra, since he is called *śatamanyu*, 'the harbourer of a hundred grudges,' and *gotrabhit*, 'the destroyer of the Gotra,' while (*Surendra* of Kaśmîr) deserved the surname *śāntamanyu*, 'he whose anger is appeased,' and *gotrarakṣhī*, 'the protector of the Gotra.'

93. That illustrious (ruler) founded on the frontiers of Dardistān a town called *Sauraka*, and a Vihāra called *Nareन्द्र-bhavana*.

94. In his own kingdom that prince of great fame and of holy works founded a Vihāra, called *Saurasa*, which became famous for piety.

Godhara. 95. After this king had died without issue, *Godhara*, a scion of a different family, protected the earth, together with the best of mountains.

96. Liberal, pious *Godhara* went to heaven after presenting the Agraḥāra *Hastīśālā* to the Brahmans.

Suvarṇa. 97. His son *Suvarṇa* after him distributed gold (*suvarṇa*) to the needy, he who caused to flow, in the district of Karāla, the brook *Suvarṇamanī*.

Janaka. 98. His son *Janaka*, comparable to a father (*janaka*) of his subjects, founded the Vihāra and Agraḥāra called *Jālorā*.

Gotra or pen in which the Paṇis had confined the cows of the gods: see the quotations in the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. In the case of the Kaśmîrian *Surendra*, *Gotra* must be taken to mean his own or the Brahminical families.

93. Neither the places mentioned in this verse nor the one mentioned in the next can be traced, though the former, as they were situated on the frontier of Dardistān, must have been somewhere in Lolāb or Khuyahām.

It is important to note that Kalhaṇa ascribes the foundation of Vihāras, or *Bauddha* monasteries, to the last king of the line of Gonanda, whom he must have placed somewhere about the 18th century before our era.

95. Read with *Ch.* and G¹ समुद्रतः प्रसृजम्. 'The best of mountains' is the Himālaya.

96. According to the annotator of G¹, *Hastīśālā* is now called *Asthīhīl*. My Brahman friends did not know this latter name, and thought that *Hastīr* might be meant.

97. The annotator of G¹ explains Karāle by *ūrdhavana*, and *Suvarṇamanikulyā* by *Sunnamayā nāla*, the *nāla* or brook called *Sunnamayā*, marked on the native map in the parganā Āḍhivan or Arwin.

98. My Kaśmîrian friends identify *Zāwur*, near *Zevan*, with *Jālorā*.

99. After him the illustrious *Śachinara*, whose disposition was forgiving, protected the earth as ruler, his commands gaining obedience (from all). Śachinara.

100. That king founded the two Agrahâras *Śamāngasa* and *Aśanâra*. Without male issue he obtained half of Indra's seat (after death).

101. Next, the son of that king's grand-uncle, and great-grandson of *Śakuni*, the veracious *Aśoka*, ruled the earth. Aśoka.

102. That king, cleansed from sin and converted to the teaching of Jina, covered *Śushkalettra* and *Vitastâttra* with numerous *stûpas*.

103. Within the precincts of the Dharmâranya Vihâra in Vitastâttra-pura stood a *chaitya*, built by him, the height of which the eye was unable to measure.

104. That illustrious prince built the town of Śrīnagarī, which is most important on account of its nine million and six hundred thousand houses.

105. This virtuous (prince) removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayeśvara, and built a new one of stone.

106. He whose dejection had been overcome built within the en-

100. According to the annotator of G¹ the modern equivalent of *Śamāngasa* is Śvāngas, in the Koṭahâra pargana, near Islāmâbâd, and of *Aśanâra*, the well-known village of Chrâr.

102. Read शुष्कलेत्रवितस्तत्रौ. The annotator of G¹ remarks : *śushkalettraḥ hukhlettra vitastâttra vithavatra, sushkalettrascha vitastâttrascha tau śushkalettravitastâttrau dvitīyādvivachanam etat*. Both localities, the names of which are usually pronounced *Hoklit* and *Vethrotr*, are situated in the Devasar parganâ to the south of Islāmâbâd. The former is marked on the Trig. Surv. map as Vithawiter.

103. Read यत्कृतम् with G¹ and Ch., instead of the यत्कृत्यम् of the editions.

104. General Cunningham (*Anc. Geogr.* 95) has fixed the site of the ancient Śrīnagarī near Pāndrethân (Purāṇādhishṭhāna). Some Pandits think that it lay near Islāmâbâd.

105. Regarding the very remarkable *prākāras* of the Kāśmīrian temples see Cunningham, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* XIII. pp. 340 seqq.

106. *Aśokeśvara* must be explained as a *madhyamapadalopī* compound, by *Aśokena nirmita śvara*, 'the (temple of) Śiva built by Aśoka.' The same remark applies to the numerous names of temples

closure of Vijayeśvara, and near it, two (other) temples, which were styled *Āśokeśvara*.

107. As the country was overrun by Mlechhas, the pious (king) obtained from Śiva, the lord of creatures, a son in order to destroy them

ending in Īśvara and beginning with the name of a person, which occur further on.

107. The Mlechhas intended here are probably the Greeks : *vide* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II. 285, 2nd ed.

Nos. 182-183.

Rāmāyaṇakathāsāra, by Kshemendra.

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥
 ओं । जितं भगवता तेन हरिणा लोकधारिणा ।
 अजेन विश्वरूपेण निर्गुणेन गुणात्मना ॥
 ज्येष्ठो जयति वाल्मीकिः सर्गबन्धे प्रजापतिः ।
 यः सर्वहृदयालीनं काव्यं रामायणं व्यधात् ॥

End :

इति क्षेमेन्द्रविरचिते रामायणकथासार उत्तरखण्डस्तृतीयः समाप्तः ॥
 यो गार्हे नवयौवनेपि विपिने चीराम्बरो राघव-
 स्तत्राप्यस्य परेण दारहरणं क्लमस्तदन्वेषणे । *
 संप्राप्तापि जनापवादरजसा त्यक्ता पुनर्जानकी
 सर्वं दुःखमयं तदस्तु भवतां श्लाघ्यो विवेकोदयः ॥ २ ॥
 स वः पुनातु वाल्मीकिः सूक्तामृतमहोदधिः ।
 ओंकार इव वर्णानां कवीनां प्रथमो मुनिः ॥
 कश्मीरेष्वभवत्सिन्धुर्जन्मचन्द्र इवापरः ।
 प्रकाशेन्द्रः स्थिरा यस्य प्रथस्य कीर्तिकौमुदी ॥ ३ ॥
 सदादानार्द्रहस्तेन महता भद्रमूर्तिना ।
 साधु पुञ्जरिता येन प्राप्ता कीर्तिः पताकिना ॥

* V. 1. ॥ ३ ॥ १८३.

विद्वज्जनमपर्याप्तं [?] पर्याप्तस्वजनेत्सवः ।
 कथासारसुधासारं क्षेमेन्द्रस्तत्सुतो व्यधात् ॥ ५ ॥
 मुक्त्यात्मना [?] रणा [?] नारहारनूपुरमेखला ।
 विलासलासिका यस्य वदने भाति भारती ॥ ६ ॥
 लोभाभिमानमलिनानि धनानि नित्यं
 कान्ताकटाक्षचटुलानि च जीवितानि ।
 ज्ञात्वैति चन्द्रधवलानि यज्ञांसि येन
 काव्यैः स्थिराणि भुवनेषु निवेशितानि ॥ ७ ॥
 आमोदयन्ति सरसान्यतिकोमलानि
 विप्रेण रामयज्ञसा प्रययार्थिनीव ।
 येनानिलं (?) प्रणयभूषणतां जनस्य
 नीतानि काव्यकुसुमान्यसितानि तानि ॥ ८ ॥
 गुणा गुणतया भान्ति येषु वस्तुषु विस्मयः ।
 निर्गुणेषु गुणा एव ये वदन्ति जयन्ति ते ॥ ९ ॥
 इति क्षेमेन्द्रविरचिते[?] रामायणकथासारः समाप्तः ॥

No. 184.

*Rāvaṇnarjunīya or Arjunarāvaṇīya, by Bhaṭṭa Bhīma.**

Beginning :

श्रीमानभूदुपतिरर्जुनाख्यः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यसूनुः ।
 आलोक्य यं सिंहमिवाजिभाजं ननाश शत्रुर्गजनाशमाशु ॥ १ ॥

Fol. 36, l. 10, end of S. II. :

इति श्रीमहाकविश्रीभट्टभीमकृते रावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये गाङ्गु-
 टादिपादे प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 7a, l. 11, end of S. II. :

इति श्रीकाश्मीरभट्टभीमविरचिते रावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये
 भूवादिपादे द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥

V. 6, read रणत्तार.

विलासहासका 182 pr. m. and 183.

V. 8, perhaps प्रणयार्थिनेव. Read येनानिर्गः. Probably कुसुमानि सितानि ॥

V. 9. गुण ; 182, 183.

* Extracts by Vāmanāchārya.

Fol. 10a, l. 2, end of S. III. :

इति रावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये आकडारादिपादे तृतीयः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 13a, l. 1, end of S. IV. :

इति श्रीरावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये समर्थपादे चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 14b, l. 7, end of S. V. :

इति श्रीरावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्ये पूर्वापरपादे पञ्चमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 1-8b, l. 10, end of S. VI. :

इति रावणार्जुनीये महाकाव्येभिहितपादे षष्ठः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 20a, l. 2, end of S. VII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये द्विगुरेकवचनपादे सप्तमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 23a, l. 8, end of S. VIII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये प्रत्ययपादेष्टमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 25b, l. 8, end of S. IX. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये महाकविभट्टभीमकृते प्रत्ययपादे पाश्चात्ते
नवमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 28a, l. 4, end of S. X. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये वैयाकरणवरभट्टभीमकृते कर्मण्यणपूर्व-
पादे दशमः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 30a, l. 4, end of S. XI. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये कर्मवर्ण्या [कर्मण्यण्] पादे एकादशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 34a, l. 8, end of S. XII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये उणादिपादे द्वादशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 37a, l. 6, end of S. XIII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये वैयाकरणभट्टभीमकृते धातुसंबन्धपादे
त्रयोदशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 40a, l. 6, end of S. XIV. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये रक्तपादे चतुर्दशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 41b, l. 1, end of S. XV. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये प्राग्वहतेष्टकपादे पञ्चदशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 43b, l. 11, end of S. XVI. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये धान्यानां भवने पादे षोडशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 46a, l. 14, end of S. XVII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये पादशतपादे सप्तदशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 47b, l. 9, end of S. XVIII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीय एकाचोद्वेपादेष्टादशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 49b, l. 10, end of S. XIX. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये लुगुत्तरपदे[पादे]एको[न] विंशः सर्गः ॥

Sarga XX. missing.

Fol. 51b, l. 3, end of S. XXI. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये युवोरनाकपाद एकविंशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 54a, l. 4, end of S. XXII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये सिचिवृद्धिपादे द्वाविंशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 55b, l. 11, end of S. XXIII. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये देविकापादे त्रयोविंशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 57b, l. 2, end of S. XXIV. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये णौ च [ङ्गुपधा] पादे चतुर्विंशः सर्गः ॥

Fol. 58a, l. 2, end of S. XXV. :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये पञ्चविंशः सर्गः ॥

Sarga XXVI. is missing.

Fol. 60b, l. 14 :

इत्यर्जुनरावणीये महाकाव्ये - - - सप्तविंशः सर्गः ॥

समाप्त चेदमर्जुनरावणीयं काव्यम् ॥

कृतिस्त्रभवतो महाप्रभावश्रीशारदादेशान्तवर्तिवह्मभीस्थाननिवासिनो
भूमट्स्येति*शुभम् ।

वह्मभीस्थानं उ - इति ग्रामो वराहमूलोपकण्ठस्थितः ॥

सच्छाछां रचनां विलोक्य मयका काव्येन भूमोदिते (?)

यत्नोयं रचितो विलेखनकृते यत्तत्समध्वं बुधाः ।

यन्मध्येन लिपिर्गता बहुरिति प्रागेव जीर्णानि य-

त्पत्राण्यत्र च कीटदोष उदभूद्यत्तत्र किं कथ्यताम् ॥ १ ॥

No. 192.

Śākuntalanāṭaka.†

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

॥ अथ शकुन्तलानाटकं लिख्यते ।

या स्रष्टुस्सष्टिराद्या पिबति विधिद्वतं या हविर्या च होत्री

ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् ।

* Read भीमभट्टस्ये.

† Transcribed by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, revised by Vāmanāchārya Jhalkikar and myself.

यामाहुस्सर्व्वीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु नस्ताभिरष्टाभिरीशः ॥

नान्यन्ते

सूत्रधारः ॥ नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य । आर्ये यदि नेपथ्यविधानमवसितं
तदितस्तावदागम्यताम् ॥

प्रविश्य

नटी । अय्य* इअहि आणवेदु अय्यो को णिओओ अणुदिट्ठीअदुत्ति ॥
सूत्र० । दृष्ट्वा । आर्ये अभिरूपप्रायभूयिष्ठेयं परिषत् । अस्यां च किल
कालिदासप्रथितवस्तुना नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः तत्प्र-
तिपात्रमास्तीयतां यन्नः ॥

नटी । † सुविहिदप्पओअदाए अय्यस्स न किञ्चि परिहासइस्सदि ॥
सूत्र० । सस्मितं । आर्ये वेदयाभि ते भूतार्यम् ।

आपरितोषाद्विदुषां न साधु मन्ये प्रयोगविज्ञानम् ।
बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः ॥

नटी । ‡ एवण्णेदं अणन्तरकरणीअं दाणि अय्यो आणवेदु ॥
सूत्र० । दृष्ट्वा किमन्यत् अस्याः परिषदः श्रुतिप्रसादहेतोरिभमेव नाति-
चिरप्रवृत्तमुपभोगक्षमं ग्रीष्मकालमधिकृत्य गीयतां तावत् । सम्प्रति हि ।
सुभगसलिलावगाहाः पाटलिसंसर्गसुरभिवनवाताः ।
प्रच्छायसुलभनिद्रा दिवसाः परिणामरमणीयाः ॥

नटी । तथा गायति ।

§ खणचुम्बिआइ भमरेहि सुअअ सुकुमारकेसरसिहाइ ।
अवदंसअन्ति पमदा दअमाणाओ सिरीसकुसुमाइ ॥

सूत्र० । आर्ये सुषु गीतम् । एष हि । गीतरसावबद्धचित्तवृत्तिरालिखित इव
स्थितः सर्वतो रङ्गः । तदिदानीं क्रतुमत्प्रकरणमाश्रित्य जनमाराधयावः ॥

* आर्ये इयमस्मि आज्ञापयतु आर्यः को नियोगः अनुष्ठीयतामिति ॥

† सुविहितप्रयोगतया आर्यस्य न किञ्चित्परिहास्यते ॥

‡ एवमिदं अनन्तरकरणीयं इदानीं आर्ये आज्ञापयतु ॥

§ खणचुम्बितानि भ्रमरैः सुभगसुकुमारकेसरशिखानि ।

अवतंसयन्ति प्रमदा दयितानि शिरीषकुसुमानि ॥

नटी ॥ * पढमध्येव अयेण आणत्तं जहा ण अहिष्णाणसउन्तला नाम
अपुरुवं णाडअपओएण अधिअरीअदुत्ति ।

सूत्र० । भवतु सम्यगनुप्रबोधितोहमस्मिन्क्षणे खलु । विस्मृतं मया तत् कुतः ।
तवास्मि गीतरागेण हारिणा प्रसभं हतः ।

नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य ।

एष राजेव दुष्यन्तस्सारङ्गेणातिरंहसा ॥

इति निष्कान्तौ प्रस्तावना ॥

ततः प्रविशति रथयातकेन मृगानुसारी चापहस्तो राजा दुष्यन्तस्सूतश्च ।

सूतः ॥ राजानं मृगं चावलोक्य ।

कृष्णसारे ददच्चक्षुस्त्वयि चाधिज्यकार्मुके ।

मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् ॥

राजा । सुदूरमनेन कृष्णसारेण वयमाकृष्टाः । अयमिदानीमपि ।

मीवाभङ्गाभिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने दत्तदृष्टिः

पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टश्शरपतनभयाद्भूयसा पूर्वकायम् ।

शष्पैरर्धावलीढैः श्रमविततमुखभ्रंशिभिः × कीर्णवर्मा

पश्योदग्रप्लुतित्वाद्वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्यां प्रयाति ॥

कथमनुपातिन एव मे प्रयत्नप्रेक्षणीयस्संवृतः ।

सूतः । आयुष्मन् उद्धातिनी भूमिरियं मया रश्मिसंयमनाद्रथस्य वेगो

मन्दीकृतः तेन एष ते मृगो विप्रकृष्टान्तरस्संवृतः सम्प्रति तु

समदेशवर्त्ती न दुरासदो भविष्यति ।

राजा । मुच्यन्तामभीषवः ।

सूतः । यदाज्ञापयति आयुष्मान् । तथा भूत्वा रथवेगान्तरं निरूपयन् ।

आयुष्मन् पश्य २ एते ।

मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकाया

निष्क्रम्यचामरशिखा निभृतोच्चकर्णाः ।

आत्मोद्धतैरपि रजोभिरलङ्घनीया

धावन्ति ते मृगजवाक्षमेव रथ्याः ॥

* प्रथममेव आयेण आणत्तं यथा न अभिज्ञानशकुन्तला नाम अपूर्वं नाटकप्रयोगेण
अधिक्रियतामिति ॥

राजा । सत्यमतीत्य हरिहरीनपि हरयो वर्त्तन्ते । तथाहि ।

यदालोके सूक्ष्मं व्रजति सहसा तद्विपुलतां
यदर्धे विच्छिन्नं भवति कृतसन्धानमिव तत् ।
प्रकृत्या यद्वक्त्रं तदपि समरेखं नयनयो-
र्न मे दूरे किञ्चिन्न च भवति पार्श्वे रयजवात् ॥

सूतः । आयुष्मन् अस्य खलु बाणपथवर्तिन × कृष्णसारङ्गस्यान्तरे
तपस्विनः ।

राजा । ससम्भ्रमम् । तेन हि निगृह्यन्तां बाजिनः ।

सूतः । तथा करोमीत्युक्त्वा रयं स्थापयति ।

ततः प्रविशति आत्मना तृतीयस्तापसः ।

ससम्भ्रमं हस्तमुद्यम्य । राजन् २ आश्रममृगोयम् २.

तत्साधु कृतसन्धानं प्रतिसंहर सायकम् ।

आर्त्तत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्त्तुमनागसि ॥

राजा । एष प्रतिसंहतः । यथोक्तं करोति ।

तापसः । सहर्षं । साधु भोः सदृशमेतत्पूरुवंशजातस्य भवतः । सर्वथा
चक्रवर्तिनं पुत्रमवाप्नुहि ।

राजा । प्रतिगृहीतं तपोधनवचनम् ।

तापसः । समिदाहरणाय प्रस्थिता वयं एष चास्मद्गुरो × काश्यपस्य
संसर्कहिमवत्सानुरनुमालिनीतीरमाश्रमो दृश्यते न चेदन्यकार्याति-
पातस्तत्प्रविश्यान्न प्रतिगृह्यतामतिथिसत्कारः । अपि च ।

धन्यास्तपोधनानां प्रतिहतविघ्ना × क्रियास्तमालोक्य ।

ज्ञास्यसि कियद्गुजो मे रक्षति मौर्वीकिणाङ्क इति ॥

राजा । अयं सन्निहितोत्र कुलपतिः ।

तापसः । अद्वैवानवदां शकुन्तलामतिथिसत्काराय सन्दिश्य प्रतिकूलं दैवं
चास्या दैवं शमयितुं सोमतीर्थं प्रभासं गतः ।

राजा । भवतु तां द्रक्ष्यामि सा मां विदितभक्तिं महर्षे × करिष्यति ।

तापसः । साधयावस्तावदिति सशिष्यो निष्क्रान्तः ।

राजा । सूत चोदयाश्चान् पुण्याश्रमदर्शनेन तावदात्मानं पुनीमहे ।

सूतः । यदाज्ञापयत्यायुष्मान् । परिक्रम्य रययातकं निरूपयति ।

राजा । समन्ताद्विलोक्य सूत अकथितोपि ज्ञायत एव यथायमाभोगस्तपो-
वनस्येति ।

सूतः । कथमिति ।

राजा । न पश्यति भवान् । इह हि

नीवाराशुकगर्भकोटरमुखभ्रष्टास्तरूणामधः

प्रस्निग्धाः कचिदिदुदीफलभिदस्सूच्यन्त एवोपलाः ।

विश्वासोपगमादभिन्नगतयश्शब्दं सहन्ते मृगा-

स्तोयाधारपथाश्च वल्कलशिखानिष्यन्दलेखाङ्किताः ॥

सूतः ॥ सर्वमुपपन्नम् ।

राजा । स्तोकमन्तरं च गत्वा ।

कुल्याम्भोभिः प्रसृतचपलैः शाखिनो धौतमूला

भिन्नो राग × किसलयरुचामाज्यधूमोद्गमेन ।

एते चार्वागुपवनभुवि छिन्नदर्भाङ्कुरायां

नष्टाशङ्कुं हरिणशिशवो मन्दमन्दं चरन्ति ॥

मा तपोवनवासिनामुपरोधोभूत्तदेतावत्येव रथं स्थापय यावदवतरामि ।

सूतः । धृताः प्रग्रहाः अवतरन्त्यायुष्मान् ।

राजावतीर्य विनीतवेशेन प्रवेश्यानि तपोवनानि तदिदमाभरणं तावत्प्र-
गृह्यतामिति सूतायाभरणं दत्त्वा धनुश्चेत्सृज्य [1] सूत यावदहमु-
पास्य महर्षीनुपावर्ते तावदार्द्रपृष्ठा × क्रियन्तां वाजिनः ।

सूतः । यदाज्ञापयत्यायुष्मानिति निष्क्रान्तः ।

राजा । परिक्रम्यावलोक्य च [1] इदमाश्रमद्वारं यावत्प्रविशामि । प्रविश्य
निमित्तं सूचयन् विमृषति ।

शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहु × कुतः फलमिहास्य ।

अथवा भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्वत्र ॥

नेपथ्ये* इदो इदो पिअसही ।

* इतः इतः प्रियसखी ।

राज्ञा । कर्णं दत्त्वा [1] अये दक्षिणेन कुसुमपादपवीथीमालापमालाप इव
यावदत्र गच्छामि ।

परिक्रम्यावलोक्य च । एतास्तपास्विकन्यकास्त्वप्रमाणानुरूपैस्तेचनघट-
कैर्बालपादपान्तिञ्चन्य इत एवाभिवर्तन्ते । निपुणं निर्वर्ण्य [1] अहो माधु-
र्यकान्तं खलु दर्शनमासाम् । तद्यावदेतां छायाभाश्रित्य प्रतिपालयामि ।

विलोकयन्स्थितः । ततः प्रविशति यथोक्तव्यापारा सह सखीभ्यां
शकुन्तला ।

सख्यौ । *हला सउन्तले तइत्तो वि खु तादकस्सबस्स अस्समरुक्खका
पिअति तक्केह जेण णवमालिआपेलवावि तुअं एदस्स आल-
वालपूरणे णिउत्ता ॥

शकु० । सहि ण केअलं तादणिओओ ति बुहुमाणो जाव ममावि सुअ-
रिसिणिहो एदिसं अट्ठिय्येव ।

वृक्षसेकं निरूपयति ।

उभे । †हला सउन्तले । उदअलम्बिदा गिम्हकालकुसुमदाइणो गुम्फका
दाणि अधिकान्तसमएवि रुक्खए सिञ्चाम्हा तसुणो अणहिस-
न्धिपुरवो धम्मो भविस्सदि ।

शकु० ॥ §अहिणन्दणीअं मत्तेधि । नाळ्येन सिञ्चति ।

राज्ञा । निर्वर्ण्य सकौतुकं । कथमियं सा कण्वदुहिता अहो विस्मयः ।

शुद्धान्तदुर्लभमिदं वपुराश्रमवासिनो यदि जनस्य ।

दूरीकृता × खलु गुणैरुद्धानलता वनलताभिः ॥

भवतु पादपान्तरित एव विश्वस्तभावामेनां पश्यामि । तथा करोति ।

शकु० ॥ एसो वादेरिदपलवानङ्गुलीहिं तुअरावेदि विअ मं वउलरुक्ख-

को जाव णं सम्भावेमि ॥

राज्ञः सन्निकर्षमागच्छति ।

* हले शकुन्तले त्वनोपि खलु तातकश्यपस्य आश्रमवृक्षकाः भिया इति तर्कयामः
येन नवमालिकापेलवापि त्वं एतस्य आलवालपूरणे नियुक्ताः ।

† सखि न केवलं तातवियोग इति बहुमानो यावत् ममापि सोदरस्नेहः एतेषु अस्ति एव ।

‡ हला शकुन्तले उदकलम्बिता ग्रीष्मकाल - - - यिनो गुम्फका इदानीं अतिक्रान्तसमयेपि
वृक्षकानि सिञ्चामः तस्मात् अनभिसन्धितपूर्वो धर्मो भविष्यति ।

§ अभिनन्दनीयं मन्त्रयतः ॥

॥ एव वातेरितपलवाङ्गुलीभिः त्वरयति इव मां वकुलवृक्षको यावत् एनं सम्भावयामि ॥

राजा । निर्वर्ण्य । असाधुदर्शी तत्रभवान्काश्यपः य इमामाश्रमधर्मचरणे
नियुञ्जे ।

इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं वपुस्तपक्षमं साधयितुं भविष्यति ।
ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारणा समिलतां छेत्तुमृषिर्व्यवस्यति ॥

शकु० ॥ *हला अनसूए अदिपिण्डेण पिअंबदाए वल्कलेण णिअन्ति
दम्हि सेढिलेहि दाव णं ।

अनसूया ॥ शिथिलयति ।

प्रियं० । सस्मितम् । †पओहरक्खित्थारइतअं अत्तणो जोव्वणं उवालह ।

राजा । काममप्रतिरूपमस्य वयसो वल्कलं न पुनरलङ्कारश्रियं न
पुष्यति । कुतः ।

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोशा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥

प्रियं० । ‡हला सउन्तले एसा तादकस्सवेण तुअं विअ संवत्तिदा अलि-
न्दआए बाहवीलदा पेक्ख णं किं विमुमरिदा दे ।

शकु० । §अन्तापि विमुमरिस्सदि । इति तत्समीपं गच्छति ।

प्रियं० । ॥हला सउन्तले दिट्ठिआ इधय्येव मुहूत्तकं दाव बउलस्-
क्खसमीवे ।

शकु० । ¶कित्ति ।

* हला अनसूये अतिपिण्डेन प्रियंवदया वल्कलेन नियन्त्रितेवास्मि शिथिलय तावदेन ॥

† पयोधरविस्तारयितुकं आत्मनो यौवनं वपालभस्व ॥

‡ हले शकुन्तले एसा तातकश्यपेन त्वमिव संवर्द्धिता अलिन्दके माधवीलता प्रेक्षस्वैनां किं विस्मरिता ते.

§ आत्मापि विस्मरिष्यति ॥

॥ हले शकुन्तले तिष्ठ इहैव मुहूर्तकं तावत् वकुलवृक्षसमीपे ।

¶ किमिति ।

प्रियं० । *तए समीवड्डिदाए लदासणाहो विअ मे नउलख्खको पडिनादि ।

शकु० । †अदो खु पिअंवदासि ।

राजा । प्रियमपि तथ्यमाहैषा । अस्याः खलु ॥

अधर × किसलयरागः कोमलविटपानुकारिणौ बाहू ।

कुसुममिव लोभनीयं यौवनमङ्गेषु सन्नद्धम् ॥

अन० । ‡हला सउन्तले इअं स्वअंवरवहूस्सहआरस्स तए किदणामधेअस्स वणदोसिणो णवमालिका ।

शकु० । उपगम्यावलोक्य च । हला रमणीये काले §इहस्स पादप-
मिहुणस्स वदिअरो संवुत्तो इअ णवकुसुमजोव्वणा अअंभि बद्धफ-
लदाए उवभोअकमो सहआरो । पश्यन्ती तिष्ठति ।

प्रियं० ॥ ॥हला अणसूए जाणासि किण्णिमित्तं सउन्तला वणदोसिणो
अधिमेत्तं प्रेक्खदि त्ति ।

अन० । ¶ण खु विभावेमि ।

प्रियं० । **जधा वणदोसिणा अणुसदिसेण पादपेण सङ्गुदा णवमालिआ
अवि णाम एवं अहमपि अत्तणो अणुरूवं वरं लभेमिति ॥

शकु० ॥ ††एस णूणं अत्तणो दे चित्तगदो मणोरहइओ । कलशमावर्जति ।

राजा । अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसम्भवा स्यात् । अथवा
असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदेवमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।

सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्त × करणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

तथापि तलत एनां वेदितुमिच्छामि ।

* त्वया समीपस्थितया लतासनाथ इव मे बकुलवृक्षकः प्रतिभाति ।

† अतः खलु प्रियंवदासि ।

‡ हले इयं स्वयंवरवधूः सहकारस्य त्वया कृतनामधेयस्य वनदोषिणो नवमालिका ।

§ हले एतस्य पादपमिथुनस्य व्यतिकरः संवृत्त इव कुसुमयौवना अयमपि बद्धफलतया
उपभोगक्षमः सहकारः ।

॥ हले अनसूये जानासि किं निमित्तं शकुन्तला । वनदोषिणां अधिमात्रं प्रेक्षते इति ॥

¶ न खलु विभावयामि ॥

** यथा वनदोषिणा अनुसव्शेन पादपेन संगता नवमालिका अपिनाम अहमपि आत्मनः
अनुरूपं वरं लभेयं इति ॥

†† एष नूनं आत्मनस्ते चित्तगतो मनोरथः ॥

शकु० । भ्रमरसम्पातं नाटयति । * अहो सलिलसेअसंवृत्तो णवमालिअं
उज्झिअ वअणं मे महुअरो अणुवट्ठदि । भ्रमरबाधां निरूपयति ।
राजा विलोक्य सस्पृहम् ।

चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीं
रहस्याख्यायेव स्वनसि मृदुकर्णान्तिकगतः ।
करौ व्याधुन्वन्त्याः पिवसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं
वयं देवैर्मौग्यान्मधुकर हतस्त्वं खलु कृती ॥

शकु० ॥ परित्ताअध मं इमिणा कुसुमपाडच्चरेण अभिमूअमाणं ।
उभे विहस्य । † केवअं परित्ताणे दुस्सन्दं आक्रन्द राजअरक्खिदाणि खु
तबोवणाणि होन्ति ।

राजा । अवसरः खल्वयं मष्मात्मानं दर्शयितुम् । उपसृत्य न भेतव्यं न
भेतव्यमित्यर्थोक्ते । अपवार्य एवं राजाहमिति प्रतिज्ञातं भवति ।
भवत्वतिथिसमुचिताचारस्त्कारमवलम्बिष्ये ।

शकु० ॥ सत्रासं । ‡ ण एसो मे पुरदअइ धट्ठो विरमदि ता अण्णदो
गदमिस्सं । इति पटान्तरेण स्थित्वा सदृष्टिक्षेपम् । § हदि कथं
इतो वि मं अणुस्सरदि ।

राजा सत्वरमुपेत्य ।

कः पौरवे वसुमतीं शासति शासतरि दुर्विनीतानाम् ।
अयमाचरत्यविमयं मुग्धासु तपस्विकन्यासु ॥
सर्वा राजानं दृष्ट्वा किञ्चिदिव सम्भ्रान्ताः ।

अन० । ॥ ण खु किञ्चि अच्चाहिदं इअं ण पुणो णो पिअसही महुअरेण
आउलीअइमाणा कादरीभूदा । *

शकुन्तलां दर्शयति शकुन्तलामुपेत्य भवत्यपि तपस्ते वर्धते ।
शकुन्तला ससाध्वसा अवनतमुखी अवचना तिष्ठति ।

* अहो सलिलसेकसंवृत्तो नवमालिकां उज्झित्वा वदनं मे मधुकरः अनुवर्तते ।

† केवलं परित्ताणे दुष्प्यन्दं आक्रन्द राजरक्षितानि खलु तपोवनानि ।

‡ न एष मे पुरतः धृष्टो विरमति तत् अन्यतो गमिष्ये ॥

§ हा धिक् कथं इतोपि मां अनुसरति ॥

॥ न खलु किञ्चित् अन्याहितं इयं न पुनः न प्रियसखी मधुकरेण आकुलीक्रियमाणा कात-
रीभूता ।

अन० । राजानम्रप्ति । * दाणिं अदिधिविसेसलभेण ।

प्रियं० । †साअदं अय्यस्स ।

अन० । ‡हला सउन्तले गच्छ तुअं उटअदो फलमिस्सं उवाहर पादोदअं
अत्थि एव ।

राजा । भवतु सूनृतयैव कृतमातिथ्यम् ।

प्रियं० ॥ § तेण इमस्सि दाव पादबच्छाआसीअच्छाए सत्तवर्णवेदिआए
अय्यो उपविसिअ मुहुत्तमं परिस्समं अवणेदु ॥

राजा । ननु यूयमप्यनेन धर्मकर्मणा परिश्रान्ताः तन्मुहूर्त्तमुपविशत ॥

प्रियं० ॥ जनान्तिकं । ॥ हला सउन्तले उइदं णो अदिधिपर्युवासणं ता
इध उवविसम्ह । सर्वा उपविशन्ति ।

शकु० । आत्मगतं । ¶ किण्णु खु इमं पेक्खिअ तवोवणविरोधिणो विअरस्स ।
गमणीअस्मि संवुत्ता । सर्वा विलोक्कम् । अहो समानवयोरूपरम-
णीयं सौहार्दं भवतीनाम् ॥

प्रियं० ॥ जनान्तिकं । ** को णु क्खु एसो महुलगम्भीराकिदी महरं पिअं
आलबन्तो पहवन्तं दक्खिणं विअ करेदि ।

अन० । जनान्तिकमेव । †† सहि ममावि कोदूहलमत्थिय्येव ता पुच्छिस्सं
दाव णं । प्रकाशं । अय्यस्स णो म्हुरालाबजणिदो विसम्भो मन्ता-
वेदि कदमं पुण अय्यो वण्णमलङ्कुरेदि किणिमित्तं वा सुकुमारेण
अय्येण तवोवणागमणपरिसमस्स अत्ता ॥ खेदी किदो ॥

* इदानीं अतिथिविशेषलाभेन ।

† स्वागतं आर्यस्य ।

‡ हले शकुन्तले गच्छ त्वम् । उटजं फलमिश्रं उपाहर पादोदकं अस्ति एव ।

§ तेन एतस्मिन् तावत् पादपच्छायाशीतलायां सप्तपर्णवेदिकायां आर्यः उपविश्य गृह्यते
परिश्रमं अपनयतु ।

॥ हले शकुन्तले उचितं नः अतिथिपर्युपासनं तत् इह उपविशामः ।

¶ इमं प्रेक्ष्य तपोवनविरोधिनः विकारस्य गमनीयास्मि संवृत्ता ।

** को नु खलु एष मधुरगंभीराकृतिः मधुरं प्रियं आलपत् प्रभवहास्त्रिण्यमिव करोति ॥

†† सखि ममापि कौतूहलमस्त्येव तत् पृच्छिष्ये तावदेनं ॥ आर्यस्य नो मधुरालापजनितो
विस्त्रम्भो मन्त्रयति कृतमं पुनः आर्यः वर्णमलङ्करोति किञ्चिन्मित्रं वा आर्येण तपोवनागमन-
परिश्रमस्य आत्मा पात्रीकृतः ॥

शकु० ॥ आत्मगतं । *हिअ मा उत्तम जं तए चिन्तिदं तं अणसूआ
मन्तेदि॥

राजा । स्वगतं कथमिदानीमात्मानं निवेदये कथं वात्मपरिहारं करोमि ।
भवत्वेवं तावदेनां वक्ष्ये[१]प्रकाशं[१]भवति वेदविदस्मि पौरवेण
राजा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तः सोहमाश्रमिणामविघ्नक्रियोपालम्भाय
धर्मारण्यमिदमायातः ।

अन० । †सणाधा धम्मआरिणो ॥

शकु० । शृङ्गारलज्जां निरूपयति ॥

सख्यौ । उभयोराकारं विदित्वा । जनान्तिकं । ‡हला सउन्तले जदि अज्ज
तादो इह सण्णिहिदो भवे ।

शकु० ॥ सभूभेदं § तदो किं भवे ।

उभे ॥ ॥ तदो इमं अदिधि जीविदसव्वस्सेणवि कदत्थं करे ॥

शकु० ॥ सरोषं । ¶ इअं वेध किमपि हिद करेअ मन्तेध ण खु सुणिस्सं ।
परावृत्त्य तिष्ठति ॥

राजा ॥ वयमपि तावद्भवत्यौ सखीगतं पृच्छामः ॥

उभे । **अय्य अणुगहे वि अब्बत्थणा ॥

राजा ॥ भगवान्काश्यपः शाश्वते ब्रह्मणि वर्तते । इयं च वां सखी तदा-
त्मजेति कथमेतत् ॥

अन० ॥ ††सुणादु अय्यो अत्थि कोसिओ ति गोत्तणामधेओ महप्पहावो
राएसी ॥

राजा ॥ प्रकाशस्तत्रभवान् ॥

अन० । ‡‡तं सहीअणे पहवं अवगच्छ उज्झिअसरीरसंरक्खणादीहिं उण
तादकस्सवो से पिदा ।

* हृदय मा उच्चाभय यत् त्वया चिन्तितं तत् अनसूया मन्त्रयति ॥

† सनाधा धर्मचारिणः ॥

‡ हले शकुन्तले यदि अय तातः इह सन्निहितो भवेत् ॥

§ ततः किं भवेत् ॥

॥ ततः इमं अतिथिं जीवितसर्वस्वेनापि कृतार्थं कुर्यात् ॥

¶ युवां किमपि हृदये कृत्वा मन्त्रयथः न खलु श्रोष्यामि ॥

** आर्ये अनुग्रहेऽपि अभ्यर्थेना ॥

†† शृणोतु आर्यः अस्ति कौशिक इति गोत्रनामधेयो महाप्रभावो राजर्षिः ॥

‡‡ तं सखीजने प्रभवं अवगच्छ उज्झितशरीरसंरक्खणादिभिः पुनः तातकश्यपोऽस्याः पिता ॥

राजा । उज्झितशब्देन जनितं कुतूहलं तदामूलाच्छ्रोतुमिच्छामि ॥

अन० । पुरा किल * तस्स कोसिअस्स राएसिणो उगो तवसि वत्त-
माणस्स किंवि जादशङ्केहि देवेहि मेणआ णाम अच्छरा णिअम-
विग्घकारिणी पहिदा ॥

राजा ॥ अस्त्येतत् । अन्यसमाधिभीरुत्वं देवानाम् । ततस्ततः ॥

अन० ॥ † तदो वसन्तोदवसमए, तए उन्मादइत्तअं रुवं पेक्खिअ । इत्यद्वे
लज्जया विरमति ।

राजा ॥ भवतु पुरस्तादवगम्यत एव अप्सरस्तम्भवैषा ॥

अन० ॥ ‡ अध इ ।

राजा । युज्यते ।

मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य सम्भवः ।

न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरुदेति वसुधातलात् ॥

शकु० । अधोमुखी तिष्ठति ।

राजा । स्वगतं । लब्धावकाशो मे मनोरथः किन्तु परिहासोदाहृतं वरप्रार्थनां
श्रुत्वापि न श्रद्धते कातरं मे मनः ॥

प्रियं० ॥ शकुन्तलां सस्मितं विलोक्य नायकाभिमुखी । § पुनो वि वत्तुकामो
अय्यो ॥

शकुन्तला सखीमङ्गल्या तर्जयति ।

राजा । सम्यगुपलक्षितं भवत्या । अस्ति नस्तच्चरितश्रवणलोभादन्यत्प्रष्टव्यं ।

प्रियं० । ॥ तेण हि विहारिदेण अलं णियन्तणाजुगो तवस्सिअणो ॥

राजा । उपपद्यते भवति सखीं ते विज्ञातुमिच्छामि ।

* तस्य कौशिकस्य राजर्षेः उग्रे तपसि वर्तमानस्य किमपि जातशङ्कैः देवैः मेनकानाम
अप्सरा नियमविन्नकारिणी प्रहिता ॥

† ततः वसन्तोदयसमये तस्या उन्मादप्रवर्तकं रूपं प्रेक्ष्य ।

‡ अथ किम् ॥

§ पुनो वि वत्तुकाम आर्यः ॥

॥ तेन हि विचरितेन अलं नियन्त्रणायुक्तः तपस्विजनः ॥

वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमाप्रदाना-
 दद्यापारोधि मदनस्य निषेवितव्यम् ।
 अत्यन्तमात्मसदृशे क्षणवल्गुभाभि-
 राहो निवत्स्यति समं हरिणाङ्गनाभिः ॥

प्रियं० । * अय्य धम्मचरणेवि एसप पराधीणो अणो गुरूणो उण से
 अणुरूवरपदिवादणसङ्कप्पो ॥

राजा ॥ न खलु दुर्लभैषा प्रार्थना । आत्मगतं ।
 भव हृदय साभिलाषं सम्प्रति सन्देहनिर्णयो जातः ।
 आशङ्कसे यदर्पि तदिदं स्पर्शक्षमं रत्नम् ।

शकु० । सरोषमिव † अणसूए गमिस्से अहम् ।

अन० । ‡ किण्णिमित्तम् ।

शकु० ॥ § इअं असम्बद्धालाविणी पियंवदा अय्याए गोतमीए निवेद-
 यिस्से । इत्युत्तिष्ठति ।

अन० ॥ ॥ सहि ण जुत्तं अस्समवासिणो जणस्स अकिदसकारं अदिधि-
 वित्तेषं उज्झिअ सच्छन्ददो गमणं ॥

शकु० ॥ न किञ्चिदुक्ता प्रस्थितैव ॥

राजा । अपवार्यं कथं गच्छति ग्रहीतुमिच्छन्पुनरात्मानं निगृह्य । अहो
 चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका कामिनो मनोवृत्तिः । अहं हि ।
 अनुयास्यन्मुनितनयां सहसा विनयेन वारितप्रसरः ।
 स्थानादनुच्चलन्नापि गलैव पुनः प्रतिनिवृत्तः ॥

प्रियंवदा शकुन्तलामुपसृत्य । हला ॥ चण्डि ण दे जुत्तं गच्छिदुम् ।

* आर्य धर्माचरणेपि एष पराधीनो जनो गुरूणां पुनः अस्या अनुरूपवरप्रतिपादन-
 सङ्कल्पः ॥

† अनसूये गमिष्ये ॥

‡ किनिमित्तं ॥

§ इयमसम्बद्धालापिनी प्रियंवदा आर्याया गौतम्या निवेदविष्यामि ॥

॥ स खि न युक्तमाश्रमवासिनो जनस्य अकृतसत्कारं अतिथिविशेषं उज्झित्वा स्वच्छन्दतो
 गमनम् ॥

॥ हले चण्डि न ते युक्तं गन्तुम् ॥

शकु० । सभूभङ्गं * किति ।

प्रियं० ॥ † वृक्षसेचनके दुए मे धारयेसि तेहि दाव अत्ताणअ भोएहि तदो गमिस्ससि । बलादेनां निवारयति ।

राजा ॥ भद्रे वृक्षसेचनकादेवपरिश्रान्तामत्रभवतीं लक्षये । तथा ह्यस्याः ।
 खस्तांसावतिमान्नलोहितकरौ बाहू घटोत्क्षेपणा-
 दद्यापि स्तनवेपथुं जनयति श्वासः प्रमाणाधिकः ।
 बद्धं कर्णशिरीषरोधि वदने घर्माभ्रसा जालकं
 बन्धे खंसिनि चैकहस्तयमिताः पर्याकुला मूर्धजाः ॥
 तदहमेनामनृणां जयि करोमि । स्वमङ्गुलीयं प्रयच्छति ॥

उभे ॥ नाममुद्राक्षराण्यनुवाच्य परस्परं मुखमवलोकयतः ॥

राजा । अलमस्माकमन्यथासम्भावितेन राज्ञः परिग्रहोयम् ॥

प्रियं० ॥ ‡ तेण हि णारहदि इदमण्णो अङ्गुलीक वियोगकारणं अय्यस्स तुह बहणेण एसा अरिणा एव मम ॥ परिवृत्तापवार्य ॥

हला § सउन्तले मोइदासि अणुअप्पिणा अय्येण अहवा महानुभावेण किदण्णा दाणि होहिसि ।

शकु० ॥ अपवार्य निस्थास्य ॥ ण इदं विसुमरिस्सदि जदि अत्तणो पहेवे ॥

प्रियं० ॥ ¶ हला किं दाणि सम्पदं जदि ण गच्छसि ।

शकु० ॥ ** दाणिं किंवि तए वत्तब्बं जदा मे रोइस्सदि तदा गमिस्सं ।

राजा ॥ शकुन्तलां विलोकयन्स्वगतम् । किंनु खलु यथा वयमस्यामेव-
 मियमप्यस्मान्प्रति स्यात् ॥ अथवा लब्धावकाशा मे प्रायर्नाकुतः ॥

* किमिति ॥

† वृक्षसेचनके द्वे मे धारयसि ताभ्यां तावदान्मानं मोचय ततः गमिष्यसि ॥

‡ तेन हि नार्हति इदं अन्यः अङ्गुलीयकं वियोगकारणं आर्यस्य तव वदनेन एसा अनृणा

एव मम ॥

§ हले शकुन्तले मोक्षितासि अनुकम्पिना आर्येण अथवा महानुभावेन कृतज्ञा इदानीं भविष्यसि ॥

॥ न विस्मरिष्यति यदि आत्मनः प्रभवेयम् ॥

¶ हले किमिदानीं साम्प्रतं यदि न गच्छसि ॥

** इदानीं किमपि त्वया वक्तव्यं यदा मे रोक्षिष्यते तदा गमिष्ये ॥

वाचं न मिश्रयति यद्यपि मद्बचोभिः कर्णं ददात्यवहिता मयि भाषमाणे ।
 कामं न तिष्ठति मदाननसम्मुखीयं भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः ॥
 नेपथ्ये ॥ भो भोस्तपस्विनः अवहितास्तपोवनसत्त्वरक्षायै भवन्तु भवन्तः
 पर्याप्तुतस्त्रीकुमारम् प्रयासम् × किल मृगयाविहारी पार्थिवः ॥
 तुरगखुरहतस्तथा हि रेणुर्विठपविषक्तजलाद्रिवल्कलेषु ।
 पतति परिणतारुणप्रकाशः शलभसमूह इवाश्रमद्रुमेषु ॥
 अहो धिक् ॥ एष खलु तथा निभृतचारी भूला ॥
 तीव्रापातप्रतिहततरस्कन्धलघैकमत्तः
 प्रौढासक्तव्रतविलयासङ्गसज्जातपाशः ।
 मूर्तो विघ्नस्तपस इव नो भिन्नसारङ्गयूयो
 धर्मारण्यं विरुजति गजस्स्यन्दनालोकमीतः ॥
 राजा ॥ स्वगतम् ॥ अहो धिक् प्रमादः मदन्वेषिणस्तैनिकास्तपोवनमु-
 परुन्धन्ति तदपराद्धं तपस्विनामस्माभिः भवतु गमिष्यामि तावत् ।
 सर्वाः कर्णं दत्वा ससम्भ्रममुत्तिष्ठन्ति ।
 अन० ॥ * अय्य इमेण अक्कदिदेण पव्याउलम्ह ता अणुजाणोधि णो
 उडअगमणाअ ॥
 राजा ॥ ससम्भ्रमं गच्छन्तु भवत्यः ॥ आश्रमबाधा यथा न भविष्यति तथा
 प्रयतिष्यामहे ।
 सख्यौ । † असम्भावितसत्कारं भूयो वि दाव पञ्चक्षेण निमित्तं लज्जामो
 अय्यं विणवेदु विदिदभूइटोसि णो सम्पदं जे दाणि उवआरमज्ज-
 त्यदाए अबरद्वह्म तं मरिसेसि ।
 राजा ॥ मा मैवं दर्शनेन भवतीनां पुरस्कृतोस्मि ॥
 उभे ‡ हला सउन्तले एहि सग्घतरं आउला अय्या गोदमी भविस्सदि ॥
 शकु० ॥ सव्याजविलम्बितं कृत्वात्मगतं § हद्दी ऊरुत्थम्भेण विअलम्हि
 संवुत्ता ॥

* आर्ये अनेन आक्रन्दितेन पर्याकुलाः स्मः तत् अनुजानीहि नः उटजगमनाय ॥

† असम्भावितसत्कारं भूयोपि तावत् प्रत्यक्षेण निमित्तं लज्जामः आर्यं विज्ञापयितुं विदित-
 मयिष्ठोसि नः साम्प्रतं यत्र इदानीं उपकारमध्यस्थतया अपराद्धाः स्मः तत् मर्षयसि ॥

‡ हला शकुन्तले एहि शीघ्रतरं आकुला आर्या गौतमी भविष्यति ॥

§ हा धिक् ऊरुस्तम्भेन विकलास्मि संवृत्ता ॥

राजा ॥ स्वैरस्वैरं गच्छन्तु भवत्यः वयमावेगमाश्रमस्यापनेष्यामः ॥
 शकुन्तला सव्याजविलम्बितं कृत्वा परिक्रम्य सखीभ्यां सह निष्क्रान्ता ॥
 राजा ॥ उत्थाय सखेदं मन्दौत्सुक्योस्मि नगरं प्रति यावदनुयात्रिकजनं
 समेत्य नातिदूरे तपोवनस्य निवेशयामि न खलु शक्नोमि शकुन्तला-
 व्यापारादात्मानं निवर्त्तयितुम् । मम हि ॥
 गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंवृतं चेतः ।
 चिन्हांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥
 सचिन्तः स्खलितानि पदानि दत्त्वा निष्क्रान्तः ॥
 ॥ इति प्रथमोऽङ्कः ॥

Nos. 197-200.

Śrīkanthacharita, by Mankha.

Beginning :

जीयात्कृतानङ्गपतंगदाहः खट्वाङ्गिनो नेत्रशिखिप्रदीपः ।
 यस्यान्तिके शुभ्रदशानिवेशश्रियं किरीटेन्दुकराः श्रयन्ते ॥ १ ॥
 Sarga I., śloka 56 : नमस्कारवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः
 S. II., śl. 58 : सुजनदुर्जनवर्णनो ना० द्वि० स०.
 मेण्टे स्वर्द्धिरदाधिरोहिणि वशं याते सुबन्धौ विधेः
 शान्ते हन्त च भारवौ विघटिते बाणे विषादस्पृशः ।
 वाग्देव्या विरमन्तु मन्तुविधुरा द्राग्दृष्टयश्चेष्टते
 शिष्टः कश्चन स प्रसादयति तां यद्वाणिसद्वाणिनी ॥ ५३ ॥
 S. III., śl. 78 : तीर्थवर्णनो ना० तृ० स०.
 स मन्मथो नाम जगाम तद्बुवि प्रयां प्रसन्नेश्वरदृष्टिभाजनम् ।
 न मार्गणानां सुमनोमयात्मनां मनागपि क्षेपकलासु शिक्षितः ॥ ३१ ॥
 अपारिजातप्रसरे प्रदर्शितक्षमास्थितावक्षरया श्रियाञ्चिते ।
 बभार यस्मिन्सततं मनः पिता प्ररोहदानन्दमपूर्वनन्दने ॥ ३२ ॥
 सिषेच पुण्यद्रुमकाननानि यः समग्रमक्षालयदान्तरं रजः ।
 वृषप्रमोदाश्रुसमानधर्मभिर्द्धिजातिहस्तार्पितदक्षिणाश्रुभिः ॥ ३३ ॥
 अशेषमाहेश्वरमौलिरत्नतामुपोयिवाप्यः स्वयशःप्रयुक्तिभिः ।
 प्रसादनायेव विभोः किलाखिलाभगाभिनाय स्फटिकाद्रिभूमिकाम् ॥ ३४ ॥

वदान्यमास्थानवृहत्कृपारसप्रवाहशङ्काजननैकदक्षिणम् ।
 स्वसूक्तिकीर्तिप्रसरैरनश्वरं स विश्ववर्ताख्यमवाप नन्दनम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 अनेकशो येन धृताङ्कुशा इव प्रचारशान्यै कलिदुष्टदन्तिनः ।
 अरालसौवर्णविषाणकोटयः कति द्विजेभ्यो दधिरे न धेनवः ॥ ३६ ॥
 गलत्यविद्यातिमिरे शुभापतद्रूपदेशाज्जनसेवनेन यः ।
 विशुद्धदृष्टिः क्व न पारमेश्वरं वपुर्विमुच्य द्वयमेकमैक्षत ॥ ३७ ॥
 सहस्रशो भक्तिकयासु वक्षसि स्वलद्विरानन्दभुवोश्रुणः कणैः ।
 रराज यो ह्रतमिन्दुशेखरं भजन्निवानर्गलमर्घमौक्तिकैः ॥ ३८ ॥
 महद्विरामूर्धतलं दिवः पदं निजैर्विशृङ्खेव भृतं सुकर्मभिः ।
 अनुल्बणो यो विनयावरुद्धया धिया सदैवावनताननोभवत् ॥ ३९ ॥
 उपेत्य पादद्वितयं जगाहिरे नमस्तमग्रामरकेशकौशलम् ।
 करालकालोरगकङ्कणखजां भुजेषु चक्रुः पुनरुक्तकल्पनम् ॥ ४० ॥
 वितेनिरे प्राप्य गलस्थलं शनैरकाण्डरोहश्चरलान्तरभ्रमम् ।
 नवोद्गतस्मश्रुनिवेशपेशलं कपोलमूले दधतिस्म विभ्रमम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 ललाटिकालिङ्गनलीढपार्वतीकुरङ्गनाभीतिलकाङ्कुरायितम् ।
 क्रमात्प्रपदालिकपट्वर्त्मनि क्षणावतंसप्रणयं प्रणिन्यिरे ॥ ४२ ॥
 शिरःशशाङ्कस्य विववुरन्तिके सभाजनासन्ननिशीथिनीप्रथाम् ।
 ययुस्ततो जूटसुरापगातटे जलग्रहव्यग्रपयोदवैदुषीम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 समुच्छ्वसद्भक्तिलतानिमन्त्रितद्विरेफपङ्क्तिप्रतिनायकश्रियः ।
 अनेकदग्धागुरुधूमराजयो यदर्चनस्यावसरे पिनाकिनः ॥ ४४ ॥

॥ पञ्चभिः कुलकम् ॥

पुरः स गृङ्गारमुदारचेष्टितं सुतं प्रपेदे पदमेकमुन्मतेः ।
 मुखेन यः सस्यसरस्वतीमयश्रिणार्धनारीश्वरतामिवाग्रहीत् ॥ ४५ ॥
 कवित्ववक्तृत्वमयैरनुद्भुतं प्रदानभोगादिमयैस्तयोर्मिभिः ।
 सरस्वती श्रीश्च मिथः समागते समाश्रितद्वीपदशं विवव्रतुः ॥ ४६ ॥
 अरालयद्दुट्टिकृष्णपद्मगी निरङ्कुशच्छिन्नपयो यतोभवत् ।
 अतः प्रतापो युधि हर्षभूभुजश्चकार यात्रामपुनर्निवृत्तये ॥ ४७ ॥

ज्वलप्रतापामिसमक्षमक्षतं जयश्रियो योघटयत्करग्रहम् ।
 अखण्डजन्यान्तरवदपद्धतिः सहेलमैक्षिष्ट कबन्धनर्तनम् ॥ ४८ ॥
 अनुक्षणानेकनिपीतशान्नवप्रतापवन्निप्रतिवर्षणादिव ।
 असह्यतां कस्य न नाम निष्पतज्जगाम यद्वामविलोचनाञ्जनम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 वितीर्य पुष्पस्रजमुन्मदालिभिः पुरस्कृतां दैवशुभाक्षरैरिव ।
 असूत्रयद्यस्य स सुस्सलक्ष्मापतिर्बृहत्तन्त्रपतित्वकल्पनाम् ॥ ५० ॥

॥ चतुर्भिः कुलकम् ॥

अदीर्घसूत्रः प्रसरद्विरङ्कितो गुणैर्बृहत्तन्त्रपतिर्विशेषवित् ।
 उपोदशास्त्रप्रकृतिर्मृदुक्रमः करोति यः कौतुककाहलं जगत् ॥ ५१ ॥
 वसन्तमासं क्व न वीक्ष्य यो मुदं बिभर्ति लुम्पन्सुमनःस्वलं रजः ।
 विमुद्रपद्माधिगमेपि नोज्झति स्रहातिरेकं मदवारणे चयः ॥ ५२ ॥
 स भङ्ग इत्यस्य गतोनुजन्मतां दधत्स्वनाम्नोनुगुणामपि श्रियम् ।
 अपक्षतिले पदमुन्नतोन्नतं विगाहमानो दिशतिस्म विस्मयम् ॥ ५३ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

धृतामिताभं वदनेन्दुमण्डलं प्रसन्नतारागतिरीक्षणद्वयी ।
 सुमञ्जुघोषं च वचःपरिच्छदः प्रदर्शितश्रीघनविभ्रमग्रहः ॥ ५४ ॥
 इतीदृशीं प्रस्तुवतोपि सौगतक्रमानुरूपप्रतिपत्तिकल्पनाम् ।
 विलोक्यते यस्य कदापि केनचिन्न सौहृदेषु क्षणभङ्गसंततिः ॥ ५५ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

ततः कनीयानजानिष्ट विष्टपत्रयेप्यविच्छिन्नगतागतैर्गुणैः ।
 श्रयन्नलंकार इति प्ररूढतां सरस्वतीपादरजोतिर्यौ पथि ॥ ५६ ॥
 न सूत्रकृद्वात्तिककृन्न चेष्टिकृच्छशाक यत्क्षणतन्त्रमीक्षितुम् ।
 स्वयं तदुन्मीलितवानकल्पयच्चतुर्मुनिव्याकरणस्य वर्त्म यः ॥ ५७ ॥
 सदा मुखे यस्य निसर्गमाधुरीपरीतनृत्यत्पदसूक्तियुक्तिभिः ।
 सरस्वती सद्यसरोरुहस्पृशां रसायुषां व्यक्तिमुपैति निक्षणः ॥ ५८ ॥
 वहस्यनिर्वेदगतिं न मुञ्चति द्विजाधिराजश्रियि वर्धनोद्यमम् ।
 नतोपयुक्ते च बहुप्रमाणतामुपोढलोकायतवृत्ति यद्यशः ॥ ५९ ॥

यदाननेन्दुद्युतिसङ्गसंकुचभिकेतपङ्केरुहपीडनादिव ।
 चिरं पुरस्ताद्वदनेषु जायते विवादिनामाकुलिता सरस्वती ॥ ६० ॥
 खलीकृता यस्य वचोभिरुद्धतैर्विलुण्ध्य सर्वप्रतिभामयीं श्रियम् ।
 भवन्ति सदाः प्रतिवादिनां गिरो गभीरमौनहृदमममूर्तयः ॥ ६१ ॥
 निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविडौजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिविग्रहे ।
 विधाय चक्रे स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 अयोदभूतस्य कनिष्ठसोदरः स मङ्गलको यस्य शिशोरतन्वत ।
 शिरस्युपोढा गुरुपादरेणवः सरस्वतीकार्मणचूर्णेनैपुणम् ॥ ६३ ॥
 स्वदेहलीनां दधदुन्नातिप्रथामखर्वसद्धर्मगतिप्रतिश्रवः ।
 बहिष्कृतानेकपराङ्मुनास्थितिर्य एक एवावसयोजनि श्रियः ॥ ६४ ॥
 अधीतवैदग्ध्यविशेषमक्रमात्कलामु शास्त्रे व्यवहारकर्मसु ।
 विशेषवात्सल्यवतीव यं सुतं मुखैरचुम्बद्बुद्धिभिः सरस्वती ॥ ६५ ॥
 अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।
 व्यधात्प्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्नविनीतजन्तुषु ॥ ६६ ॥
 पिता स तेषां जरयापि जर्जरो निपीयमाने श्रुतिसंपुटाध्वना ।
 अनेकतत्कीर्तिरसायनेभवन्नवीनतारुण्यविशेषवानिव ॥ ६७ ॥
 अनेकमुक्तानुगतात्मनि स्वयं विगाहमाने बहुदानवारिताम् ।
 अतिद्रुतं तस्य यियासतो दिवं न वा रणस्वामिनि भक्तिरुद्ययौ ॥ ६८ ॥
 ततः स काले शिवरात्रिपावने मनागिव क्लिष्टशरीरसौष्टवः ।
 दशमगातीर्थपथोपपत्तिमत्कुशाम्रशय्यासुखसुप्तिकासखीम् ॥ ६९ ॥
 लीलामुक्तमनुष्यविग्रहमयग्रन्थिग्रहः शार्ङ्गिण-
 स्तीर्थे सोष तिथौ बहस्यवनिभृत्पुत्रीपतेरभ्यगात् ।
 वामार्धध्वजराजदण्डजपतिव्रस्तापरार्धस्खल-
 त्केलीकङ्कणदन्दशूकबहुलोत्फालावचूलं वपुः ॥ ७० ॥
 इत्थं याते पितरि स्मृतिति ब्रह्मभूयं य आसी-
 दन्तस्तेषां विषमविषमाहंकृतिः शोकशङ्कुः ।
 चेतोभिन्नेरनुपधिबृहद्भुरेको विवेको
 लब्धोद्रेको निभृतनिभृतं तं शनैरुच्चखान ॥ ७१ ॥

एकादश्यां व्रतानियमवानेकदा तत्कनीया-
 नेकाकी सन्भवनवलभीं मङ्गलः सोधिश्चिश्ये ।
 वागीश्वर्या वदनवसतेः केवलं वाहहंसं
 व्यञ्जनाण्डस्यलपरिणमचन्द्राविम्बच्छलेन ॥ ७२ ॥
 स्वप्ने तत्र ददर्श स स्वपितरं देहं वहन्तं मिल-
 तापिच्छच्छदकेतकच्छविवपुष्पण्डद्वयीकल्पितम् ।
 एकार्धेन वमन्तमग्रचरणद्वारेण मन्दाकिनी-
 मन्यार्धेन च विभ्रतं पटुरटद्वीचि जटावर्त्मनि ॥ ७३ ॥
 सुतमथ स तदानीं कल्पितप्रत्यभिज्ञं
 लहरिभिरनुगृह्णन्दूरतोभीक्ष्णमक्षणाम् ।
 अमुचदमृतमित्यं कर्णगण्डूषलेखं
 स्नपनमिव विवृण्वज्ज्योत्स्नया दन्तपङ्क्तैः ॥ ७४ ॥
 द्वैराज्यकारिसुमनोनिवहस्य कर्ण-
 पूरश्रियः किमपि वाङ्मयमध्यगीष्ठाः ।
 तत्किं पुनासि न सुत क्षणदाकुटुम्ब-
 लेखावचूलचटुयुक्तिभिरुक्तिदेवीम् ॥ ७५ ॥
 इति सूक्तिमौक्तिकमयीं सुतस्य स
 प्रकटय्य कर्णभुवि शेखरस्रजम् ।
 गगनाञ्जलङ्घनघनश्रमसृष्टा
 शशिना सहैव चतुरं तिरोदधे ॥ ७६ ॥
 उद्युक्ते गुणवद्विषादकदनव्यग्रैर्गवामुग्रमै-
 निर्मातुं भुवनानुरञ्जनविधिं देवे ततो भास्वति ।
 तच्छून्यासु विसृज्य दिक्षु सुचिरं निद्रादरिद्रे दृशा-
 नुःकण्ठां च श्रुचं च विस्मयरसोल्लासं च तुल्यं दधौ ॥ ७७ ॥
 पितृभारतीविवृतपौष्टिकक्रिया-
 क्रममाणभक्तिसहवासिमानसः ।
 इति स प्रबन्धयति मङ्गलको गिरं
 विरचय्य शंकरचरित्रकिंकरीम् ॥ ७८ ॥
 इति श्रीकण्ठचरिते महाकाव्ये तीर्थवर्णनो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ॥ ३ ॥

- S. IV., śl. 64 : कैलासवर्णनो नाम च० स०.
 S V., śl. 57 : भगवद्वर्णनो नाम प० स०.
 S. VI., śl. 74 : वसन्तसाधारणवर्णनो नाम ष० स०.
 S. VII., śl. 65 : दोलाक्रीडावर्णनो नाम स० स०.
 S. VIII., śl. 56 : पुष्पावचयवर्णनो नाम अ० स०.
 S. IX., śl. 56 : जलक्रीडावर्णनो नाम न० स०.
 S. X., śl. 61 : संध्यावर्णनो नाम द० स०.
 S. XL, śl. 75 : चन्द्रवर्णनो नाम एका० स०.
 S. XII., śl. 95 : चन्द्रोदयवर्णनो नाम द्वा० स०.
 S. XIII., śl. 52 : प्रसादवर्णनो नाम त्र० स०.
 S. XIV., śl. 68 : पानकेलिवर्णनो नाम च० स०.
 S. XV., śl. 50 : सुरतक्रीडावर्णनो नाम प० स०.
 S. XVI., śl. 59 : प्रभातवर्णनो नाम षो० स०.
 S. XVII., śl. 67 : परमेश्वरदेवसमागमादिवर्णनो नाम स० स०.
 S. XVIII., śl. 61 : गणक्षोभवर्णनो नाम अ० स०.
 S. XIX., śl. 66 : गणोद्योगवर्णनो नाम एको० स०.
 S. XX., śl. 66 : इभबन्धनवर्णनो नाम वि० स०.
 S. XXI., śl. 53 : गणप्रस्थानवर्णनो ना० एक० स०.
 S. XXII., śl. 56 : दैत्यपुरीक्षोभवर्णनो नाम द्वा० स०.
 S. XXIII., śl. 56 : युद्धवर्णनो नाम त्रयो० स०.
 S. XXIV., śl. 44 : त्रिपुरदाहो नाम च० स०.

Sarga XXV.:

इति स श्रवणोत्तंसं मांसलं भक्तिविभ्रमैः ।
 जगन्नाथस्य जग्रन्त्य मङ्गलकः सूक्तिलीलया ॥ १ ॥
 तिग्मानलदृशः खण्डपरशोः *प्रणयग्रहात् ।
 तस्य सूक्तिलता व्यक्तं बत साफल्यमग्रहीत् ॥ २ ॥
 स्वयं मौलीन्दुपीयूषपूरैः सितैव शंभुना ।
 सरसत्वं च दान्त्र्यं च बाक्तस्याव्यग्रमग्रहीत् ॥ ३ ॥

* प्रत्ययग्रहात्, P. D.

प्रबन्धेन जगद्वन्धुमुपश्लोक्य पिनाकिनम् ।
 आक्रान्तानन्तसंतोष इति सोन्तरचिन्तयत् ॥ ४ ॥
 अहो धन्योस्मि यस्येयं स्वच्छन्दापि सरस्वती ।
 विना श्रीकण्ठमन्यत्र नाचरच्चाटुकारिताम् ॥ ५ ॥
 महत्कष्टमहो हित्वा यच्छर्वं सर्वतःश्रुतिम् ।
 गर्वानवधिबाधिर्यो नरेण स्तूयते नरः ॥ ६ ॥
 मानुष्यजन्म वैदुष्यं विवेकः काव्यचातुरी ।
 श्रीकण्ठे चाटुकारित्वमहो पुण्यपरंपरा ॥ ७ ॥
 धिक्कान्कृतप्रुतिर्येषां भारत्यपि सरस्वती ।
 स्वं दूषयति मत्तेव नृपचाटुकपांसुभिः ॥ ८ ॥
 दृष्टिः सारस्वती भूरिरजोभरिह पार्थिवैः ।
 * वशंवदीकृता सत्यं कवेः कालुष्यमश्रुते ॥ ९ ॥
 किं वान्यदुणनद्धापि बद्धापि रसकर्मणि ।
 रहिता कर्णधारेण सूक्तिनैरिव सीदति ॥ १० ॥
 चामीकरस्य सौरभ्यमम्लानिर्मालतीलजाम् ।
 श्रोतुर्निर्मत्सरत्वं च निर्माणागोचरं विधेः ॥ ११ ॥
 यत्किमप्यस्ति मूर्खानाममात्सर्यं तु सूक्तिषु ।
 तत्कोपयोगि सौन्दर्यं शण्डस्येव पुरन्ध्रिषु ॥ १२ ॥
 विमत्सरश्च विद्वांश्च श्रोता चेदुटते गिराम् ।
 स्पन्दते तर्हि वागवली रसं पर्वणिपर्वणि ॥ १३ ॥
 सन्तश्च † तादृशाः सन्ति गणिताः सूक्तिभेषजम् ।
 भूषणं यैः स्ववैदुष्यात्सौजन्येन वितन्यते ॥ १४ ॥
 मदग्रजन्मनः श्रीमल्लङ्ककस्य सभागृहम् ।
 तेभ्यासते च विलब्धाः सारसा इव मानसम् ॥ १५ ॥
 ततः साफल्यदीक्षायै स्वपरिश्रमविपुषाम् ।
 तदेवास्य प्रबन्धस्य नेष्यामि निकषाश्मताम् ॥ १६ ॥
 पण्डितैर्मण्डलीबन्धाद्विभ्रद्विरसमं रसम् ।
 दृब्धालवालवलयं वाग्देवीसुरवीरुधः ॥ १७ ॥

* P. omits this verse but shows a lacuna.

† तादृशः P. D.

इति संचिन्त्य संतोषदन्तुरेण स चेतसा ।
तदथाविशदास्थानं कृतार्थस्याग्रजन्मनः ॥ १८ ॥

॥ युग्मम् ॥

श्रीवाहकरटिक्षुण्णवर्णकम्बलरुद्धुषि ।
कुये निवेशितपदं धुरीवाखिलमन्त्रिणाम् ॥ १९ ॥
ततस्तत्र शिखारत्नमप्रत्नामायसंहतेः ।
अनयन्नयनातिथ्यं पथ्यं स नयवर्त्मनि ॥ २० ॥

॥ युग्मम् ॥

विनयेन नमन्नये शपथैरर्थितोसकृत् ।
ज्यायसोर्धोसने तस्य स कथंचिदुपाविशत् ॥ २१ ॥
नित्यं नृत्यद्वचोदेवीमञ्जीरोच्चरवैरिव ।
घटते शास्त्रचिन्तासु यस्य निद्रादरिद्रता ॥ २२ ॥
महाभूतानि पञ्चापि विरिञ्चेन विमुञ्चता ।
योवैमि बाङ्गयैरेव निर्ममे परमाणुभिः ॥ २३ ॥
क नु कानि कियत्कालमहो तेपे तपांसि यः ।
वैदुष्ये लग्नकान्यन्ययोगव्यावृत्तिसाक्षिणि ॥ २४ ॥
पुनानमन्तिकं तस्य प्रथमं ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ।
विद्वत्संक्रन्दनं तत्र स नन्दनमवन्दत ॥ २५ ॥

॥ चतुर्भिः कुलकम् ॥

व्याख्यासु यस्य वदनं रदनांशुभिरीक्ष्यते ।
आकर्षदिव * वाग्देव्या धौतक्षौमपटाञ्चलम् ॥ २६ ॥
अर्पयन्कमपि स्पन्दं धाम्नः सारस्वतस्य भूः ।
य एव सर्वशास्त्राणां साकारमिव जीवितम् ॥ २७ ॥
विवृतीयो लिखत्यात्तलेखन्येकाङ्गुलीतलः ।
ग्रन्थेभ्योर्यस्य विश्रान्त्यै सूत्रिकामर्पयन्निव ॥ २८ ॥
यत्कृतिष्ववधानेन मूर्धो कस्य न वीप्सया ।
सारस्वतरसावर्तवलनेनेव वेष्टते ॥ २९ ॥

* वाग्देवीधौत*, P. D.

तं श्रीरुप्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्रयरसस्रोतःसंभेदमञ्जनम् ॥ ३० ॥

॥ कुलकम् ॥

यस्य व्यनक्ति काषायग्रहमारक्तया रूचा ।
निलोपन्याससंक्रान्तवेदान्तार्थ इवाधरः ॥ ३१ ॥
नीत्वा सफलतां बलीरिष्टसिद्धिं विवृण्वता ।
श्रुतीनां पथि शिष्येषु येन कल्पद्रुमायितम् ॥ ३२ ॥
निस्तुषीकृतवैदुष्यं स्मयमात्सर्यसंहतेः ।
धृतप्रणतिपारं यो रम्यदेवं तमैक्षत ॥ ३३ ॥
वाग्देवतालिनीलीलाधुतपक्षतिचातुरीम् ।
वदनाम्बुरुहे यस्य भाषाः षडधिशेरते ॥ ३४ ॥
खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्मसु ॥
प्रोद्यच्चोशमया दूरे कुण्ठिता इव पन्त्रिणः ॥ ३५ ॥
कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्येति मुखतोऽशृणोत् ॥
श्रीलङ्ककं प्रति प्रोतचारुचादुरसा गिरः ॥ ३६ ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

गोभिः शुभ्ररसैकसूतिभिरनुस्यूतं विभो लङ्कक
ज्यायःशुद्धिसखि द्विजोच्छ्रसदनिर्वेदप्रयापावनम् ।
सत्यायार्पयतिस्म दर्शितवते निःसंश्रयत्वं कलौ
वाग्देवीसहिताय तावकमुखं मन्येग्रहारं विधिः ॥ ३७ ॥
तीक्ष्णा पृथुलोहमयी गुरुतरगुणनिकरसंग्रहव्या ।
द्रढयति धर्मपटच्चरमचिरादिह लङ्ककस्य मतिः ॥ ३८ ॥
मूर्तिर्यस्य सभानुताडुतलिपेः पुष्पाति गाढामृत-
प्रादुर्भावविसृजरीं परिणतिं पङ्कुरहद्रोहिणः ।
तस्य तन्मुखशीतगोः प्रणयतोलंकारवाग्देवता-
गल्वर्कोपलपुत्रिकागुरुपरिस्पन्दं रसं स्पन्दते ॥ ३९ ॥
यः सामन्तशिखामणेत्रभवतालंकारं नित्यं सता-
मानीतो नवकाशतां हृदि हताशेषाद्भुतापद्धिम् ।

तेषां श्रोत्रविलिख्यमानगहनत्वसूक्तिचर्वोत्सवे
 राशीभूत इवाधिशीर्षमधुना क्रम्यः स संपद्यते ॥ ४० ॥
 सामन्तभद्रनयमपि भजसे पदमनुसरन्नसामान्यम् ।
 विश्वमपापोहमिति श्रीलङ्कुक तदपि बोधयसि ॥ ४१ ॥
 या पूर्वा कविगर्वहृत्पदगतिर्यस्या विपर्येति नो
 स्पष्टं या परपुष्टसौष्टवहरं वाक्यक्रमं पुष्यति ।
 सा श्रीलङ्कुक मानमार्गमजह्यप्यात्तकण्ठा हठा-
 द्विद्वत्ता तव चित्रमुज्झितरजाः सूते यशःसंततिम् ॥ ४२ ॥
 मार्गे पदस्य पथि वाक्यकथाप्रयानां
 मानस्य वर्त्मनि च कन्दलिताभिषेकः ।
 राज्ञेव मन्त्रिवर लङ्कुक सूक्तिदेव्या
 सर्वाधिपत्यपदवीमधिरोपितोसि ॥ ४३ ॥
 श्रीमल्लङ्कुक यद्विशङ्कुरगाधीशस्य हालाहल-
 ज्वालाङ्गम्बरडामराद्वदनतस्तात्पर्यतो निर्ययौ ।
 वाग्देवीकरकुम्भनिर्यदमृतोद्विक्तेन सिक्ते महा-
 भाष्यं काव्यरसेन तत्तव चिरं वक्त्रेद्य विश्राम्यति ॥ ४४ ॥
 स्वान्ताक्रान्तसरस्वतीगृहबृहद्राजीवनालोन्नत-
 श्लिष्यत्कण्टकशिक्षयेव शतशः पुष्पाति या तीक्ष्णताम् ।
 तस्यां भिन्नसमग्रशास्त्रगहनग्रन्थ्युद्धतौ त्वद्वियि
 श्रीमल्लङ्कुक किं कलिः किल पदं स्वप्नेपि दातुं क्षमः ॥ ४५ ॥
 बाणोपमः प्रबन्धो लङ्कुक तव पत्त्रलब्धदूरगतिः ।
 विध्यति कस्य न हृदयं विविधसमज्यानिवेशेन ॥ ४६ ॥
 आरूढाः शुभमेधसां परिचयात्तं पावकोपक्रमं
 श्रीमल्लङ्कुक पाकमाकलयितुं व्यग्रा वचोवर्त्मनि ।
 लिख्यत्पात्रसहस्रपूरणभरादुन्मीलयन्तो मुदं
 भावत्काः प्रगुणा गुणा बहुरसाभिज्ञं जगत्कुर्वते ॥ ४७ ॥

॥ इत्येते लोष्टकश्लोकाः ॥

आक्रान्ता यस्य बक्रिष्णा दीर्घा दीर्घगुणा गिरः ।
वाग्देवीकरवल्लव्य इव पुष्पन्ति माधुरीम् ॥ ४८ ॥
द्विजराजेन भजता प्रभाकररुचिग्रहम् ।
पावकेन श्रिता येन धामत्रयमयी स्थितिः ॥ ४९ ॥
तमदर्शदय श्रोत्रपयसख्यस्पृशा दृशा ।
अदभ्रगुणसंदर्भं श्रीगर्भं हर्षनिर्भरः ॥ ५० ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

चतुर्दशापि यस्यान्तर्द्विजराजश्रितोन्नतेः ।
कृष्णस्य भुवनानीव विद्यास्थानानि शेरते ॥ ५१ ॥
श्लिष्यत्कविलपाण्डित्यमयसंदेशवर्त्मना ।
बाल्य एवोद्धृता येन मोहकर्दमतो मतिः ॥ ५२ ॥
क्रमादजनि *सौन्दर्यरसस्मेरमुखः सखा ।
श्रेयार्गिर्भण्डनस्तस्य पारणाय स चक्षुषोः ॥ ५३ ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

ततो न्यधित निःशेषवैदुषीकेलिसग्रनि ।
श्रीकण्ठे विहितोत्कण्ठे दृशं तदनुजन्मनि ॥ ५४ ॥
कृतश्रुतिमुधासेकाः सोद्रेका विविधैर्नयैः ।
रूढिं यद्वचासि च्छेकाः स्वच्छे कामपि विभ्रति ॥ ५५ ॥
स सन्मार्गचरो गर्गमानर्चं स्थविरं चिरम् ॥
सत्कवीनां तमग्रण्यं द्रोणं चापभृतामिव ॥ ५६ ॥
प्रदीपरुचिसंचारचारु योध्यास्य मन्दिरम् ।
झगियेव स्वयं विष्णोस्तत्तत्त्वं परमैक्षत ॥ ५७ ॥
अनिरुद्धाच्युतबलश्लाघ्यदर्पकलाञ्जिताः ।
एकायनस्य यस्यासंश्रुतुराख्याञ्जिता गिरः ॥ ५८ ॥
मुधासधर्मभिर्द्वित्रैरिति लङ्कुकचादुभिः ।
अभ्यर्णं कर्णयोस्तस्य स श्रीदेवधरोधिनोत् ॥ ५९ ॥

* सौहादरसः, P.

J. places 57a in the place of 58a.

त्रिभिः काण्डैराद्यः कविरमुमविध्यत्तदनु च
 क्षतो बाणेनायं तदपि विदधे चापलकलाम् ।
 अलंकार त्वत्कैः प्रतिपदनिबद्धैर्ध्वनिलवै-
 रयेदानीमन्तःकरणहरिणः शाम्यति मम ॥ ६० ॥
 एकं श्रीजयसिंहपार्थिवपतिं काश्मीरमीनध्वजं
 तस्योपासितसंधिविग्रहमलंकारं द्वितीयं स्तुमः ।
 भूभारः प्रथमेन पद्मगपतेः क्षमां रक्षतां वारितो
 नीतोत्थेन कृतार्थतां प्रवचनैर्भाष्योपदेशश्रमः ॥ ६१ ॥
 ॥ इति भागवताचार्यदेवधरश्लोकद्वयम् ॥
 बहुशः श्रवणे यस्य रुचिरुत्कर्षमीयुषी ।
 नास्मि पुष्यति याथार्थ्यमुद्यत्पदशतश्रियः ॥ ६२ ॥
 यस्य पाणिनिबद्धेन वररुच्यञ्चितश्रिया ।
 व्यज्यते कङ्कुणेनेव लक्षणेनादरिद्रता ॥ ६३ ॥
 वयसो मध्यमत्वेपि गुणैराधिकवाद्दकम् ।
 नागं साहित्यविद्यायाः सौविदलं तमैक्षत ॥ ६४ ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

दृढेपि तर्ककार्कश्ये * प्रगल्भः कविकर्मणि ।
 यः श्रीतुतातितस्येव पुनर्जन्मान्तरग्रहः ॥ ६५ ॥
 तं श्रीत्रैलोक्यमालोक्य गण्यं षट्कर्मिणां धुरि ।
 ययौ मुहुर्धियस्य कार्मुकस्य सधर्मताम् ॥ ६६ ॥

॥ युगलम् ॥

सर्वमानातिरिक्तेन विवृतापूर्वजन्मना ।
 योधिकार्यस्थितिर्भाति नियोगेनेव चेतसा ॥ ६७ ॥
 †सूक्तिभूरिगुणानर्धमश्लाघत स वीप्सया ।
 दामोदरं तदासीददादरप्रह्वकंधरः ॥ ६८ ॥

॥ युगलम् ॥

यः संततं निसर्गेण विनयानतकंधरः ।
 व्यनक्त्यात्तबृहच्छास्त्रभारव्यज्जिततामिव ॥ ६९ ॥

* प्रवगः कवि, ° P.; D.

† सुरिगणगुणाः तमासीददा° P.; D.; J. text. pr. m.

पादोपसंग्रहव्यग्रविवलत्पाणिपल्लवः ।
तं षष्ठं विबुधप्रष्ठं स सौत्कण्ठमवैक्षत ॥ ७० ॥

॥ युग्मम् ॥

व्यज्यते येन निर्मृष्टनिःशेषकलिपांसुना ।
भट्टप्रभाकरनयद्वयखोतोनदीष्णता ॥ ७१ ॥
सुवृत्तं क्रमलब्धोर्ध्वपदं परिचितं दृशोः ।
तं च वागीश्वरीकेलिकन्दुकं जिन्दुकं व्यधात् ॥ ७२ ॥

॥ युग्मम् ॥

पथा चरति वक्त्रेण वाग्यस्य चतुरैः पदैः ।
सरस्वत्यै विनिर्मातुमुद्यतेव प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ ७३ ॥
प्रक्रमैर्हठवक्त्रिणो मुरारिमनुधावतः ।
श्रीराजशेखरगिरो नीवी यस्योक्तिसंपदाम् ॥ ७४ ॥
श्रीमद्राजपुरीसंधिविग्रहस्य नियोगिनम् ।
अयानर्चं वचोभिस्त्वं जह्मणं विनयाञ्चितैः ॥ ७५ ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

यो रञ्जयति सत्पूगरससंचारणोज्ज्वलैः ।
न कस्य स्वप्रबन्धोक्तिवर्णैः पर्णैरिवाननम् ॥ ७६ ॥
पुनानमाभिजन्येन कृत्वा पाण्डित्यपद्धतेः ।
निसर्गात्तमसंदिग्धं श्रीगोविन्दमवन्दत ॥ ७७ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

श्रीमानलकदत्तोयमनल्पं काव्यशिल्पिषु ।
स्वपरिश्रमसर्वस्वन्याससभ्यममन्यत ॥ ७८ ॥
तयोपचस्करे येन निजवाङ्मयदर्पणः ।
बिम्बेणप्रौढिसंक्रान्तौ यथा योग्यत्वमग्रहीत् ॥ ७९ ॥
तत्तद्बहुकयाकेलिपरिश्रमनिरङ्कुशम् ।
तं प्रश्रयप्रयत्नेन कल्याणं सममीमनत् ॥ ८० ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

यावाविष्कुरुतो वक्त्रमुरुचन्दनपुण्ड्रकम् ।
मुद्रितं सूक्तिदेव्येव कोशं काव्यकलाश्रियः ॥ ८१ ॥

भुङ्क्ष्वश्रीवत्सनामानौ सूरौ सन्नद्धचारिणौ ।
वाक्यैर्जितामृतस्वादैः सादरं तावभाषत ॥ ८२ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

तीक्ष्णसारस्वतज्योतिरनुस्यूतरसात्मना ।
श्रुतिभ्यां लिख्यते सद्भिर्धस्योक्तिः पाकमीयुषी ॥ ८३ ॥
तं स तर्कमहाम्भोधिकुम्भसंभवमार्चिचत् ।
श्र्यानन्दं क्षिग्धदृङ्ग्यासदीर्घेन्दीवरधामभिः ॥ ८४ ॥

॥ युगम् ॥

उच्छिन्ते पथि वैदर्भे कठोरपदकण्टकैः ।
निसर्गललिता यस्य स्वैरं चरति भारती ॥ ८५ ॥
अतूनुषन्निस्तुपया भूषितं कविविद्याया ।
तं पद्मराजमव्याजव्याहारविनियुक्तिभिः ॥ ८६ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

भाति केशकटप्रेण यस्त्रयीधूमबभ्रुणा ।
उपासनार्द्रया नित्यममुक्त इव संध्याया ॥ ८७ ॥
अगर्हवार्हतमतन्यायोपन्यासैदशिकम् ।
श्रीगुन्ममुन्नम*प्रीति ततस्तं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ८८ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

धिन्यन्पवित्रचारित्रो विश्वामित्र इव त्रयीम् ।
पाठबोधावनुष्ठानसौष्टवेन पुनाति यः ॥ ८९ ॥
वक्त्रटङ्को निसर्गेण व्यञ्जन्सदनुरक्तताम् ।
न जहात्यसुरो यस्य सामराजिस्थितिग्रहम् ॥ ९० ॥
स्वतन्त्रः शास्त्रवीथीषु प्रथमः सोमपीथिनाम् ।
लक्ष्मीदेवस्तमाशीर्भिः स निर्भरमवीकृधत् ॥ ९१ ॥

॥ तिलकम् ॥

व्याख्याभिख्यासु भाष्यस्य यो यागोपक्रमेषु च ।
इष्टीर्विवृणुते धुर्यो बुधानामिव यज्वनाम् ॥ ९२ ॥

* प्रीतिरतस्तत्, P. D.

आतन्वन्विनयाकूतं दूरनम्रेण मौलिना ।
ततो जनकराजेन * तेन संतुष्य तुष्टुवे ॥ ९३ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

व्यनक्ति पृथुसामर्थ्यमाख्याया एव योक्षरैः ।
जयेभिन्नवगुप्तस्य प्रकटः प्रथमो गुरुः ॥ ९४ ॥
तं तत्रागमतन्त्रेषु सूचितानङ्कुशश्रमम् ।
ततः संकेतसदनं प्रागल्भ्यस्याभ्यभाषत ॥ ९५ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

येन जाड्यैकपीडाभिः पुष्पतः कम्पसंपदम् ।
विवृतानन्ततापस्य विहितं लङ्घनं कलेः ॥ ९६ ॥
अशेषभिषगग्र्यं शरण्यं शास्त्रपद्धतेः ।
ववन्देय तमानन्दं सुतं शम्भुमहाकवेः ॥ ९७ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

नागरप्रकृतिश्चारुबलात्मा † विधृताभयः ।
यः प्रीणात्यातुरानङ्गैर्भेषजैकमयैरिव ॥ ९८ ॥
ततस्तदनुजन्मानमगदंकारपुंगवम् ।
‡ सुहृलं गाढया प्रीत्या तं पुनः पुनरैक्षत ॥ ९९ ॥
§ पाणिनीयातपत्रेण पवित्रं यस्य तन्मुखम् ।
सङ्गं स्वप्रेष्यवाप्नोति नापशब्दरजःकणैः ॥ १०० ॥
स्वस्येश्वरस्य यो व्यञ्जन्मण्डले मन्त्रसंस्क्रियाम् ।
धत्ते सदागमप्रीतिं दैशिकानां धुरि स्थितिम् ॥ १०१ ॥
अन्यः स सुहृलस्तेन ततोवन्द्यत पण्डितः ।
दूतो गोविन्दचन्द्रस्य कान्यकुब्जस्य भूभुजः ॥ १०२ ॥

* तेन संतुष्य तुष्यये. J. neut. pr. m.; P.; नीत संतुष्य तुष्टुवे J. tikā. sec. m.; तेन संतुष्य तुष्टुवे D. pr. m.; नीतः सं; ° D.; pr. m. Our reading is a conjecture based on D. pr. m.

† चारुबाला P.; D. pr. m.

‡ स्वहृलं गाढया P. D. pr. m.

§ पाणिनेया all MSS.

तस्येति स ततः प्रीतिं प्रणयाद्वैशिकोदिशत् ।

व्यापृतौ काव्यकेलीनामसमस्य समस्यया ॥ १०३ ॥

एतद्भ्रुकचानुकारिकिरणं राजद्रुहोः शिर-
श्छेदाभं वियतः प्रतीचि निपतत्यब्धौ रवेर्मण्डलम् ।

इति समस्या ॥ १०४ ॥

अपूपुरत्पुरस्तेषां द्रुतमित्थं स तां सताम् ।

आरात्रिकमिव भूभिर्वलन्तीभिर्विवृण्वताम् ॥ १०५ ॥

एषापि दुरमा प्रियानुगमनं प्रोहामकाष्ठेत्यिते

*संध्यामौ विरचय्य तारकमिषाज्जातास्थिशेषस्थितिः ॥

इति समस्यापूरणम् ॥

अविस्मृतस्वजननीजनक्षीररसा अपि ।

बटवो निन्यिरे येन सूक्तिदेवीरसज्ञताम् ॥ १०६ ॥

जोगराजमुपाध्यायं ध्यायन्तं शुभमञ्जसा ।

अथ भक्त्या तमानर्च तत्तच्चर्चाभिरर्चितम् ॥ १०७ ॥

॥ युगलकम् ॥

क नयः साधुवादिषु नृत्यद्विर्दशनान्शुभिः ।

विद्वज्जनेन साम्राज्ये सभ्यानामभ्यषिच्यत ॥ १०८ ॥

बचोभिर्नुनुदे दन्तद्युतिश्रीखण्डपाण्डुभिः ।

वादिनां वाददपोष्मा येन शूर्पारकाध्वसु ॥ १०९ ॥

यं श्रीमदपरादित्य इति दूतिप्रसिद्धये ।

प्रजिघाय घनश्लाघः काश्मीरान्कुङ्कुणेश्वरः † ॥ ११० ॥

तेन श्रीतेजकण्ठेन सोत्कण्ठमनुबध्नाता ।

इति सोधिकवैशद्यनिरवद्यमगद्यत ॥ १११ ॥

॥ चतुर्भिः कुलकम् ॥

निष्किल्बिषं तवैकस्य श्रीमद्भू कविताद्भुतम् ।

स्यष्टोक्तिर्यस्य नास्तुत्यस्तुतिकीर्तनपाप्मभिः ॥ ११२ ॥

* संध्यामौ विनिधाय, P. D. pr. m.

† कुङ्कुणेश्वरः P. D. pr. m.

शिक्षन्ते भिक्षितुं सर्वे लयैकेन तु शिक्षितम् ।
 भिक्षाकतां निराकर्तुमशेषविदुषामपि * ॥ ११३ ॥
 संभेदः श्रीसरस्वत्योः केवलं न विपन्मयम् ।
 त्वं मोहमयमप्याशु मलं कस्य न लुम्पसि ॥ ११४ ॥
 सा वैदुषी फलं यस्या न परोपकृतेः परम् ।
 शिक्षन्ते जीवनोपायमन्ये बाङ्गुयाशिल्पिनः ॥ ११५ ॥
 नृपचाटुकपाप्मभ्यस्तादित्यं तव यद्यपि ।
 सरस्वती बिभेद्येव दधती शुद्धिसंस्क्रियाम् ॥ ११६ ॥
 तथापि मां गुणानिधे भज क्षमापचटूक्तिभिः ।
 पञ्चषाभिः पठित्वा याः सभासूद्रिकतामियाम् ॥ ११७ ॥
 असावध्यवसायोस्मदनुग्रहधिया च ते ।
 न दुष्येत्प्रार्थिताः सन्तः किं न ददुर्हि याचते ॥ ११८ ॥
 † श्रोत्रशुक्तिपुटेनेति पीत्वा तद्वाक्यविप्रुषः ।
 इमामुदगिरत्सोय सूक्तिमुक्ताफलखजम् ॥ ११९ ॥
 यद्वक्त्रेण पथा प्रयासि सततं यद्वासि विद्वन्मन-
 श्चैरी यच्च करोषि पूर्वसुकविप्रौढिप्रथोत्पुंसनम् ।
 तस्माद्धारति सद्भिरत्र भवती तीक्ष्णेति संभाविता
 तूर्णं पार्श्वममुष्य पार्थिवमुनेरभ्येहि शुद्धार्थिनी ॥ १२० ॥
 लत्वङ्मेन जगत्त्रयैकगुरुणा राजन्गणो विद्विषां
 संग्रामेषु पलायनोपनिषदां सिद्धान्तमध्यापितः ।
 उन्मुक्तासमसर्वशास्त्रसरणिः संयत्पत्त्रक्रम-
 श्चित्रं चिन्तयितुं विविक्तविपिनासङ्गं समाश्लिष्यति ॥ १२१ ॥
 व्यथोद्रेकादेका घनरुदितशोणे नृप दृशौ
 वहन्ते वैराग्यादिव विधृतकाषायवसने ।
 अरण्यान्यामन्यास्त्वदरिबनिता यान्ति विपदं
 लतानां संसङ्गादिव नवजटावल्कलभृतः ॥ १२२ ॥

* निःशेषविदुषाम् P. D.

† श्रोत्रशुक्तिपथेनीति, P. D.

वैधव्योपहताः प्रतापतपनपुष्पद्वपुष्कान्तयः
 कान्ताराधसु लब्धसाध्वसभुवः प्रत्यर्थवामभुवः ।
 राजन्निर्भरवाष्पवारिविवलन्नेत्रालवालावली-
 संदोहैस्त्व वर्धयन्ति विशदस्पन्दां यशःकन्दलीम् ॥ १२३ ॥
 प्रियान्प्रति मरौ लमाः कुर्वते लदरिस्त्रियः ।
 * सास्त्रधारकरास्त्रिष्टकुचाः पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् ॥ १२४ ॥
 भिन्नभ्रूवलनाकुले तरलिते वक्त्रोदुपे सान्द्रया
 निःश्वासक्रमवायया किमपरं भर्तृर्यत्रि हते ।
 राजेन्द्र लदरातिचन्द्रवदनालोकस्य शोकाचलो-
 द्विन्नास्वश्रुतरङ्गिणीषु कुरुते दृङ्गज्जनोन्मज्जने ॥ १२५ ॥
 लक्षान्नासमवेत † दुर्धरगतेः सैन्यस्य संमर्दतो
 द्राघिष्ठेपि शिरोगणे गुणयुगं जज्ञे फणाभृत्यतेः ।
 प्रापद्भूपरमाणुभिस्तरलितैः कालुष्यमक्ष्णां नय-
 द्दृङ्गस्य च कारणं यदशृणोन्नो पत्तिकोलाहलम् ॥ १२६ ॥
 इति श्रीतेजकण्ठाभ्यर्थनया कृताः श्लोकाः ॥
 ततो ययार्थनामानं द्विजं वागीश्वराभिधम् ।
 प्रस्तोष्ट पठितश्लोकमिति श्रीलङ्कं प्रति ॥ १२७ ॥
 त्वयि प्रसन्ने मम किं गुणेन त्वय्यप्रसन्ने मम किं गुणेन ।
 रक्ते विरक्ते च वराङ्गनानां मिथ्यैव नेपथ्यविशेषभङ्गिः ॥ १२८ ॥
 ॥ इति श्रीभट्टवागीश्वरस्य श्लोकः ॥
 नेत्रे कवित्वपाण्डित्यमये दधदचार्मणे ।
 योक्त्रेऽशादखिलं वर्म सारस्वतमवैक्षत ॥ १२९ ॥
 चरतः पथि शास्त्राणां यस्यासच्चर्मचक्षुषः ॥
 देव्याः करावलम्बेन न जातु स्वलितं पदैः ॥ १३० ॥
 सकृदाकर्णनाघातसमग्रग्रन्थसंसृतेः ।
 इति तस्य पटोः पट्टीं गिरं चिरमचर्चयत् ॥ १३१ ॥

* साधु० P.; सास्त्र D.; सास्त्रधारः J. sec. m.

† समयेतिदुर्धरगतेः P. D. J. pr. m.

तिलकम् ॥

तज्ज्ञसूरिकृतप्रीति चारुमन्दारपुष्पवत् ।

कदाभवन्महाकाव्यं व्योमेवेक्षे ध्रुवस्थिति ॥ १३२ ॥

इति पण्डितपटुश्लोकः ॥

ज्यायसो वीक्ष्य विद्वद्भिर्हर्षदामिति पर्षदम् ।

स तदा सुचिरं दध्ने दृशं कर्णान्तचुम्बिनीम् ॥ १३३ ॥

*विद्वद्वादविधिस्तस्य षडुर्कीरसजन्मभूः ।

कर्णयोः षड्साहारसिद्धये चिरमकल्पत ॥ १३४ ॥

ब्रुव्यद्विराननपथावसथोक्तिदेवी-

हस्ताग्रपुस्तकमुखादिव बन्धसूत्रैः ।

दन्तांशुभिः प्रसृमरैः पिहिताधरौष्ठः

श्रीरुच्यकस्तमय स स्वगुरुर्बभाषे ॥ १३५ ॥

भाराधिता भगवती भवतैव सत्यं

प्राग्जन्मसु व्रतशतोर्भिभिरुक्तिदेवी ।

यत्नं विनाऽप्यधिवसन्कविकर्मगर्भं

सारस्वतत्वमिव योलमभिव्यनक्ति ॥ १३६ ॥

यत्काव्यरत्नमुपधातुमिवोपनीय

शक्त्या निसर्गविवृतोद्गमयार्पितं ते ।

तच्छाततां गमितवानसि वर्धमान-

व्युत्पत्तिशाणफलकार्पणनैपुणेन ॥ १३७ ॥

तत्सौष्टव ‡व्यसनि काव्यकलाशरीरं

नो जातु बध्यमयमामयमभ्युपैति ।

शक्त्यादयो दधति साम्यगतिं त्रयोपि

ते यत्र धातव इवाविकृतप्रतिष्ठाः ॥ १३८ ॥

धन्यस्त्वं विनिवेशितैर्बहुतिथैर्यैः स्थितिं बिभ्रती

न कापि स्ववपुः प्रसारितवती पण्यत्वसंसिद्धये ।

* D. omits this verse.

† व्यभिभवत्क° P.

‡ व्यसन° J. text; D.

सालंकारपदाधिकध्वनिजुषा मूर्त्या नरीनर्च्यसौ
 शोभोर्ध्वेन पुरोर्षिता भगवतो वाग्देवता नर्तकी ॥ १३९ ॥
 यच्छ्रीमङ्कुक मुख्यतां गतवता व्युत्पत्तिविच्छित्तिभिः
 श्रीश्रीकण्ठचरित्रमित्यभिधया काव्यं व्यधायि त्वया ।
 एतस्मिन्सदसि प्रसिद्धविविधोपासीनविद्वद्वरे
 तत्संदर्शय तस्य रोहनुतरां साफल्यतः कल्पता ॥ १४० ॥
 आरूढां परिपाकवर्त्मनि धुरं तत्तद्रसस्यन्दिनीं
 निःशेषोपि सभाजनोयमधिकं श्रद्धानुबन्धातिथिः ।
 *वीप्तामूर्धनिधूननाकुलतरोत्तंसोत्पलाग्रच्छदै-
 रून्मीलद्रसनैरिव श्रुतिपुटैस्तद्वाचमाचामतु ॥ १४१ ॥
 श्रुत्वा वाक्यमुदारमाश्रयविदस्तत्तस्य सम्यग्गुरोः
 किञ्चिन्यञ्चितकंधरेण शिरसा स व्यञ्जितप्रश्रयः ।
 वाग्देवीकरिणीविसृत्तरमदस्रोतःकणस्पर्धिता-
 मारूढैरिव गूढमक्षरशतैर्व्यस्तारयत्पुस्तकम् ॥ १४२ ॥
 तद्विस्तार्य च पुस्तकं परिचितं कीर्णैर्वचोदेवता-
 भूषामेचकमौक्तिकैरिव हठाक्षिप्तैरक्षरैः ।
 व्याहारेण हृदन्तरालविहरद्विद्यावधूनुपुर-
 ध्वानध्वान्तिकृता ततस्तदपठत्स्वं काव्यमव्याकुलः ॥ १४३ ॥
 तत्काव्ये धृतदिव्यवर्त्मनि विशन्यन्तः ससंतोषता-
 मश्रान्ताहितमूर्धधूननविधिव्याप्तेरभिव्यञ्जिताम् ।
 तेषां तत्र कपोलमूलपुलकव्याजाद्वामश्रुति-
 स्तत्तत्पीतचरान्यकाव्यनिबहव्यकाक्षरालीमिव ॥ १४४ ॥
 वाग्देवीपदधूलिविपुष इव व्यक्ताक्षरश्रेणय-
 स्तास्तत्काव्यवशंवदाः प्रतिपदं कौतूहलं तेनिर ।
 याः सद्यः श्रुतिरन्ध्रवर्त्मनि भूतावाप्तप्रवेशा दृशो-
 रानन्दानुगुणान्कणानजनयंस्तेषां सतामश्रुणः ॥ १४५ ॥
 उद्यद्वैद्युतदीप्तिमिसोदरसत्सारस्वतज्योतिषा
 पुतस्तद्वचसां रसः श्रुतिपुटैः संसत्सदामापये ।
 तेषामुन्मिषितालसालसगतौ दृक्शुक्तिपङ्क्तौ शनै-
 रानन्दाश्रुषण्मयी तु जघटे मुक्ताफलानां ततिः ॥ १४६ ॥

* विधूनन°

सदृत्ताश्च सुसूक्ष्मदर्शनकलायोग्याश्च तत्सूक्तय-
 स्ताः सिद्धार्थतयैव कस्य न मनो निन्युर्धनस्नेहताम् ।
 आसीना बलमानमूर्धनि तदा तस्मिन्वचोदेवता
 सच्चक्रे व्यतनिष्ट या बहुमुखश्च्योतद्रसस्रोतसः ॥ १४७ ॥
 स प्रक्रान्तविचारसूरिदशनज्योत्स्नात्*भस्मस्तुतिः
 स्वव्याख्येयधुरां महेश्वरकथाबन्धुः प्रबन्धोन्वभूत् ।
 सत्कलोलविलोलतां त्रिजगतीशं स्वस्य यस्याग्रही-
 दग्रे वक्रकलातिथेर्बुधजनानन्दाश्रुमन्दाकिनी ॥ १४८ ॥
 सारस्वतस्य महसः प्रथमा शिखेव
 सा मङ्गलकस्य ववृते धुरि सूकिरेका ।
 दग्धुं मनः खलजनस्य कपोलराग-
 भङ्गा व्या व्यधत् वचनेष्विव या स्वमोजः ॥ १४९ ॥
 इत्यादिभिः प्रकरणैर्बुधसाधुवादा-
 नादाय चेतसि दधत्परितोषमुद्राम् ।
 तत्काव्यपुस्तकमथार्पयतिस्म तस्मै
 पूजाक्षणे त्रिजगतीगुरवे हराय ॥ १५० ॥
 इक्षुक्षीरसधर्मनिर्मलरसस्रोतःसमुल्लासना-
 दातन्वान इवाधिकाधिकमहास्नानक्रियाप्रक्रियाम् ।
 तेनाग्रे निहितश्चराचरगुरोर्वक्त्रीभवन्मूर्तिभिः †
 शब्दैरङ्कुरितप्रणाम इव स प्रौढिप्रबन्धोधिनीत् ॥ १५१ ॥
 पितुर्विभ्राणस्य स्मररिपुपुरीपौरपदवीं
 नियोगेन स्वप्ने पदमुपगतेन श्रवणयोः ।
 प्रबन्धं संधायेत्यधिकविबुधश्लाघ्यनिरघ-
 क्रमं मङ्गलः सौख्यं किमपि हृदये कन्दलयति ॥ १५२ ॥
 ॥ इति श्रीराजानकविश्वावर्तसूनोर्महाकविराज-
 राजानकश्रीमङ्गलकस्य कृतौ श्रीकण्ठचरिते
 महाकाव्ये पञ्चविंशः सर्गः ॥

* भस्मास्तुतिः P. D.

† वन्दीभवन्मूर्तिभिः P.

No. 201.

Samayamātrikā, by Kshemendra.

Beginning :

ओं नमो गणाधिपतये ॥
 अनङ्गवातलास्त्रेण जिता येन जगत्त्रयी ।
 विचित्रशक्तये तस्मै नमः कुसुमधन्वने ॥ १ ॥

Fol. 4b, l. 10 :

इति श्रीव्यासदासापराख्यक्षेमेन्द्रनिर्मितायां समयमातृकायां
 चिन्तापरिप्रश्नो नाम प्रथमः समयः ॥

Fol. 13b, l. 5 : इति श्री० स० चरितोपन्यासो नाम द्वि० स० ॥

Fol. 16a, l. 16 : इति श्री० स० प्रदोषवेश्यालापवर्णनं तृ० स० ॥

Fol. 25a, l. 13 : इति क्षे० स० पूजाधरोपन्यासश्च० स० ॥

Fol. 30b, l. 1 : इति क्षे० स० रागविभागोपन्यासः प० स० ॥

Fol. 33b, l. 1 : इति स० षष्ठः समयः ॥

Fol. 36b, l. 14 : इति स० कामुकसमागमो नाम स० ॥

Fol. 47a, l. 9 :

इति बहुभिरूपयैः कुट्टिनी कामुकानां
 कृतमुकतविहीना वञ्चना सा कृतघ्ना ।
 वनभुवि मृगबन्धं हन्त पश्यन्ति नित्यं
 तदपि हरिणशावाः कूटपाशं विशन्ति ॥
 भगवयेन मातृका सा कृत्रिमरूपा कृता कलावत्या ।
 तन्नाम्नैव निबन्धः क्षेमेन्द्रेण प्रबद्धोऽयम् ॥
 इति समय० कामुकार्थप्राप्तिरष्ट० स० ॥
 सालंकारतया विभक्तिरुच्चिरच्छायाविशेषाश्रया
 वक्रा सादरचर्वणा रसवती मुग्धार्थलब्ध्या परम् ।
 आश्चर्योचितवर्णना नवनवास्वादप्रमोदाचिता
 वेश्या सत्कविभारतीव हरति प्रौढा कलाशालिनी ॥
 संवत्सरे पञ्चविंशे पौषशुक्लादिवासरे ।
 श्रीमतां भूतिरक्षायै रचितोऽयं स्मितोऽसवः ॥
 अद्रिच्छिद्रविन्दिरौद्रफणिनामत्रास्ति कालं कुलं

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मत्तास्तत्र वसन्ति दन्तिपतयः सिंहाश्रयेयं गुहा ।
 इत्यार्तिप्रतिबद्धवृद्धशवरीवर्गेण मार्गाग्रगा
 यद्वैरिप्रमदाः सदा वनमहीगाढग्रहे वारिताः ॥
 वीरस्यात्तदयाविधेयमनसः शीलव्रतालंकृते-
 निस्त्रिंशः परदारकृज्जयविधौ यस्यैककार्यः सुहृत् ।
 तस्यानन्तमहीपतेर्विरजसः प्राज्याधिराज्योदये
 क्षेमेन्द्रेण सुभाषिते कृतमिदं सत्यक्षरक्षाक्षमम् ॥
 इति समयमातृका संपूर्णा समाप्ता ॥
 भुभमस्तु लेखकपाठकयोरिति ॥
 संवत्सरे पञ्चविंशे गणेशविदुषा मया ।
 ज्येष्ठमासे हरिदिने शुक्ले समयमातृका ।
 लिखितेयं तु विदुषां प्रीतये स्मितकृत्सदा ॥

No. 208.

Stutikusumānjali.

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओम्
 हृदयद्विरमलैरनर्गलैर्जोवनैरघहरैर्नैरियम् ।
 स्वामिनः क्लमशमक्षमैः क्षणं रोदुमर्हति मनः सरस्वती ॥ १ ॥

End—fol. 96a, l. 4 :

यत्सत्यं सदसद्विवेकविकलग्रामीणकुग्रामणी-
 मिथ्यास्तोत्रपरा पराभवभुवं नीतासि भीतास्यतः ।
 मातः कातरतां विमुञ्च यदसौ सौभाग्यभाग्यावधिः
 संजातो जगदेकनाथनुतिभिर्वाग्देवि ते विभ्रमः ॥ १६ ॥
 इति श्रीभगवतो महेश्वरस्य स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलिः ॥

No. 212.

Haracharitchintāmaṇi, by Jayadratha.

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओम्
 नानाप्रकारसंसारप्रकाशनविशारदः ।
 क्रीडन्विचित्रैराकारैर्जयत्येको महेश्वरः ॥ १ ॥

Fol. 7a, l. 7 :

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वराचार्यराज्ञानकजयद्रथविरचिते हरचरितचि-
न्तामणौ ज्वालालिङ्गावतारो नाम प्रथमः प्रकाशः ॥

Fol. 13a, l. 5 :

इति श्री० हरचरितचिन्तामणौ कालदाहवर्णनो नाम द्वि० प्र० ॥ २ ॥

Fol. 16a, l. 8 :

इति श्री० कालकूटकवलीकारो नाम तृ० प्र० ॥ ३ ॥

Fol. 19b, l. 7 :

इति श्री० नन्दिरुद्रवर्णनो नाम च० प्र० ॥ ४ ॥

Fol. 23b, l. 8 :

इति श्री० बन्धकासुरवरप्र[दा]नं नाम प० प्र० ॥ ५ ॥

Fol. 25b, l. 1 :

इति श्री० अर्धनारीश्वरोदयो नाम ष० प्र० ॥ ६ ॥

Fol. 27b, l. 8 :

इति श्री० चक्रप्रदानं नाम स० प्र० ॥ ७ ॥

Fol. 30b, l. 2 :

इति श्री० दक्षवरप्रदानं नामाष्टमः प्र० ॥ ८ ॥

Fol. 40a, l. 1 :

इति श्री० तारकवधे सुरमहोत्सवो नाम न० प्र० ॥ ९ ॥

Fol. 49b, l. 8 :

इति श्री० विजयेश्वरावतारो नाम द० प्र० ॥ १० ॥

Fol. 51a, l. 5 :

इति श्री० पिङ्गलेश्वरावतार एका० प्र० ॥ ११ ॥

Fol. 54a, l. 8 :

इति श्री० वितस्तावतारो नाम द्वा० प्र० १२ ॥

Fol. 61a, l. 6 :

इति श्री० त्रिपुरदाहे स्वयंभूनाथावतारो नाम त्रयो० प्र० १३ ॥

Fol. 68a, l. 9 :

इति श्री० कपटेश्वरावतारवर्णनो नाम चतुर्दशः प्र० १४ ॥

Fol. 70b, l. 10 :

इति श्री० चण्डरुद्रावतारो नाम पञ्चदशः प्र० १५ ॥

Fol. 73b, l. 2 :

इति श्री० श्रवणद्वादशीमाहात्म्यवर्णनो नाम षोडशः प्र० १६ ॥

Fol. 77a, l. 9 :

इति श्री० श्रीगरूडानुग्रहो नाम सप्तदशः प्र० १७ ॥

Fol. 78b, l. 7 :

इति श्री० श्रीगणपतिव्रतो नामाष्टादशः प्र० १८ ॥

Fol. 82a, l. 2 :

इति श्री० उपमन्युवरप्रदानो नामैकोनविंशः प्रकाशः १९ ॥

Fol. 84b, l. 10 :

इति श्री० वासुदेवरप्रदानं नाम विंशः प्रकाशः २० ॥

Fol. 87b, l. 3 :

इति श्री० महाकालावतारो नामैकविंशः प्रकाशः २१ ॥

Fol. 89a, l. 9 :

इति० देवीस्वरूपलाभदिण्डिमहोदरावतारवर्णनं नाम द्वाविंशः प्रकाशः २२ ॥

Fol. 94b, l. 5 :

इति० दुर्गादेवीमाहात्म्ये सुंभादिबधवर्णनं नाम त्रयोविंशः प्रकाशः २३ ॥

Fol. 97a, l. 4 :

इति० शुकवरप्रदानं नाम चतुर्विंशः प्रकाशः २४ ॥

Fol. 101a, l. 8 :

इति श्री० मलयवती जीमूतवाहनवरप्रदानो नाम पञ्चविंशः प्रकाशः २५ ॥

इति श्री० विक्रमतुङ्गवरप्रदानो नाम षड्विंशः प्रकाशः २६ ॥

Fol. 109b, l. 7 :

इति श्री० शब्दशास्त्रावतारो नाम सप्तविंशतितमः प्रकाशः २७ ॥

Fol. 111b, l. 5 :

इति श्री० गङ्गावतारवर्णनं नामाष्टाविंशः प्रकाशः २८ ॥

Fol. 119a, l. 1 :

इति श्री० शिवधर्माद्युद्धारो नाम त्रिंशतितमः (!) प्रकाशः ३० ॥

Fol. 128b, l. 6 :

इति श्री० नानाशास्त्रेभ्यः शिवरात्रिकथासंग्रहो नामैकत्रिंशत्तमः प्रकाशः ३१ ॥

Fol. 130b, l. 1 :

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वरजयद्रथविरचिते हरचरितचिन्तामणौ द्वा-
त्रिंशत्तमः प्रकाशः ३२ ॥

समाप्तश्चायं हरचरितचिन्तामणिग्रन्थः ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

Nos. 215-216.

Haravijaya, by Ratnākara.

Beginning :

कण्ठश्रियं कुवलयस्तवकाभिराम-
 दामानुकारिविकटच्छविकालकूटाम् ।
 बिभ्रत्सुखानि दिशतादुपहारवीत-
 धूपोत्थधूममलिनामिव धूर्जटिर्वः ॥ २ ॥

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|-------|--------------|----------------------------|
| Sarga | I. st. 64. | त्रिपुरारिपुरीवर्णनं |
| „ | II. „ 64. | ताण्डववर्णनं |
| „ | III. „ 94. | ऋतुवर्णनो ना० तृ० स० |
| „ | IV. „ 41. | पर्वतवर्णनो ना० च० स० |
| „ | V. „ 151. | पर्वतवर्णनो ना० प० स० |
| „ | VI. „ 186. | भगवत्स्तुतिवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | VII. „ 64. | सभाक्षोभवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | VIII. „ 53. | कालमुसलव्याहृतिवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | IX. „ 75. | प्रभामयनयप्रकाशनम् |
| „ | X. „ 52. | बन्धिगर्भनीतिसंदर्भः |
| „ | XI. „ 76. | अभिदंष्ट्रारभटीवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XII. „ 81. | [Speech of अट्टहास]. |
| „ | XIII. „ 83. | [Speech of चण्डेश्वर]. |
| „ | XIV. „ 60. | [Speech of पुष्पसेन] |
| „ | XV. „ 68. | नन्दिषेणनयाभिषेणवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XVI. „ 82. | दूतसंप्रेषणवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XVII. „ 106. | कुसुमावचयवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XVIII. „ 99. | जलक्रीडावर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XIX. „ 68. | दिनान्तवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XX. „ 86. | चन्द्रोदयवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXI. „ 57. | गौरीश्वरदेहार्धवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXII. „ 65. | समुद्रोत्थासवर्णनो ना० |

| | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Sarga | XXIII. st. 64. | प्रसाधनवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXIV. „ 50. | विरहवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXV. „ 71. | दूतीसंकल्पो ना० |
| „ | XXVI. „ 93. | पानगोष्ठीवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXVII. „ 116. | संभोगवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXVIII. „ 120. | प्रत्यूषवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXIX. „ 63. | भगवत्प्रबोधनम् |
| „ | XXX. „ 94. | मार्गविभागवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXXI. „ 60. | स्वर्गवर्णनो ना० |
| „ | XXXII. „ 118. | दूतव्यवहारो ना० |
| „ | XXXIII. „ 47. | भार्गवनिर्भर्त्सनम् |
| „ | XXXIV. „ 66. | अन्धकासुरसभाशोभो ना० |
| „ | XXXV. „ 62. | अन्धकासुरव्याहारो ना० |
| „ | XXXVI. „ 61. | कनकाक्षनयाक्षेपो ना० |
| „ | XXXVII. „ 68. | वज्रबाहुविस्फूर्जितम् |
| „ | XXXVIII. „ 91. | दूतप्रतिगर्जितम् |
| „ | XXXIX. „ 54. | सैन्यसंभारो ना० |
| „ | XL. „ 65. | सैन्यसंरम्भो ना० |
| „ | XLI. „ 65. | सैन्यप्रस्थानम् |
| „ | XLII. „ 51. | सैन्योद्योगवर्णनम् |
| „ | XLIII. „ 379. | चित्रयुद्धवर्णनोद्घातो ना० |
| „ | XLIV. „ 70. | गजाश्वसंमर्दो ना० |
| „ | XLV. „ 58. | सुभटसंदीपनम् |
| „ | XLVI. „ 86. | चण्डीसमराक्षेपो ना० |
| „ | XLVII. „ 169. | चण्डीस्तोत्रम् |
| „ | XLVIII. „ 146. | चित्रयुद्धवर्णनम् |
| „ | XLIX. „ 59. | सुरासुरविमर्दो ना० |

End :

इति श्रीबालबृहस्पत्यनुजीविनो वागीश्वराङ्कस्य महाकवे राजा-
नकरत्नाकरस्य कृतौ हरविजये महाकाव्ये देवदेवप्रतिष्ठापनं नाम प-

ञ्चाशः सर्गः (समासीकृतं गणपतिना महाकाव्यमिदमौ तत्सत् शिवम्
शुभमस्तु सर्वेषाम्)

श्रीदुर्गदत्तनिजवंशहिमाद्रिसानु-

गङ्गाहृदाश्रयसुतामृतभानुसूनुः ।

रत्नाकरो ललितबन्धमिदं व्यधत्

चन्द्रार्धचूलचरिताश्रयचारु काव्यम् ॥ १ ॥

स किल कविरेवमुक्तवान् ।

ललितमधुराः सालंकाराः प्रसादमनोरमा

विकटयमकश्लेषोद्धारप्रबन्धनिरर्गलाः ।

असदृशगतीश्वित्रे मार्गे ममोद्विरतो गिरो

न खलु नृपते चेतो वाचस्पतेरपि शङ्कते ॥ २ ॥

सान्द्रानन्दामृतरसपरिस्पन्दनिष्पन्दिनीना-

मस्मद्वाचामतिशयजुषां वस्तुतत्त्वाभिधाने ।

प्रौढज्योत्स्नाधवलविकसद्दिग्धूकर्णपूर-

ब्रह्मस्तम्भस्तवकयशसां कोपि टंकारटङ्कः ॥ ३ ॥

धारा काव्यप्रबन्धप्रणिहितपरमः श्रोत्रपेया कवीनां

भाषाषट्केपि यस्य कचिदपि न गता भारती भारवत्त्वम् ।

प्राप्तज्ञेयावसानस्फुरदमलतरप्रातिभज्ञानसंप-

त्सोहं रत्नाकरस्ते सदसि कृतपदः क्षमाप वागीश्वराङ्कः ॥ ४ ॥

यस्योदयेन्धतमसं दधतो विशुद्धिराविर्भवत्यनिशमेव जलाशयानाम् ।

तद्गुणस्तवाङ्गयसमुद्रमवैहि राजन्नत्नाकरं स --- गस्त्यमोर्व (?) ॥ ५ ॥

दृब्धः सन्प्राज्ञैर्यत्र जगति कविभिर्वस्तु तन्नास्ति किञ्चि-

त्क्षुण्णे क्षुण्णत्वचिन्ता गहनविषयता तस्य दूरास्तु तावत् ।

तन्मन्दाभिप्रगल्भप्रसरगुरुगिरामग्रणीर्बाण एको-

राजन्नत्नाकरश्च ज्वलनवदवनौ जाज्वलीति द्वितीयः ॥ ६ ॥

No. 224.

Abhidhāvṛttimātrika, by Mukula.

Beginning :

ओं नमो गुरवे । इह खलु भोगापवर्गसाधनभूतानां तद्विपर्ययपरिवर्जन-
प्रयोजनानां च पदार्थानां निश्चयमन्तरेण व्यवहारोपरोहिता नोपपद्यते ।

तथा हि । सर्वाणि प्रमाणानि प्रमेयावगतिनिबन्धनभूतानि निश्चयपर्यवसायि-
तया प्राधान्यं भजन्ते ॥

End :

भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता ।
सूरिप्रबोधनायेयमभिधावृत्तमातृका ॥
इति श्रीकल्लटात्मजमुकुलविरचिताभिधावृत्तमातृका समाप्तेति भद्रम् ॥

No. 228.

Alaṅkāratnākara, by Śobhākara.

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय । ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै । श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
सुरासुरशिरोरत्नमरीचिखचिताङ्गये ।
विघ्नान्धकारसूर्याय गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ १ ॥

End :

समाप्तोयमलंकाररत्नाकरः ॥
कृतिर्महोपाध्यायभट्टत्रयीश्वरमन्त्रपुत्रस्य तत्रभवतः पण्डितभट्टश्रीशो-
भाकरमित्रस्य श्रीश्रीवर्मपुत्रेण प्रज्ञालववता मयारत्नाकराभिधः ॥
पोषेलंकारो लिखितः शुभः ॥

No. 234.

Alaṅkāraśekhara, by Māṇikyadeva.

श्रीगणेशायनमः । ओम् ।

प्राणाः कृशोदरीणां राधानयनान्तसर्वस्वम् ।
तेजस्तमालनीलं शरणागतवज्रपञ्जरं वन्दे ॥ १ ॥
स्वप्रकाशचिदानन्दमयाय परमात्मने ।
अविद्यानिष्ठुरध्वान्तभास्कराय नमाम्यहम् ॥ २ ॥
ग्रन्थाः काव्यकृतां हिताय विहिता ये सप्त पूर्वं मया
ते काव्यार्णवसंज्ञव्यसनिभिः शक्ताः परं वेदितुम् ।
पर्यालोच्य मया मदालसवधूपादारविन्दकण-
न्मञ्जीरध्वनिकोमलोयमधुना संस्तूयते प्रक्रमः ॥ ३ ॥
आसीत्प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीरमणकमलिनीवृन्दहेमन्तमासः
कीर्तिभ्राजत्स्वशर्मान्वयकुमुदवनीयामिनीजीवनाथः ।

राजत्राजन्यराज्ञीमुकुटमणिगलप्रोच्छलत्पादपीठः
 प्रोद्वात्साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीविधिलितनहुषो रामचन्द्रोवनीशः ॥ ४ ॥
 मुत्रामोदामद्विर्लीपिरिवृढविलसत्काबिलक्षोणिभर्तु-
 --- न्ते प्रौढयुद्धे समदलयदसौ कोटिशो वैरिवीरान् ।
 पश्चान्मांसास्थिमेदः कलुषितवसुधाप्रोज्झत चाकलय्य (?)
 दां यातान्वैरिवर्गान्दिवमपि सहसा जेतुकामो जगाम ॥ ५ ॥
 क्षीराम्भोधेः शशीव श्रुतिरिव वदनाद्देधसो रामचन्द्रा-
 दस्मादुद्यत्प्रतापः समजनि सुमना धर्मचन्द्रो नरेन्द्रः ।
 यस्याद्यापि प्रसन्नस्मितसुभगसुखः स्विद्यदञ्चत्कपोलो
 रोमाञ्चस्तम्बभव्यास्त्रिदशयुवतयो हन्त गायन्ति कीर्तिम् ॥ ६ ॥
 निष्क्रान्तं सदनान्मुदैक्षि (?) भगवानम्भोजिनीवल्लभ-
 स्ते व ---- परिशीलिता कमलिनी मा -- भ्यमेदस्विनः ।
 विश्रान्तं गिरिकाननेषु निविडच्छायेषु भाग्योदया-
 दित्यं स्मेरमुखाः स्तुवन्ति विपदं यद्वैरिवामभुवः ॥ ७ ॥
 प्रत्यर्थिभूपनिरवग्रहराज्यलक्ष्मी-
 धमिलमाल्यसुरभीकृतपादपद्मः ।
 तस्मादजायत समस्तगुणाभिरामो
 माणिक्यचन्द्र इति राजकचक्रशक्रः ॥ ८ ॥
 काव्यालंकारपारंगममतिरखिलक्ष्माभृतां चक्रवर्ती
 सर्वेषामे [व] काव्ये गतिरतिनिपुणे --- सन्निवेश्य ।
 वेदान्तन्यायविद्यापरिचितचतुरं केशवः (?) सन्नियोज्य-
 श्रीमन्माणिक्यचन्द्रः क्षितिपतितिलको ग्रन्थमेतं विधत्ते ॥ ९ ॥
 बहुदोषोपि विदोषः क्रियते मुजनेन वाण इव हरिणा ।
 गुणवदपि निर्गुणीयति दुर्जनतो मूषिकात् इव मुस्तम् ॥ १० ॥
 परोद्देशे परानन्दे खलसत्ता (ज्ज) नयोर्द्वयोः ।
 स्वभाव एव शरणं विषपीयूषयोरिव ॥ ११ ॥

अलंकारविद्यासूत्रकारो भगवाञ्छौद्धोदनिः परमकारुणिकः स्वशास्त्रे
 प्रवर्तयिष्यन्प्रथमं काव्यस्वरूपमाह । काव्यं रसादिमद्वाक्यं श्रुतं सुखवि-
 शेषकृत् ॥

- Fol. 66, l. 3 : इत्युपक्रमरत्नं प्रथमम् ॥ १ ॥
 Fol. 9a, l. 10 : इति श्रीमहाराजमाणिक्यचन्द्रकारितेलंकारशेखरे दोष-
 रत्नं द्वितीयम् ॥ २ ॥
 Fol. 11b, l. 6 : इत्यलंकारशेखरे गुणरत्नं तृतीयम् ॥ ३ ॥
 Fol. 15b, l. 8 : इत्यलंकारशेखरेलंकाररत्नं चतुर्थम् ॥ ४ ॥
 Fol. 22a, l. 7 : इत्यलंकारशेखरे वर्णकरत्नं पञ्चमम् ॥ ५ ॥
 Fol. 25a, l. 10 : इति कविसंप्रदायरत्नं षष्ठम् ॥ ६ ॥
 Fol. 27a, l. 4 : [इति] कविसामर्थ्यरत्नं सप्तमम् ॥ ७ ॥
 Fol. 32b, l. 8 :

उपक्रमो दोषगुणावलंकारोऽथ वर्णकः ।
 संप्रदायः कवेस्तस्य सामर्थ्यमथ विश्रमः ॥ १ ॥
 अष्टौ रत्नानि दीप्तानि सन्यलंकारशेखरे ।
 चत्वारः स्युरलंकारे संप्रदाये मरीचयः ॥ २ ॥
 सामर्थ्ये द्वौ परस्मिस्तु पञ्चके स्युस्त्रयस्त्रयः ।
 मामकीनां कृतिमिमां द्विषन्तो दूषयन्ति ये ॥ ३ ॥
 काव्यवाक्ता न जानन्ति ते नूनं पांसुलासुताः ।
 अस्त्ये(?)यद्यपि पूर्वपण्डितकृता व्याख्यैव संख्यावता-
 मानन्दाय तथापि केशवकवेर्वाचामियं गुम्फिता ।
 संख्यासौष्टवशब्दलाघवमिदं संबद्धपूर्वापर-
 प्रत्यर्थिप्रतिबन्धनिर्मलगुणः कुत्रान्यतो लभ्यताम् ॥ ४ ॥
 तर्कप्रौ ----- वल्लीवसन्तोत्सवः
 कोशव्याकरणप्रपञ्चचतुरोलंकारपारंगमः

गुणावासे नियोज्य स्वयं चक्रे शक्रसमः
 प्रपञ्चममलं माणिक्य चक्रे(?)नृपः ॥
 [इति] विश्रान्तरत्नमष्टमम् ॥ ८ ॥
 समाप्तोऽयमलंकारशेखरः ॥ शुभम् ॥

No. 225.

*Dhvanyālokalochana, or Sahridayālokalochana.**

Beginning: [Preface by some Pandit:]

उपास्महे स्वानुभवैकवेद्यं स्वच्छन्दमानन्दसमुद्रमीशम् ।
 व्याप्तं जगच्छक्तितरन्तरङ्गैरदृष्टपारं परमेष्ठिनापि ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanacharya.

इह हि कश्चिद्विपश्चिज्जनमनोरञ्जनाय निजान्तेवासिवासनासंजननाय
च दुर्हृदयोद्वेजितसहृदयसमुदायसमुत्तेजितः श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपादोपदिष्टं
शिष्टपरंपराप्राप्तमभीष्टदेवतासम्मुखीकरणरूपं ध्वन्यालोचने मङ्गलं विवृ-
णोति ॥

[अभिनवगुप्तः] अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रययति विना कारणकलां
जगद्भावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।
क्रमात्प्रख्योपाख्याप्रसरस्वभगं भासयति त-
त्सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात् ॥ १ ॥
भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जकृताधिवास-
हृद्यश्रुतोभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधोहम् ।
यत्किंचिदप्यनुरणत्स्फुटयामि काव्या-
लोकं स्वलोचननियोजनया जनस्य ॥ २ ॥

स्वयमविच्छिन्नपरमेश्वरनमस्कारसंपत्तिचरितार्थोपि व्याख्यातृश्रोतृणा-
मविघ्नेनाभीष्टव्याख्याश्रवणलक्षणफलसंपत्तये समुचिताशीः प्रकटनद्वारेण
परमेश्वरसाम्मुख्यं करोति वृत्तिकारः । स्वच्छेति ॥

[आनन्दवर्धनः] स्वेच्छाकेसरिणः स्वच्छस्वच्छायायासितेन्दवः ।
त्रायन्तां वो मधुरिपोः प्रपन्नार्त्तिच्छिदो नखाः ॥ १ ॥

[ध्वनिकारः] काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्व-
स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये ।
केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयं
तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम् ॥ १ ॥

[आनन्दवर्धनः] बुधैः काव्यतत्त्वविद्धिः काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति संज्ञितः
परम्परयां यः समाम्नातः समाख्यातस्तस्य सहृदयमनःप्रकाशमानस्यापि
अभावमन्ये जगद्गुः ।

Fol. 42b, l. 8 :

इति श्रीमदानन्दवर्धनाचार्यविरचिते ध्वन्यालोचने प्रथमः संकेतः ॥

किं लोचनं विनालोको भाति चन्द्रिकयापि हि ।
तेनाभिनवगुप्तोत्र लोचनोन्मीलनं व्यधात् ॥ १ ॥

यदुन्मीलनयुक्त्यैव विश्वमुन्मीलितं क्षणात् ।

स्वात्मायतनविश्रान्तां तां वन्दे प्रतिभां शिवाम् ॥ २ ॥

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वराचार्यवर्याभिनवगुप्तेन्मीलिते सहृदयालोकलोचने
ध्वनिसंकेते प्रथम उद्द्योतः ॥

प्राच्यं प्रोलासमात्रं स्याद्देनामन्यते यया ।

वन्देभिनवगुप्तेहं पश्यन्तीं तामिदं जगत् ॥ १ ॥

Fol. 166, l. 2 (of No. 254):

इत्यानन्दवर्धनविरचिते सहृदयहृदयालोके काव्यालङ्कारे द्वितीय उद्-
द्योतः समाप्तः ॥

Fol. 806, l. 8 :

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वराचार्यवर्याभिनवगुप्तपादोन्मीलिते सहृदयालोकलो-
चने ध्वनिसंकेते द्वितीय उद्द्योतः ॥

Fol. 1616, l. 11 :

काव्यालोक

----- कृतार्थात्संविधास्यति ॥ १ ॥

आसूत्रितानां भेदानां स्फुटतापत्तिदायिनीम् ।

त्रिलोचनप्रियां वन्दे मध्यमां परमेश्वरीम् ॥ २ ॥

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वराचार्यवर्याभिनवगुप्तेन्मीलिते सहृदयालोकलोचने
ध्वनिसंकेते तृतीय उद्द्योतः ॥

चतुर्थोद्द्योतस्तु मूलमात्र एव स्थितः ॥

Fol. 1686, l. 2 :

इत्यानन्दवर्धनाचार्यविरचिते सहृदयालोके काव्यालङ्कारे ध्वनिप्रतिपा-
दने चतुर्थ उद्द्योतः समाप्तः ॥

नित्याक्लिष्टरसाश्रयोचितगुणालङ्कारशोभादृतो

यस्माद्वद्व]स्तु समीहितं सुकृतिभिः सर्वं समास्वादते ।

काव्याख्येखिलसौख्यधाप्ति विबुधोद्याने ध्वनिर्दार्शितः

सोयं कल्पतरूपमानमहिमा भाग्योस्तु भव्यात्मनाम् ॥ १ ॥

सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरितप्रसुप्त-

कल्पं मनःसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत् ।

तद्व्याकरोत्सहृदयोदयलाभहेतो-
 रानन्दवर्धन इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ २ ॥
 समाप्तोऽयं ध्वनिग्रन्थः । सप्तर्षिः संवत् ४९५२

No. 263.

*Śabdavyūpāra, by Mammata.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥

इह हेयोपादेयानां हानोपादाने प्रमाणदेव । तच्च निश्चयात्मया प्रामाण्यं
 भजते । निश्चयश्च शब्दसाहित्येनार्थं विषयीकरोति । शब्दस्य चार्थप्रतीति-
 प्रतिपत्तिकार्यान्वयानुपपत्त्या कारकत्वात्कल्प्यमानो व्यापारोभिधादिशब्दप्र-
 तिपादो नानाप्रकार इति तत्परीक्षार्थं शब्दव्यापारविचारात्मकं प्रकरण-
 मिदमारभ्यते । व्यापारश्च गृह्यमाहिकया दर्शयितुं न युज्यत इति विषय-
 मुखेन प्रदर्श्यते ।

जातिः क्रिया गुणः संज्ञा वाच्यार्थः समितध्वनिः ।

End :

इति निखिलविषयश्चक्रचक्रवर्तिश्रीराजानकमम्मटाचार्यविराचितः
 शब्दव्यापारविचारः समाप्तः ॥

No. 274.

*Unādivṛitti, by Māṇikyadeva.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

स्वयंभुवे नमस्कृत्य प्रणिपत्य सरस्वतीम् ।
 वक्ष्ये वृत्तिमुणादीनां यथाबुद्धिपथक्रमम् ॥ १ ॥

अर्तिसृष्टधम्पश्यवतरिभ्यो निः ॥

Beginning of Pāda II., fol. 15a, l. 6 :

तृस्तृचौ शांसिकदादिभ्यः संज्ञायां चातिजौ ॥

Beginning of Pāda III., fol. 16a, l. 9 :

जीवेरात्रिकं वृद्धिश्च ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

Beginning of Pâda IV., fol. 21a, l. 10 :

सुवश्चिक् ॥

Beginning of Pâda V., fol. 21b, l. 9 :

लङ्घरेटि नलोपश्च ॥

Beginning of Pâda VI., fol. 26a, l. 7 :

मृगोरुतिः ॥

Beginning of Pâda VII., fol. 32b, l. 2 :

आप्रोर्ह्रस्वः किञ्च ॥

Beginning of Pâda VIII., fol. 35a, l. 12 :

श्रुदक्षिस्प्रहिभ्य आग्यः ॥

Beginning of Pâda IX., fol. 46b, l. 4 :

क्षिशोरी चोपधायाः कलोपश्च लो नाम् ॥

Beginning of Pâda X., fol. 51b, l. 12 :

स्थाचतिमृजेरालवालजालीयनः ॥

End :

उणादिवृत्तौ प्रकीर्णको नाम दशमः पादः ॥

समाप्ता चेयमुणादिवृत्तिः शुभाय तल्लेखकपाठकश्रोतृणाम् ॥

Nos. 279-281, 297-298.

*Variae lectiones of the Kasmîr MSS. of Kâtantra I. 1. 1—III. 3.1,
collated with Dr. Eggeling's edition.*

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| I. 1. 6. परो दीर्घः | (लघुवृत्तिः) -- स्वरः (बालावबोधिनी) |
| „ „ 7. स्वरोवर्णवर्जो नामि | (ल.) अवर्णवर्जो नामि (बा.) |
| „ „ 7. ते वर्गाः पञ्च पञ्चशः | (ल.) (बा.) |
| I. 4. 2. पञ्चमे पञ्चमास्तृतीयान्वा | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 13. शिञ्चौ वा | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 16. वर्ये तद्वर्गपञ्चमं वा | (ल.) (बा.) |
| II. 1. 30. जसः सर्व इम् | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 31, 32. पूर्वादेश्च [additional sūtra inserted between 31 & 32] | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 34. तृतीयासमासे | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 35. बह्व्रीहौ च | (ल.) (बा.) |
| „ „ 43. सर्वनाम्नस्तु सूतवो ऋस्वपूर्वाः | (ल.) (बा.) |

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| II. 1. 57. डे च | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 75. संख्यायाः णान्तायाः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 2. 6. नपुंसकात्स्यमोलोपेपि न च तदुक्तम् } | (ल.) | लोपो न (बा.) |
| „ „ 8. | (ल.) | अन्यादेस्तु स्तु (बा.) |
| „ „ 21. इन्हन्पूषार्यणां शौ सौ च | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 22. उशनःपुरुदंशोनेहसां सा- वनन्तः } | (ल.) | उशनः पुरुदंशोनेहसः } सावनन्तः (बा.) |
| II. 2. 29,30 combined by | ल० वृ० | (बा.) |
| „ „ 34. अमशसोराः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 39. अनुषङ्गश्चाकुञ्चेः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 48. बाहेर्वाशब्दस्यौलम् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 50. तिर्यङ् तिरश्चः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 51. उदङ्मुदीचः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 53. अवमसयोगादनोलोपो- लुप्तवच्च पूर्वविधौ } | (ल.) | दनोलोपो (बा.) |
| „ „ 64. अव्ययसर्वनामः स्वरा- न्यात्पूर्वोक्तः } | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 3. 3. लन्मदोरेकत्वे तमे त्वा मा तु द्वितीयायाम् } | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| | two Sutras. | |
| „ „ 7. युवावौ द्विवाचिनोः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 9. आन् शसः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 15. भ्यस्यम् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 20. अष्टन्सर्वासु | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 22. अर्धन्तर्वन्तिमसावनजः | (ल.) | |
| „ „ 33. तस्य च | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 35. अद्वयञ्जनेन कः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 36. टौसोरनः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 38. तस्माद्विभिर्भितः | (ल.) | (बा.) |

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| II. 3. 42. एबहुलेली | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 58. न संयोगान्तलोपोलुप्तवत् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 4. 13. कर्मणि द्वितीया | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 27 omitted. | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 32 omitted. | (ल.) | विशेषणे च (बा.) |
| „ „ 45. वर्गे वर्गान्तः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 49. स्त्रियामादाप् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 50. नदाद्यन्च्वाहन्सन्तृसखि नान्तेभ्यर्ह | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 5. 15. स नपुंसकलिङ्गः स्यात् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 22. नस्य तत्पुरुषे लोपः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 25. { का लीषदर्थे | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| { अक्षे | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 6. 9. नावस्ता-साधौ चयः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 15. तदस्यास्तीति मन्त्राद्याः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 24. विभ-नाम्रस्तु किं बहो- श्वपराः स्मृताः } | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 31. किमः | (ल.) | अत्क च (बा.) |
| „ „ 32. अत्क च | (ल.) | किमः (बा.) |
| „ „ 44. इवर्णावर्णौ स्वरे ये प्रयये च | (ल.) | इवर्णावर्णौ स्वरे प्रयये ये च (बा.) |
| „ „ 45. नस्य तु काचित् | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| II. 6. 50. नय्वः पदाद्योर्वृद्धिरागमः | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| III. 1. 1. अथ परस्मैपदानि नव | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 2. पराण्यात्मने | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ 2. 4. धातोर्वा कर्मणस्तुमन्ता- दिच्छतिनैककर्तृकात् } | (ल.) | धातो-कर्तृकत्वात् (बा.) |
| „ „ 9. इन्कारितं च धात्वर्थे— | (ल.) | इन्कारिते च धात्वर्थे (बा.) |
| „ „ 14. धातोरेकस्वराद्यशब्दश्चे- क्रीयितं क्रियासमभिहारे } | (ल.) | (बा.) |

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| III. 1.17. चकास्कास्प्रत्ययान्तेभ्य- | } (ल.) | (बा.) |
| आम्परोक्षायाम् | | |
| „ „ 18. आसिदय्ययिदरिद्राभ्यश्च | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 21. भीहीभृहुवां सार्वधातुकवच्च | (ल.) | (बा.) |
| „ „ 42. | (ल.) कर्मकर्तरि रुचादि- | } (बा.) |
| | डानुबन्धेभ्यः | |
| III. 3. 1. द्विवचनमभ्यासस्यैकस्व- | } (ल.) | (बा.*) |
| राद्यस्य | | |

No. 283.

Kāśikā vṛitti, by Jayāditya and Vāmana.

Beginning :

स्वस्यस्तु ॥ श्रीगणनाथाय - नमः ॥ ओं नमो गुरवे ॥ श्रेयोस्तु ।

ओं नमस्सरस्वत्यै ॥ ओं नमः

परमात्मने ॥ ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो नमः ॥

ओं येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

येन शब्दमहाम्बोधे × कृतो व्याकरणप्लवः ।

श - - धार्ष्टिनां लोके तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।

चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।

विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सृ - सङ्ग्रहः ॥

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ।

End :

इति काशिकायां वृत्तावष्टमस्याध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ समाप्ता का-
शिका वृत्तिः ॥ कृतिर्जयादित्यवामनयोः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीनृपतिविक्रमादि-
त्यराज्यस्य गताब्दाः १७१७ श्रीसप्तमिमे संवत् ३६ पौषति ३ रवौ तिष्य-
नक्षत्रे संपूर्णा समाप्तेति सु[शु]भमस्तु लेखकपाठकेभ्यः ॥

No. 257.

*Kshīrataranginī, by Kshīrāsūmin.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओम्
 धातुवैषम्यशमनाद्वाङ्मयाप्यायिनी सताम् ।
 क्षीरस्वामिप्रसूतेयं वृत्तिः क्षीरतरङ्गिणी ॥ १ ॥
 सूत्रव्याख्या कार्यजातं गणानां सेट्टानिट्टोपग्रह[ः] इदुलं च ।
 अष्टाध्याय्यां ये विशेषप्रयोगा धातोर्धातोर्देशितास्तेपि लेशात् ॥ २ ॥
 भू सत्तायामुदात्तः ॥ भू इत्यविभाक्तिकोयं निर्देशो भ्रान्तिनिरासार्थाच्छा-
 न्दसो वा ॥

सा नित्या सा महानात्मा तामाहुस्त्वतलादयः ।
 प्राप्तक्रमाविशेषेषु क्रिया सैवाभिधीयते ॥ १ ॥
 भवति भवतः भवन्ति । अनुभूयते ।
 धात्वर्थः केवलः शुद्धो भाव इत्यभिधीयते ।
 क्रियावाचिन्महाख्यातुमेकोनार्थः प्रदर्शितः ॥ १ ॥
 प्रयोगतोनुमन्तव्यास्त्वेकार्था हि धातु[त]वः ।

End :

पदार्थजन[नि]का क्षीरस्वामिनः क्षीरवारिधेः ।
 इव प्रसूता पुण्येयं वृत्तिः क्षीरतरङ्गिणी ॥ १ ॥
 [चुरादि]संकेतः समाप्तः ॥

Nos. 310-11.

Lingānuśāsanavṛitti, by Śavarasūmin and Harshavardhana.†

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओं नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे ॥ ओम् ।
 नमो मथितदुर्वारदैत्यचक्राय चक्रिणे ।
 सभूधरधरागारस्तम्बी[म्भी]भूतैकबाहवे ॥ १ ॥
 मनोरमतमैर्वृत्तैः सज्जनानन्दवर्धनम् ।
 लिङ्गानुशासनं स्पष्टं यथाबुद्धिं विधीयते ॥ २ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

† Extracts by Vāmanāchārya.

बह्वाचार्यमतैर्व्यापि श्रव्यं लालित्ययोगतः ।
 स्पष्टं स्पष्टीकृतैर्यैरिदं लिङ्गानुशासनम् ॥ ३ ॥
 इदानीं स्त्रीप्रकरणमाकारादिक्रमेण दर्शयन्नाह ॥
 आदीदूतः स्त्रियां प्रायो गङ्गा लक्ष्मीश्वमूर्यया ।
 पर्यायसहिता भूमिवलिविद्युन्नदीदिशः ॥ १ ॥

End :

व्याडेः शंकरचन्द्रयोर्वैरुचेर्विद्वानिधेः पाणिनेः
 सूक्तलिङ्गविधीवि[न्वि]चार्य सुगमं श्रीवर्धनस्यात्मजः ।
 श्रव्यं व्यापि च हर्षवर्धन इदं स्पष्टीकृतप्रत्ययं
 लिङ्गानामनुशासनं रचितवानर्थ्यसंसिद्धये ॥ ९६ ॥
 सूक्तलिङ्गविधीन्विचार्य पर्यालोच्य तेभ्यः सारं गृहीत्वा
 सुगमं श्रव्यं व्यापि चेदं लिङ्गानुशासनं रचितवान् ।
 अन्यच्च कीदृशं स्पष्टीकृतप्रत्ययम् । अस्पष्टाः स्पष्टीकृताः प्रत्ययाः किन्
 घञ् छुन् इत्यादयो यत्र । प्रत्ययानां सोदाहरणानां प्रदर्शनात्सुस्पष्टतां पर्या-
 लोच्य मन्दमतयो न मुह्यन्तीति भावः ॥
 इति भट्टदीप्तस्वामिसूनोर्वर्णवागीश्वरस्य शवरस्वामिनः कृतौ हर्ष-
 वर्धनकृतलिङ्गानुशासनटीकायां सर्ववर्णकणायां त्रिलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥ समा-
 प्तमिति लिङ्गानुशासनटीकायामिति शुभं भवतु शुभमस्तु ॥
 --- जाप्रतिमः श्रुतेन न मम शौर्येण पार्थोपमः
 काव्येनातिमनोरमः प्रणयिनामासन्नकल्पद्रुमः ।
 जातः संप्रति हर्षवर्धन इति प्रख्यातकीर्तिः सतां
 तेनेदं रचितं परोपकृतये लिङ्गाभिधानं शुभम् ॥ १ ॥

Nos. 319-20.

*Vyākhyaparibhāṣāṁṛitti.**

Beginning :

ओं नमो मुनित्रयाय ।
 अथ परिभाषासूचनं व्याख्यास्यामः । अयेत्ययमधिकारार्थः परिभाषा-
 सूचनं शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः । इयमस्मि-

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

न्मूत्रे सिद्धेयमस्मिञ्जिद्धेति । किं कारणम् । अत्र हि ज्ञातपरिभाषः स्वयं
शास्त्रं प्रतिपादयितुं समर्थो भवति । स तावत्सुखं ज्ञातपरिभाषो भवति ।
अतो व्याख्यानं द्रष्टव्यम् । तत्रादित एव तावदियं परिभाषा भवति ॥
अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्येति ॥

End :

इति व्याख्येयपरिभाषावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ शुभाय भवतात् ॥

No. 329.

*Anekārthadhvanimanjarī, by Kshapanaka.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओम्
शुद्धवर्णमनेकार्थं शब्दमौक्तिकमुत्तमम् ।
कण्ठे कुर्वन्तु विद्वांसः श्रद्धधाना दिवानिशम् ॥ १ ॥
शब्दाम्भोनिधितो नन्तात्कुतो व्याख्या प्रवर्तते ।
स्वानुबोधकमानाय तस्मै वागात्मने नमः ॥ २ ॥
सरस्वत्याः प्रसादेन कविर्विधाति यत्पदम् ।
प्रसिद्धमप्रसिद्धं वा तत्प्रमाणं तु साधुभिः ॥ ३ ॥
शिवः शर्वः शिवः शुक्लः शिवः कीलः शिवः पशुः ।
शिवा गौरी शिवा क्रौष्ठी [ष्ट्री] शिवं श्रेयः शिवा श्रुषी ॥ ४ ॥

Compare Oxf. Catalogue, No. 445.

End :

इति काश्मीराम्नाये महाक्षपणकविरचितेऽनेकार्थध्वनिमञ्ज-
र्यापदाधिकारस्तृतीयः [!] ३ ॥
किं धनेन करिष्यन्ति मनुष्या भङ्गुराशय [r] ।
यदर्थं धनमिच्छन्ति शरीरं कस्य तत्स्थिरम् ॥
सं ४३ आ वदि ९ यक्षवीरवरेण लिखितम् ॥

Nos. 337-8.

*Mankhakosha, by Mankha.**

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओं नमः
पातु वो धिधरं (!) दूरविकीर्णकरशीकरः ।
दुःखबीजच्छिदो वर्षत्करका इव विघ्नजित् ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

विषमपदविषधरालीं निहत्य शेषं विशेषान् ।
 सकलजनसुलभविभवात्कश्चन निर्मत्सरः कुरुते ॥ २ ॥
 भागुरिकात्यहलायुधहुग्रा(!)मरसिंहशाश्वतादिकृतान् ।
 कोशाभिरिष्य निपुणं धन्वन्तरिनिर्मितं निघण्टुं च ॥ ३ ॥
 लिङ्गानुशासनानि च विचार्य लक्ष्यं महाकवीनां च ।
 कुरुतेनेकार्यानां शब्दानां मङ्गलः कोशम् ॥ ४ ॥
 यथासंभवकान्तादिक्रमादक्षरसंख्यया ।
 करामलकवत्साक्षादेष भासिष्यते सताम् ॥ ५ ॥

End :

कष्टे क्षतौ हशब्दः स्या - - - - मस्य सूचयन् । दुःखे शोके
 निजे - - - - - हशब्दः स्याद्वशर्व - - - चार-
 धारेण । अलाक्षेपि विनियोगे हह खदेम् स्मू - - वा । हन्तः । अभ्या-
 दानेत्यु - ले तूष्णींभवेमनप्रतिग्रहादास्ये - ड्डरेपि च । इति मङ्गलकोशः
 समाप्तः ॥

No. 351.

*Nītikalpataru, by Kshemendra.**

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओम्
 नत्वोमातनयं गौरीं व्यासमुख्यमुनीश्वरान् ।
 श्रीव्यासदासः क्षेमेन्द्रो नीतिकल्पतरुं व्यधात् ॥

निबन्धकारोविघ्नेन चिकीर्षितसंपत्तिं कामयान आशीर्नमस्क्रियावस्तुनि-
 देशो वापि तन्मुखमिति शिष्टोक्तरीत्या नीतिरूपवस्तुनिर्देशादेव मङ्गलं मन्य-
 मान उपक्रमते नीतिरिति

End :

तेषां चारेण विज्ञानं राजा विज्ञाय नित्यदा ।
 गुणिनां पूजनं कुर्यान्निर्गुणानां च शासनम् ॥
 इति जनसंग्रहणं नाम कुसुमम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 समाप्तश्चायं नीतिकल्पाख्यो ग्रन्थः ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

Nos. 358-562.

*Yājñavalkyīyadharmasāstranibandha, by Aparādityadeva. **

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओं श्रीगुरवे सरस्वीरूपाय नमः ॥ ओम्
संसिद्धयर्थमिलसुरासुरनमन्मौलिस्थितप्रोल्लस-

त्सद्रत्नप्रभवप्रकृष्टविविधप्रेङ्खनमयूखोज्ज्वलम् ।

श्रेयोविघ्नमहामयप्रशमने दिव्यं यदेकौषधं

भूयान्नो द्विरदाननाङ्गिकमलद्वंद्वं तदिष्टासये ॥ १ ॥

विश्वान् [नु] भूतिसंभूतिस्थितिसंज्ञितिमुक्तयः ।

प्रभवन्ति यतस्तस्मै परस्मै ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ २ ॥

यो विश्वसर्गपरिपालनसंज्ञतीहो

ब्रह्मा हरिस्त्रिनयनश्च भवत्यमेयः ।

तं शुद्धबोधमभयं सुखसत्त्वभाव-

मात्मानमद्वयमनन्तमुपास्महेजम् ॥ ३ ॥

विश्वात्मनः शुक्लयजूषि भानो-

रवाप यो योगिगणाग्रवर्यः ।

तं याज्ञवल्क्यं मुनिवृन्दवन्द्यं

नमामि तत्कीर्तितधर्मबुद्धये ॥ ४ ॥

भक्त्या यस्य सविस्मयः पुररिपुर्बुद्ध्या च वाचस्पति-

र्विक्रान्त्या द्विषतां गणः शुचितया भास्वान्नामिलेन भूः ।

ज्जिह्मूतान्वयभूषणं स्वविपुले योगीश्वरेणोदिते

शास्त्रे वाक्यनयानुगां वितनुते वाचं सतां संमताम् ॥ ५ ॥

End:

श्रुत्वैतद्याज्ञवल्क्योपि प्रीतात्मा मुनिभाषितम् ।

एवमस्त्विति होवाच नमस्कृत्य स्वयंभुवे ॥

स्वयंभुवे ब्रह्मणे तिरोहितमन्यत् ॥ ॥

इति श्रीविद्याधरवंशप्रभवश्रीशिलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूत-

श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवविरचिते याज्ञवल्कीये धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धे तृ-

तीयोऽध्यायः ॥ ॥ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

अखण्डभूमण्डललीनमातिलं *

निवार्य सङ्कप्रतिरोधकृत्तमः ।

दोषोद्भवादिप्रकृतिं गतं — —

पूषैव लोकं नयति — — — ॥

राष्ट्रं यस्य निरङ्कुशा वसुमती कोशः समृद्धः सुहृ-

च्छक्तो दुर्गमनागमं क्षतपरा सेना हिता मन्त्रिणः ।

शास्त्रार्थामृतचर्वणापितमति — — विश्वनायोप्यसौ

शौर्योदार्यशोधनो समपरादित्यो निबन्धं व्यधात् ॥

अपरार्कनामायं धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धः समाप्तिमगादिति ओ तत्सङ्ग्रहे
नमो नमः ॥ विक्रमादित्य संवत् १९३२ पञ्चम्यां भूमे ज्येष्ठ वदि ॥

यदक्षरपरिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनं च यद्वतम् ।

लया तत्क्षम्यतां देव कृपया परमेश्वर ॥ ॥

यदक्षरपदभ्रष्टं स्वरव्यञ्जनवर्जितम् ।

तत्सर्वं क्षम्यतां देव कृपया परमेश्वर ॥

शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥ तत्सत् ॥ भद्रम् ॥

No. 384.

Nyāyakandalīkā, by Śrīdhara.†

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अनादिनिधनं देवं जगत्कारणमीश्वरम् ।

प्रपद्ये सत्यसंकल्पं नित्यविज्ञानविग्रहम् ॥

ध्यानैकतानमनसो विगतप्रचाराः

पश्यन्ति यं कमपि निर्मलमद्वितीयम् ।

ज्ञानात्मने विघटिताखिलबन्धनाय

तस्मै नमो भगवते पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥

ग्रन्थारम्भेभिमतां देवतां शास्त्रस्य च प्रणेतारं गुहं श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्धेन
नमस्यति ॥ प्रणम्येति ॥

* This corrupt passage occurs in No. 258 only.

† Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

End :

अतोयमप्रत्यक्षः उपसंहरति ॥ तस्मादिति ॥
 परंपरोपसंश्लेषो भिन्नानां यत्कृतो भवेत् ।
 समवायः स विज्ञेयः स्वातन्त्र्यप्रतिरोधकः ॥

इति भट्टश्रीश्रीधरकृतायां न्यायकन्दलीटीकायां समवायपदार्थः
 समाप्तः ॥

सुवर्णमयसंस्थानरम्या सर्वोत्तरस्थितिः ।
 सुमेरोः गृङ्गवीथीव टीकेयं न्यायकन्दली ॥
 अक्षीणनिजपक्षेषु ख्यापयन्ती गुणानसौ ।
 परप्रसिद्धसिद्धान्तान्दलति न्यायकन्दली ॥
 आसीदक्षिणरादायां द्विजानां भूरिकर्मणाम् ।
 भूरिसृष्टिरिति ग्रामो भूरिसृष्टिजनाश्रयः ॥
 अम्भोराशेरिवैतस्माद्भूव क्षितिचन्द्रमाः ।
 जगदानन्दनाद्वन्दो बृहस्पतिरिव द्विजः ॥
 तस्माद्विशुद्धगुणरत्नमहासमुद्रो
 विद्यालतासमवलम्बनभूरुहोभूत् ।
 स्वच्छाशयो विविधकीर्तिनदीप्रवाह-
 स्यन्त -- सम्पद्बलो बलदेवनामा ॥
 तस्याभूद्भूरियशसो विशुद्धकुलसंभवा ।
 अद्भ्योकेत्यर्चितगुणा गुणिनो गृहमेधिनी ॥
 सच्छायः स्थूलफलदो बहुशाखो द्विजाश्रयः ।
 तस्याः श्रीधर इत्युच्चैरर्थिकल्पद्रुमादभूत् ॥
 असौ विद्याविदग्धानामसूत श्रवणोचिताम् ।
 षट्पदार्थहितामेतां रुचिरां न्यायकन्दलीम् ।

अधिकदशोत्तरनवशतशाकाब्दे न्यायकन्दली रचिता । *

श्रीपाण्डुदासयाचितभट्टश्रीश्रीधरेण्यम् ॥

॥ समाप्तेयं पदार्थप्रवेशन्यायकन्दली टीका ॥ कृतिस्तत्रभवतो भट्टश्री-
 श्रीधरस्येति शिवम् ॥ शुभमस्तु पाठकस्य ॥ शुभम् । शुभम् ॥

* शाका left out in the Kaśmir MSS, but found in the Jessalmir copy.

कणादकृतमूलदृब्धप्रशस्तभाष्यदुमावबद्धा च ।
 श्रीधरहृदयोपवने विलसन्ती न्यायकन्दली रम्या ॥
 गुरुवररत्नाकरकादधीय सम्यग्विवेकेन ।
 वर्षे वेदेषुमिते लिखितेषा भट्टनरकेण ॥
 गुरुवररत्नाकरकादधीय लिखिता नरोत्तमेनैषा ।
 वर्षे वेदेषुमिते कार्तिकमासि त्रिथौ नवम्यां च ॥

विद्वद्वरभट्टनराकः स्वयं लिखितन्यायकन्दल्यादर्शं प्रेक्ष्य लिखितेषा
 न्यायकन्दली ।

॥ इति शुभम् ॥

Nos. 385-387.

*Nyāyakalikā, by Jayanta.**

Beginning :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओम्
 नमः शाश्वतिकानन्दज्ञानैश्वर्यमयात्मने ।
 संकल्पसकलब्रह्मस्तम्भारम्भाय शंभवे ॥ १ ॥

प्रमाणप्रमेयसंशयप्रयोजनदृष्टान्तसिद्धान्तावयवतर्कनिर्णयवादजल्पवित-
 ण्डाहेत्वाभासच्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानानां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः ॥

End :

तदेव च्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानस्वरूपाभिज्ञाः [ज्ञः]स्ववाक्ये तानि वर्जयन्पर-
 प्रयुक्तानि च समादधद्यथाभिमतसाध्यसिद्धिं लभते ॥

इत्यप्रतानितस्वमतभेदमकृतपरमताक्षेपम् ।
 षोडशपदार्थतत्त्वं बालव्युत्पत्तये कथितम् ॥
 अजातरसनिष्यन्दमनभिव्यक्तसौरभम् ।
 न्यायस्य कलिकामात्रं ज्ञयन्तः पर्यदीदृशत् ॥
 समाप्तेयं न्यायकलिका ॥ शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥

Nos. 396-7.

*Prasastabhāṣya, by Prasasta.**

Beginning :

ओन्नमः शिवाय ॥ ओन्नमः श्रीकणभुजे ॥
 प्रणम्य हेतुमीश्वरं मुनिं कणादमन्वतः ।
 पदार्थधर्मसंग्रहः प्रवक्ष्यते महोदयः ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां षण्णां पदार्थानां सप्रधर्म्यवैधर्म्या-
भ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानं निश्चयेसहेतुः ॥

End :

सत्तासंयोगोऽस्यैवमविभागिनान्यात्मकस्य समवायस्यान्या वृत्तिरस्तीति
तस्मात्स्वात्मवृत्तिरत एव चातीन्द्रियः सत्तादीनामिव प्रत्यक्षेषु वृत्त्यभावात् ।
स्वात्मगतसंवेदनाभावाच्च । तस्मादिह बुद्ध्यनुमेयः समवाय इति सिद्धम् ॥

समाप्तं च प्रवेशकाख्यं प्रकरणम् ॥

कृतिरियं प्रज्ञास्तचरणपादानाम् ॥

Nos. 400-401.

*Laukikanyāyasaṅgraha, by Raghunātha.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यत्कीर्तिप्रभया सुशुक्लभुवने मायाप्रभावैः प्रभो-
नीलादेर्जनिता प्रतीतिरचला द्यौः संवृता शोभते ।
यच्छिष्योऽङ्गुलैः स मे गुरुरहो मोहान्धकारापहः
श्रीमद्रामदयालुरिन्दुरमलो मोदाय भूयात्सदा ॥ १ ॥
नत्वा शंभुं हरिं गौरीं विधिं दुर्ण्ड च भारतीम् ।
क्रियते रघुनाथेन लौकिकन्यायसंग्रहः ॥ २ ॥

End :

यो ब्रह्मा यश्च विष्णुर्वसुतनुरपि यो यश्च गौर्यादिमूर्ति-
र्यश्चात्मा सर्वजन्तोः श्रुतिशिखरगिरां यश्च तात्पर्यभूमिः ।
यस्याबोधात्समुत्थो व्रजति च विलयं यस्य बोधात्मपंच-
स्तं शुद्धं संप्रपद्ये शिवममरमजं शंभुमीशानमीड्यम् ॥ ॥

इति श्रीसाधुवृन्दवन्दितपादारविन्दवैराग्यादिरत्नाकरश्रीविद्वद्भरश्रीमद्रा-
मदयालुशिष्येण सोमवंशीयविन्दुरायकुलोत्तंसश्रीसेविदेव्याश्रितपादार-
विन्दगुलाबरायवर्मात्मजेनोदासीनावस्थेन रघुनाथवर्मणा विरचितो लौ-
किकन्यायसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥ ॥

॥ संवत् श्रीविक्रमादित्य १७०५ ॥ ६४-२—८—

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

No. 422.

*Bhagavadgītātikā, by Abhinavagupta.**

Beginning:

ओ श्रीगुरवे शिवायोनमः ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ओम् ॥
 य एष विततस्फुरद्विविधभावचक्रात्मकः
 परस्परविभेदवान्विषयतामुपागच्छति ।
 यदेकमयभावनावशत एष भेदान्वयं
 स शंभुरशिवापहो जयति बोधभासां निधिः ॥ १ ॥
 द्वैपायनेन मुनिना यदिदं व्यधायि
 शास्त्रं सहस्रशतसंमितमत्र मोक्षः ।
 प्राधान्यतः फलतया प्रथितस्तदन्य-
 धर्मादि तस्य परिपोषयितुं प्रगीतम् ॥ २ ॥
 मोक्षश्च नाम सकलाप्रविभागरूप-
 सर्वज्ञसर्वकरणादिशुभस्वभावे ।
 आकाङ्क्षया विरहिते भगवत्प्रीति-
 निर्योदिते लयमियात्प्रथितः समासात् ॥ ३ ॥
 यद्यप्यन्यप्रसङ्गेषु मोक्षो नामात्र गीयते ।
 तथापि भगवद्गीताः सम्यक्तत्वाप्तिदायकाः ॥ ४ ॥
 तास्वन्यैः प्राक्तनैर्व्याख्या कृता यद्यपि भूयसा ।
 न्याय[्य]स्तथाप्युद्यमो मे तद्गुढार्थप्रदर्शकः ॥ ५ ॥
 भट्टेन्दुराजादाम्नायं विविच्य च चिरं धिया ।
 कृतोभिनवगुप्तेन सोयं गीतार्थसंग्रहः ॥ ६ ॥

End :

भङ्गाज्ञानविमोहमङ्कुरमयीं सत्त्वादिभिन्नां धियं
 प्राप्य स्वात्मविबोधमुन्दरतया विष्णुं विकल्पातिगम् ।
 यत्किञ्चित्स्वरसोदादिन्द्रियनिजव्यापारमात्रस्थिते-
 हेलोतः कुरुते तदद्य सकलं संपद्यते शंकरम् ॥
 इति श्रीमत्प्रत्यक्षशिवनाथाचार्याभिनवगुप्तविरचिते
 भगवद्गीतार्थसंग्रहेष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

श्रीमान्कात्यायनोभूद्वरुचिसदृशः प्रस्फुरद्बोधतृप्त-
 स्तद्वंशालंकृतो यः स्थिरमतिरभवत्सौचुकाख्योतिविद्वान् ।
 विप्रश्रीभूतिराजस्तदनु समभवत्तस्य सूनुर्महात्मा
 येनामी सर्वलोकास्तमसि निपतिताः प्रोद्धृता भानुनेव ॥
 तच्चरणकमलमधुपो भगवद्गीतार्थसंग्रहं व्यदधात् ।
 अभिनवगुप्तः सद्रुद्रिजलोककृतचोदनावशतः ॥
 अत इत्ययमर्थसंग्रहः ॥
 कृतिश्चेयं परमेश्वरचरणचिन्तनलब्धचिदात्मसाक्षात्काराचार्याभिन-
 वगुप्तपादानाम् ॥
 अभिनवरूपा शक्तिस्तद्रूपो यो महेश्वरो देवः ।
 तदुभययामलरूप[पं ह्य]भिनवगुप्तं शिवं वन्दे ॥
 इति भद्रं बोधवीतु सद्भक्तानाम् ॥ संवत् १९५१
 भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे शुक्रवासरान्वितायां दशम्यां परत एकादश्यां
 चित्रितमिति शिवम् ॥

No. 449.

Tantrāloka, by Abhinavagupta, and Viveka, by Jayaratha.

Beginning :

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीगुरुपादुकाभ्यो नमः ॥
 श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमो नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 विमलकलाश्रयाभिनवसृष्टिमहाजननी
 भरिततनुश्च पञ्चमुखगुप्तरुचिर्जनकः ।
 तदुभययामलस्फुरितभावविसर्गमयं
 हृदयमनुत्तरामृतकुलं मम संस्फुरतात् ॥ १ ॥
 यस्यामन्तर्विश्वमेतत्स्फुरत्यां
 बाह्याभासं भासमानं विसृष्टौ ।
 क्षोभे क्षीणेनुत्तरायां स्थितौ तां
 वन्दे देवीं स्वात्मसंवित्तिमेकाम् ॥ २ ॥
 नरशक्तिशिवात्मकं त्रिकं हृदये या प्रणिधाय भासयेत् ।
 प्रणमाभि परामनुत्तरां निजभासंप्रतिभाचमत्कृतिम् ॥ ३ ॥

जयत्यनर्घमहिमा विपाशितपशुव्रजः ।

श्रीमानाद्यगुरुः शंभुः श्रीकण्ठः परमेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

निजशिष्यविबोधाय प्रबुद्धस्मरणाय च ।

मयाभिनवगुप्तेन श्रमेयं क्रियते मनाक् ॥ ५ ॥

॥ श्रीदेव्युवाच ॥

अनुत्तरं कथं देव सद्यः कौलिकसिद्धिदम् ।

येन विज्ञातमात्रेण खेचरीसमतां व्रजेत् ॥ ६ ॥

End :

इदमभिनवगुप्तप्रोच्छितं शास्त्रसारं

शिव निशमय तावत्सर्वतः श्रोत्रतन्त्रः ।

तव किल नुतिरेषा सा हि लद्रूपचर्चे-

त्यभिनुतिपरितुष्टो लोकमात्मीकुरुष्व ॥

हे परमेश्वर शिव त्वमिदं भवच्चरणचिन्तनलब्धप्रसिद्धिनाभिनवगुप्तेन सर्वविद्यासतत्त्वगभीकारात्मना प्रकर्षेणोच्छितमत एव शास्त्राणां मध्ये सारं निशमय भासे श्रोतासीत्यर्थः [१] यतस्त्वं सर्वतः श्रोत्रतन्त्रः सर्वज्ञ इति यावत् [१] न ह्यसर्वज्ञस्यैतदवधारणेधिकार एवेति भावः [१] न चैतदेवात्र निमित्तमित्याह [१] तव किल नुतिरेषेति स्तोत्ररूपत्वं चात्र नास्तीति [१] न संभावनीयमित्याह [१] सा हि लद्रूपचर्चेति [१] सा नुतिर्हि तस्य नुत्यस्य रूपचर्चा पौनःपुन्येन स्वरूपपरामर्श इत्यर्थः [१] तैव चेह प्रतिपदं संविद्-द्वयात्मनः शिवस्य । निरूपितेत्यभितः समताश्रमे[न]स्त्वेनाथ ममाभिनवस्य परितुष्टः सन्निखिलं लोकमात्मीकुरुष्व प्रत्यभिज्ञातस्वात्मतया स्वस्वरूपैकरूपं संपादय येन सर्वस्यैवे[वै]तदधिगमायाधिकारो भवेदिति शिवम् ॥ ॥

एतत्सप्तत्रिंशं किलान्हिकं जयरथेननिरणायि

आमृषतामियदन्तं सतामिदं सर्वथास्तु शिवम् ॥ ॥

इति श्रीतन्त्रालोकविवेके सप्तत्रिंशमान्हिकम् ॥ ॥

यः कर्तुं विश्वमेतत्प्रभवति निखिलं सर्ववित्त्वात्प्रणेता

सर्वेषामागमानामखिलभवभयोच्छेददायी दयालुः ।

तस्येन्द्राद्यर्चिताङ्गेगुरुचलमुतावल्लभस्यापि लोके

सर्वत्रामुत्र तावन्नुहिनगिरिरिति ख्यातिमान्यवतेन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥

यद्वादिनामुत्तरदिङ्निवेशादिव श्रयन्ति प्रतिवादिवाचः ।
 अनुत्तरत्वं तदनुत्तरादि श्रीशारदामण्डलमस्ति -- ॥ ३ ॥
 जामात्रेवामृतकरफलाख्य[क्षि]प्तचूलावचूले-
 नादिष्टं द्रागखिलवचसां मानभावं विदित्वा ।
 दध्रे नैलः श्रितमधुमत्तीचन्द्रभागान्तरालं
 सद्देशत्वाच्छिरसि निखिलैः संश्रितं दर्शनैर्यत् ॥ ३ ॥
 बोधस्याप्यात्मभूतं परिकलितवती यद्विमर्शात्मतत्वं
 मुख्यत्वेन स्तुतातः प्रभवति विजयेशेन पीठेश्वरेण ।
 युक्ता बोधप्रधाना स्थितनिजमहसा शारदा पीठदेवी
 विद्यापीठे प्रथीयः प्रथितनिखिलवाग्यत्र काश्मीरनाम्नि ॥ ४ ॥
 यन्मैरेयं कलयतितरां कस्य नेच्छास्पदत्वं
 ज्ञानात्मत्वं प्रययति परं शारदा यच्च देवी ।
 यच्चाधत्ते पटिमघटनां सत्क्रियायां त्रितस्ता
 तद्वन्नैतत्त्रिकमविकलं पोषुषीति प्रशस्तिम् ॥ ५ ॥
 तथ्याभिख्यं प्रवरपुरमित्यस्ति तस्मिन्सदेहः
 कर्ता यस्य प्रवरनृपतिः स्वाभिधाङ्केश्वरात्मा ।
 लेखादेशाद्रणवरसमापादितात्मासिद्धिः
 शैवं धामामरगृहशिरोभागभेदादवाप ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
 लब्धा [ब्धा] यत्रैव सम्यक्पटिमनि घटनामीश्वराद्वैतवादः ।
 कश्मीरेभ्यः प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रज्जयन्सर्वदेष्ट्या-
 न्देशेऽप्यस्मिन्मदृष्टो घुसृणविसरवत्सर्ववन्द्यत्वमाप ॥ ७ ॥
 उद्भूषयन्हरमधस्कृतधर्मसूनु-
 राज्यस्थितिः सदसदर्थविवेचनाभिः ।
 श्रीमान्यशस्करनृपः सच्चिवं समस्त-
 धर्मस्थितिष्वकृत पूर्णमनोरथाख्यम् ॥ ८ ॥
 तत्सूनुस्त्यलः पुत्रं प्रकाशरथमासदत् ।
 यद्यशः कौमुदीबिम्बं प्रकाशैकात्म्यमानयत् ॥ ९ ॥

धर्मोत्तमपुत्रमसूर्यमनोरथान्त [!] पुत्रानजीजनचतुरः ।
 सकलजनहृदयदयितानर्थनैशः प्रसाद इव ॥ १० ॥
 हरिरिव भुजैश्वर्यभिरः सूर्यरथः पप्रथे सुतैस्तेषु ।
 लक्ष्म्यालिङ्ग [ङ्ग] ननिपुणैरमृतविशिष्टोत्पलज्येष्ठैः ॥ ११ ॥
 शालास्थाने वर्त्तकरे मठौ सुकृतकर्मठौ ।
 तेषूत्पलामृतरथौ चक्राते द्विजसंश्रयौ ॥ १२ ॥
 त्रैगर्तोर्वीनिवेशा गजमदसलिलैर्लम्बिता म्लानिमानं
 तत्रयक्ष्मापक्रीतिप्रसरमलिनतां यस्य संसूचयन्ति ।
 तस्यानन्तक्षितीन्दोर्बलबलदरद्राजविद्रावणस्य
 प्रापत्ताचिव्यमाप्योत्पलरथ उचितां पदतिं मुक्तिमार्गे ॥ १३ ॥
 नप्ता यद्रज्जपतेर्लक्ष्मीदत्तस्य कमलदत्तसुतः ।
 श्रीमान्विभूतिदत्तो व्यधादमुं मातुलः शिष्यम् ॥ १४ ॥
 अध्याप्याखिलसंहिता अपि सुतस्नेहान्निषिके मृते
 पुत्रे ज्यायसि देवतापरिहृतासेके दिनैः सप्तभिः ।
 वैरस्यान्न कनीयसे स यददाङ्गालाय सेकं ततो
 देव्या स्वप्नविबोधितोस्य तनयस्यैतन्मुखे नास्त्विति ॥ १५ ॥
 यन्मेलापमवाप्य कौलि[क]महाज्ञानानुविद्धं महः
 शिष्यायैकतमाय देयमपुनर्भावार्यमासादितम् ।
 श्रीचक्राय ददौ द्विजः स भगवान्भुर्वीधरो ---
 श्रीचक्रात्स्वपितृक्रमाप्तमखिलं तत्साधिकारं व्यधात् ॥ १६ ॥
 अयं स परमधामैकात्म्यमाप्ते गुरौ स्व-
 निजगृहमुपनिन्ये तत्सुतं विश्वदत्तम् ।
 अकृतं सुकृतिमुख्यं संहितापारणं च
 प्रथितगुणममुं चाग्निमहत्त्वाधिकारम् ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीकनकदत्तविरचितदेवगृहाग्रे मठं निवासाय ।
 कृत्वा ददौ स तस्मै स्थावरधनकनकसंपूर्णम् ॥ १८ ॥
 अतिगहनाशयसरसानवाप शिवशक्रसम्पन्नन्दिरथान् ।
 जलधीनिवैष चतुरो बहुगुणरत्नाकरान्पुत्रान् ॥ १९ ॥

व्यवहारे शिवभक्तौ चैषां प्रागल्भ्यमीयुषाम् ।
 सर्वार्थसेविनां मोक्षसेवां शिवरथोग्रहीत् ॥ २० ॥
 पित्राह्वय नृपघ्नेन पारिपाल्यं हि सोर्षितम् ।
 लन्कार्यदोषविदभूदरागो निष्पारिग्रहः ॥ २१ ॥
 अधिकारं ग्राहितः स विद्वानुच्छलभूभुजा ।
 कृत्वा धर्म्यां स्थितिं कंचित्कालं तस्याज निस्पृहः ॥ २२ ॥
 भोगापवर्गयोरिव शिवानुगमाद्भूवसम्मरथात् ।
 गुणरथदेवरथाभिधयोजेनिराखिलस्पृहासदयोः ॥ २३ ॥
 निर्दग्धमनलदग्धे नगरेपि सत्पथप्रथितः ।
 अचलश्रीमठमकरोदभिनवमनयोगुणरथाख्यः ॥ २४ ॥
 लोकत्रयचितौ गुङ्गुरथलङ्कुरथाभिधौ ।
 यशोविवेकौ पाण्डित्यमेवामूत सुतौ च सः ॥ २५ ॥
 एकं भव्यद्वितीयत्नप्रथायाः संस्तवादिब ।
 सूत्रा सुतं गुङ्गुरथो युवैव प्रमयं ययौ ॥ २६ ॥
 यां हव्यकव्यविधिबन्धधियं सिताच्छनिर्यन्त्रखच्छविमिषात्पदधूलिलब्धा ।
 संसेवतेस्म सुरसिन्धुरिवावदातचारित्रसंचितमहासुकृतप्रपञ्चाम् ॥ २७ ॥
 तथा स शृङ्गाररथाभिधानो बालो विवृद्धिं गमितो जनन्या ।
 सत्त्वाख्यया ख्यातगुणः क्रमेण श्रीराजराजः सचिवं व्यधाद्यम् ॥ २८ ॥
 कल्यान्तोष्णकरदुताष्वपि परं यस्य प्रतापानले
 म्लायन्माल्यनिधिर्बभूव बत न स्वर्गोङ्गनानां गणः ।
 चन्द्रद्रोहियदीयकीर्तिविसरव्यावर्णनाप्रखर [व]
 त्पीयूषासमगीतपूरितमहाशीतोपचारक्रमः ॥ २९ ॥
 निखिलगुणिनां रोर [!] द्रोमधा गुणान्तरवित्तया
 व्यधित जनतां सर्वा यश्चाधिकं गुणरागिणीम् ।
 इह मम गतस्तन्त्रालोके विवेचयतो यतो
 निरवधिमभिप्रेतोत्साहः स एव निमित्तताम् ॥ ३० ॥
 यस्य त्यागे महिमनि कल्मस्वाभिजात्ये क्षमायां
 गम्भीरत्वे गुणिगणकथास्वन्तरज्ञातृतायाम् ।

शौर्ये कान्तौ किमिव बहुना नास्ति नासीन् भावी
 कोपि कापि क्षितिपरिवृढः साम्यसंभावनाभूः ॥ ३१ ॥
 तस्यात्मनो मन इवान्यमुखार्थलब्धि-
 ज्ञासाद्य साधकतमत्वमरोधचारम् ।
 साक्षाद्भार विषयेषु स किं च लेद-
 र्यादिष्वनन्यविषयेष्वपि भूमिभर्तुः ॥ ३२ ॥
 सामन्तसंततिसमाश्रितसर्वमौल-
 पादातशस्त्रिनिचयेप्यधिकारमाप्य ।
 सर्वाधिकारिणि पदे स विभोः सहायः
 सेनाभटान्ध्रयगपि प्रथयांचकार ॥ ३३ ॥
 तस्य सर्वजगतोपकारिणः [!]
 पुष्णतो गुणिगणान्धनर्द्धिभिः ।
 साधुसाध्वसमुषः कुलोचिता
 शर्वभक्तिरतिवलभाभवत् ॥ ३४ ॥
 श्रीविश्वदत्तपौत्रत्रिभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।
 श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो ममाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 अप्यस्य राजतन्त्रे चिन्तयतो राजतन्त्रमास्त गुरुः ।
 दाश्रीराजानकजन्मा श्रीशृङ्गारो ममापि परमगुरुः ॥ ३६ ॥
 सावदां नवनिमित्तमालोच्य देशकालदौरात्म्यात् ।
 पञ्च महादेवाद्भौ जीर्णोद्धारान्वयधत्त मुधीः ॥ ३७ ॥
 जयरथजयद्रथाख्यौ सकलजनानन्दकौ समगुणर्द्धौ ।
 अमृतशशिनौ [ना]विवाब्धेरस्मात्कमलाश्रयादुदितौ ॥ ३८ ॥
 व्यधुस्तन्त्रालोके किल सुभटपादा विवरणं
 यदर्थं यश्चैभ्यो निखिलशिवशास्त्रार्थविदभूत् ।
 शिवाद्वैतज्ञप्तिप्रकटितमहानन्दविदितं
 गुरुं श्रीकल्याणाभिधममुमवाप्यास्तरजसम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 अधिगतपदविद्यस्त्रीन्मुनीन्योधिशी[शे]ते
 प्रथयति च लघुत्वं जैमिनेर्वाक्यबोधे ।
 निखिलनयपथेष्व[षु] प्राप यश्चाधिराज्यं
 त्रितयमपि कथानां यत्र पर्याप्तिमेति ॥ ४० ॥

तस्माच्छ्रीसङ्गधरादवाप्तविद्यः कृती जयरथाख्यः ।
 ज्येष्ठेनयोरकार्षीत्तन्त्रालोके विवेकमिमम् ॥ ४१ ॥
 विद्यास्थानैरशेषैरपि परिचयतो दुर्गमे शैव[तन्त्रे]
 स्रोतोभिन्नागमार्थप्रकटनविकटे नैव कश्चित्प्रगल्भः ।
 तन्त्रालोकेन यस्मात्स्खलितम[ति]महत्कुत्रचित्कुत्रचिच्च-
 त्स्यान्नूनं—तस्मान्मम न विमुखतां हन्त सन्तः प्रयान्ति ॥ ४२ ॥
 तस्माद्विहाय विद्वेषविषावेषविषूचिकाम् ।
 कृतिभिः कृतिरस्माकमियं समवधार्यताम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 सत्सु प्रार्थनयानया न किमिह (!) तेषां प्रवृत्तिः स्वतो
 दुर्जातेष्वपि चार्थिता अपि यतः कुर्युः प्रवृत्तिं न ते ।
 सर्वाकारमिति प्ररोहति मनो न प्रार्थनायां यदि
 स्वात्मन्येव तदास्महे परमुखप्रेक्षितदैन्येन किम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 इहो दैव सदैव मां प्रति कथंकारं पराधीनता
 मायातोप्यधुना प्रसीद भगवन्नेकं वचः श्रूयताम् ।
 सद्यः कंचन तज्जमेकमपि तं कुर्यात्कृतिं मामकी-
 मेतां यः प्रमदोदिताश्रुनिभृतश्रोत्रं क्षणं श्रोष्यति ॥ ४५ ॥
 वाचस्तत्त्वार्थगर्भाः श्रवसि कृतवतो बलकीकाणहृदा
 नित्याभ्यासेन सम्यक्पारिणतवयसा चिन्तया सेव्यमानान् ।
 आश्लिष्यन्ती नवोढा निविडतरमियं भावनालम्भयिष्य-
 त्यानन्दाश्रुप्रवाहामलमुखकमलान्सांप्रतं निर्धृतिं नः ॥ ४६ ॥
 निरस्तः संदेहः शममुपगता संसृतिरुजा
 विवेकः सोऽसेकः सपदि हृदि गाढं समुदितः ।
 अतः संप्राप्तोऽहं निरुपधिचिदद्वैतमयता-
 मसामान्यामन्यैः किमिव तदिदानीं व्यवसितैः ॥ ४७ ॥
 पदे वाक्ये माने निखिलशिवशास्त्रोपनिषदि
 प्रतिष्ठां यातोऽहं यदपि निरवद्यं जयरथः ।
 तथाप्यस्यामङ्ग कचन भुवि नास्ति त्रिकटुशि
 क्रमार्थे वा मत्तः सपदि कुशलः कश्चिदपरः ॥ ४८ ॥
 इति श्रीतन्त्रालोकविवेकः परिपूर्णः

कृतिः श्रीराजानकमहामाहेश्वरज्ञयद्रथस्य ॥ ॥

वन्दे गुरुं शिवफलार्थिषु कल्पवृक्षं

भेदेन्धनैकदहनं हरमार्गदीपम् ।

शंभुं जठाप्रकृतभूषणचन्द्रबिम्बं

शैवोदधेर्वसुफलप्रदपोतमेतममिति [मेतमिति] शिवम् ॥ समाप्तं च ॥

No. 460.

*Parātrīṃśīkāvivarāṇa, by Abhinavagupta.**

Beginning :

ओं नमो गुरवे । ओं नमो देव्यै ओं नमः शिवाय ।

विमलकलाश्रयाभिनवसृष्टिमहाजननी

भरिततनुश्च पञ्चमुखगुप्तरुचिर्जनकः ।

तदुभययामलस्फुरितभावविसर्गमयं

हृदयमनुत्तरामृतकुलं मम संस्फुरतात् ॥ १ ॥

यस्यामन्तर्विश्वमेतद्विभाति बाह्याभासंभासमानं विसृष्टौ ।

क्षोभे क्षीणेनुत्तरायां स्थितौ तां वन्दे देवीं स्वात्मसंवित्तिमेकाम् ॥ २ ॥

नरशक्तिशिवात्मकं त्रिकं हृदये या विनिधाय भासयेत् ।

प्रणमामि परामनुत्तरां निजभासां प्रतिभाचमत्कृति ॥ ३ ॥

जयत्यनर्घमहिमा विपाशितपशुव्रजः ।

श्रीमानाद्यगुरुः शंभुः श्रीकण्ठः परमेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

निजशिष्यविबोधाय प्रबुद्धस्मरणाय च ।

मयाभिनवगुप्तेन श्रमोऽयं क्रियते मनाक् ॥ ५ ॥

End :

इत्थं प्रपन्नजनतोद्धरणप्रवृत्त-

श्रीमन्महेश्वरपदाम्बुजचञ्चरीकः ।

वृत्तिं व्यधात्त्रिकरहस्यविमर्शागर्भा

काश्मीरिकादिचुलकादधिगम्य जन्म ॥ १ ॥

एतावदेतदिति कस्तुलयेत्यसह्य

श्रीशांभवं मतमनर्गलताश्च वाचः ।

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

एतन्तु तावदखिलात्मनि भाति यन्मे
भातं ततोत्र सुधियो न पराङ्मुखाः स्युः ॥ २ ॥

अज्ञस्य संशयविपर्ययभागिनोपि
ज्ञानं प्रकम्परहितं प्रकरोति सम्यक् ।
रूढस्य निश्चयवतो हृदयप्रतिष्ठां
संवादिनीं प्रकुरुते कृतिरीदृशीयम् ॥ ३ ॥

एतावदर्थरससंकलनाधिरूढ-
धाराधिरूढहृदयो विमृशेदतोपि ।
यद्युत्तरं तदपि नैव सहेत नेदं
सोपानमेतदमलं पदमारुरुक्षोः ॥ ४ ॥

कश्मीरेषु यशस्करस्य नृपतेरासीदमायाग्रणीः
श्रीमान्वल्लभ इत्युदाहृततनुर्यः प्राग्र्यजन्मा द्विजः ।
तस्य स्वाङ्गभवः प्रसिद्धिपदवीपात्रं समग्रैर्गुणैः
श्रीशौरिः शिशुचन्द्रचूडचरणध्यानैकरत्नाकरः ॥ ५ ॥

शीलस्यायतनं परस्य यशसो जृम्भापदं नर्मभू-
र्वीत्सत्यस्य समग्रलोककरुणाधर्मस्य जन्मस्थितिः ।
श्रीमद्वत्सलिकाभिधा सहचरी तस्यैव भक्त्युल्लस-
त्प्रोद्विक्तान्तरवृत्तिशंकरनुतौ यस्या मनो जृम्भते ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यैवात्मभवो विभावितजगत्सर्गस्थितिः [:] शंकर-
ध्यानार्चापरिचिन्तनैकरसिकः कर्णाभिधानो द्विजः ।
यो बाल्येप्यथ यौवनेपि विषयासक्तिं विहाय स्थिरा-
मेनामाश्रयते विमर्शपदवीं संसारनिर्मूलिनीम् ॥ ७ ॥

भ्राता ममेव शिवशासनरूढचित्तः प्रेप्सुः परात्मनि मनोरथगुप्तिनामा ।
यः शास्त्रतन्त्रमखिलं प्रविवेक्तुकामः प्राप्तं परं शिवपदं भवभेदनाय ॥ ८ ॥

शिवशास्त्रैकरसिकः पदवाक्यप्रमाणवित् ।
रामदेवाभिधानश्च भूषितोत्तमजन्मकः ॥ ९ ॥

एतन्प्रियहितकरणप्ररूढहृदयेन यन्मया रचितम् ।
मार्गप्रदर्शनं तत्सर्वस्य शिवाप्तये भूयात् ॥ १० ॥

भन्तर्वेद्यां मन्त्रिगुप्ताभिधानः प्राप्योत्पत्तिं प्राविशत्प्राग्यजन्मा ।
 श्रीकादमीरां[श्चन्द्र]चूडावतारैर्निःसंख्यकैः पावितोपान्तभागान् ।
 तस्यान्ववाये महति प्रसूताद्वराहगुप्तात्प्रतिलब्धजन्मा ।
 संसारवृत्तान्तपराङ्मुखो यः शिवैकचित्तश्चुल्लाभिधानः ॥ ११ ॥
 तस्माद्विवेचितसमस्तपदार्थसार्थालम्ब्यपि देहपदवीं परमेशपूताम् ।
 प्राप्ताभयोभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधानः प्रावेशयन्त्रिकसतत्त्वमिदं निगूढम् ॥ १२ ॥

ये तावत्प्रविवेकबन्धयद्दयास्तेभ्यः प्रणामो वरः
 केप्यन्ये प्रविविच्य ते न च गताः पारं धिगेताञ्जडान् ।
 यस्त्वन्यः प्रविमर्शपारपदवीसंभावनासु स्थितो
 लक्षैकोपि स कश्चिदेव सफलीकुर्वीत यत्नं मम ॥ १३ ॥
 स्वात्मानं प्रविवेक्तुमप्यलसतां ये विभ्रति प्रार्थना
 तान्प्रत्यात्मकदर्थनानुपरतः किञ्चित्फलं सो[शो]ध्यते ।
 विश्वस्यास्य विविक्तये स्थिरधियो ये संरभन्ते पुन-
 स्तानभ्यर्थयितुं मयैष विहितो मूर्ध्ना प्रणामादरः ॥ १४ ॥
 भ्राम्यन्तो भ्रमयन्ति मन्दधिषणास्ते जन्तुचक्रं जडं
 स्वात्मीकृत्य गुणाभिधानवशतो बद्धा दृढं बन्धनैः ।
 दृष्ट्वेत्यं गुरुभारबाहविधये यातानुयातान्यशू-
 स्तत्पाशप्रविकर्तनाय घटितं ज्ञानत्रिशूलं मया ॥ १५ ॥
 बहुभिरपि सोहमेव भ्रमितस्तत्त्वोपदेशकमन्यैः ।
 तत्त्वमिति वर्णयुगमपि येषां रसनां न पस्पर्श ॥ १६ ॥
 परमेश्वरः प्रपन्नप्रोद्धरणकृपाप्रवृत्तगुरुहृदयः ।
 श्रीमान्देवः शंभुर्मांमियति नियुक्तवांस्तत्त्वे ॥ १७ ॥
 तत्तत्त्वं निर्मलस्थितिविभागे (!) हृदये स्वयं प्रविष्टमिव ।
 श्रीसोमानन्दमतं विमृश्य मया निबद्धमिदम् ॥ १८ ॥
 हंहो हृच्चक्रचारप्रविरचनलसन्निर्भरानन्दपूर्णा
 देव्योऽस्मत्पाशकोटिप्रविघटनपटुज्ञानशूलोर्ध्वधाराः ।
 चेतोवाकायमे[त]द्विगतभवभयोत्पत्ति युष्मासु सम्य-
 कप्रोतं यत्तेन मय्यं व्रजत किल हृदि द्राक्प्रसादं प्रसह्य ॥ १९ ॥

व्याख्यादिकर्मपरिपाटिमुखे नियुक्तो
 युष्माभिरस्मि गुरुभावमनुप्रविश्य ।
 वाक्चित्तापलमिदं मम तेन देव्यो-
 न्तश्चारचक्रचतुरस्रितयः क्षमध्वम् ॥ २० ॥
 समाप्तमिदं परात्रिंशिकातत्त्वविवरणम् ॥
 शतेनैकोनविंशत्या त्रिंशिकेयं विवेचिता ।
 सर्वेषु त्रिकशास्त्रेषु ग्रन्थीभिर्दलयिष्यति ॥
 कृतिरभिनवगुप्तस्य ॥ शाकः १७५०
 लिखितेयं शुभाय भवतात् ॥ ॥ शुभम् ॥ ॥

No. 461-62.

*Parápraveśikā.**

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ ओं नमो गुरवे ॥ नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥
 ओं विश्वात्मिकां तदुत्तीर्णां हृदयं परमेशितुः ।
 परादिशक्तिरूपेण स्फुरन्तीं संविदं नुमः ॥ १ ॥
 इह खलु परेश्वरः प्रकाशात्मा प्रकाशश्च विमर्शस्वभावः ।

End :

निजस्वभावः ईदृशं हृदयबीजं तत्त्वतो यो वेद समाविशति च स परमा-
 र्थतो दीक्षितः प्राणान्धारयन्लौकिकवद्वर्त्तमानो जीवन्मुक्त एव भवति देह-
 पाते च श्रीपरमभट्टारक एव भवति ॥ पराप्रवेशिका समाप्ता ॥

No. 464.

Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī, bṛihatī vṛitti, by Abhinavagupta.†

Beginning :

ओम् नमः शिवाय ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः
 ओं श्रीगुरवे नमः ओं श्रेयोस्तु ओम्
 श्रीशक्तित्रितयावियोगि हृदयं विभ्रत्तदेकात्मसा-
 द्भावाविर्भवदात्मभावनिभृतोलासाध्वविस्पन्दितम् ।
 श्रीमद्वैरवधाम तद्विजयतां भक्तान्तरात्मस्फुर-
 त्तोत्रप्राभृतसंग्रहोन्मुखतया यद्विश्वरूपायते ॥

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

† Extracts by Vāmanācārya.

लब्धानुग्रहमीश्वराभिजमहःसंभारसंदीपिनो
 देहेस्मिन्नरसिंहगुप्तघटिते लब्धास्पदः पश्चिमे ।
 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणगुप्तदार्शितपथः श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाविधौ
 टीकार्यप्रविमर्शिनीं रचयते वृत्तिं प्रशिष्यो गुरोः ॥
 घटयति परिपाकं शब्दवृत्ते प्रमाणे
 विघटयति च भूपो मृत्युसंत्रासचिन्ताम् ।
 अभिनवमतिरेवं चैश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा-
 विवृतिपदविमर्शिन्येव भोगापवर्गौ ॥
 निजानुजमनोरथप्रथितसत्पथाभ्यर्थना-
 वशोभिनवगुप्तसत्पदनिवेशितस्वात्मकः ।
 प्रकाशयति मार्गमेनममुना जनोप्युन्मनाः
 प्रयाति शिवधाम तत्पथि न यत्पशूनां दृशः ॥
 पूर्णव्याकरणावगाहनशुचिः सत्तर्कमूलोन्मिष-
 त्प्रज्ञाकल्पलताविवेककुसुमैरभ्यर्च्य हृद्देवताम् ।
 पीयूषासवसारसुन्दरमहासाहस्यसौहस्यभा-
 ग्विश्राम्याम्यहमीश्वराद्वयकथाकान्त[र]सखः सांप्रतम् ॥
 अमृतमनन्तमनुत्तरमघोरखोडशकशक्तिचक्रगतम् ।
 औन्मनसपदनिरुद्धिप्रथमोपादुतकं वन्दे ॥

इहैक एव श्रीमदः (!) सत्परमेश्वरिश्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रसादापसारित-
 संकोच[ः] श्रीमानुत्पलाख्यः शास्त्रकारो विकस्वरस्वहृदयकमलपरिमल-
 पवित्रितदिगन्तः सूत्रवृत्तिं टीकां चेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानसिद्धये कृतवान् ॥

End :

इति नवतितमेस्मिन्वत्सरेन्त्ये युगांशे
 त्रिंशद्विंशतिजलधिस्ये मार्गशीर्षावसाने ।
 जग - - - - -मीश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञां
 व्यवृणुत परिपूर्णा(१) प्रेरितः शंभुपादैः ॥
 परमशिवनतादृ - पि यत्तावकीन-
 स्फुरितविभववन्धुं स्यादथान्तर्बहिर्वा ।
 इति सुदृढविमर्शावेशि - - - - -
 स्तुतिर[र]चि ममेयं सम्मुखं त्वां विधत्ताम् ॥

ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञान्तर्विभवादीश्वरेण — ।

— — — — — त्वविमर्शोदोगिनीं क्रियाम् ॥

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वरश्रीसदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तविरचितायामीश्वरप्रत्यभि-
ज्ञाविवृतिविमर्शिन्यां समस्तनिगमनं षोडशो विमर्शः ॥ समाप्ता चेयमीश्वर-
प्रत्यभिज्ञाविवृतिविमर्शिनी ॥ कृतिः श्रीत्रिनयनचरणचिन्तनलब्धप्रसिद्धेर-
भिनवगुप्तस्य ॥

शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतां परहितनिरता भवन्तु भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयान्तु शान्तिं सर्वत्र सुखीभवन्तु लोकाः ॥

Nos. 465-66.

*Pratyabhijñānavimarsinī laghuvṛitti, by Abhinavagupta.**

Beginning :

ओं स्वास्ति ओन्नमः शिवाय ओम्

निराशंसात्पूर्णादहमिति पुरा भासयति य-
द्विशाखामाशास्ते तदनु च विभक्तुं निजकलाम् ।

स्वरूपादुन्मेषप्रसरणनिमेषस्थितिजुष-
स्तदद्वैतं वन्दे परमशिवभक्त्यात्मनिखिलम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीत्रैयम्बकसद्वंशमध्यमुक्तामयस्थितेः ।

श्रीसोमनन्दनाथस्य विज्ञानप्रतिविम्बकम् ॥ २ ॥

अनुत्तरानन्यसाक्षि पुमर्थोपायमभ्यधात् ।

ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाख्यं यः शास्त्रं यत्सुनिर्मलम् ॥ ३ ॥

तत्प्रशिष्यः करोम्येतां तत्सूत्रविवृतिं लघुम् ।

बुद्धाभिनवगुप्तेहं श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणगुप्ततः ॥ ४ ॥

वृत्त्या तात्पर्यं टीकया तद्विचारः

सूत्रेष्वेतेषु ग्रन्थकारेण दृढम् ।

तस्मात्सूत्रार्थं मन्दबुद्धीन्प्रतीत्यं

सम्यग्ब्याख्यास्ये प्रत्यभिज्ञाविविक्त्यै ॥ ५ ॥

End :

सर्वोपकारकं महाफलमिदं शास्त्रं प्रसिद्धान्वययोगेन नामधेयप्रसिद्ध्या च
तदुत्कर्षस्मरणद्वारजनितसंभावनाप्रत्ययलक्षणप्रवर्तकसंवेदनया जनं प्रवर्तयितुं
पितुर्नाम्ना स्वनाम्ना चोपसंहारं दर्शयति ॥

* Extracts by Vāmauāchārya.

जनस्यायत्नसिद्धयर्थमुदयाकरसूनुना ।

ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञेयमुत्पलेनोपपादिता ॥

यस्य कस्यचिज्जन्तोरिति नात्र जात्याद्यपेक्षा काचिदिति सर्वोपकारिब-
मुक्तमिति । अयत्नेन सिद्धिः परापररूपा यथा स्यादिति महाफलत्वम् ।
उदयाकरस्य पुत्रः श्रीमानुत्पलदेवोऽस्मत्परमगुरुरिदं शास्त्रमकार्षीदिति
तत्प्रसिद्ध्या जनः प्रवर्तत इति प्रवर्तनाद्वारेण सेनुगृहीतो भवतीत्युभयनाम-
निर्देशः । इयमिति हृदयंगमतामुपपत्तिशतैरानीतिति शिवम् ॥ १८ आदितः
१९ इति श्रीमदभिनवगुप्ताचार्यविरचितायां प्रत्यभिज्ञासूत्रविमर्शिन्यां
तत्त्वार्थसंग्रहाधिकारे तृतीयमाह्निकम् ॥ आदितः १५ समाप्तं तत्त्वार्थसंग्र-
हाधिकारश्चतुर्थः ॥

एषाभिनवगुप्तेन सूत्रार्थविमर्शिनी ।

रचिता प्रत्यभिज्ञायां लघ्वी वृत्तिरभङ्गुरा ॥

वाक्यप्रमाणपदतत्त्वसदागमार्थाः

स्वात्मोपयोगमुपयान्त्यमुतः सुशास्त्रात् ।

भौमान्नसाञ्जलमयांश्च न सस्पृष्ट्यै

मुक्तार्कमेकमिह योजयितुं क्षमोन्यः ॥

आत्मानमनभिज्ञाय विवेक्तुं योन्यदिच्छति ।

तेन भौतेन किं वाच्यं प्रश्नेस्मिन्को भवानिति ॥

समाप्तं प्रत्यभिज्ञायां सूत्रार्थविमर्शिनी वृत्तिः ॥

कृतिखिनयनचरणाचिन्तनलब्धप्रसिद्धेः श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तस्येति
शिवम् ॥ औ प्रत्यभिज्ञासूत्रविमर्शिन्यां ॥ उपोद्घातः आह्निकम् १ पूर्वपक्ष-
निरूपणं २ परदर्शनानुपपत्तिः ३ स्मृतिशक्तिनिरूपणम् ४ ज्ञानशक्तिनिरू-
पणं ५ अपोहनशक्तिनिरूपणम् ६ एकाग्रयननिरूपणं ७ माहेश्वराचार्यनि-
रूपणम् ८ ॥ ज्ञानाधिकारः १ ॥ क्रियाशक्तिनिरूपणम् आ १ भेदोभेद-
विमर्शनं २ मानतत्फलमेयनिरूपणम् ३ कार्यकारणतत्त्वनिरूपणम् ४ ॥
क्रियाधिकारः २ ॥ तत्त्वनिरूपणम् १ प्रमातृनिरूपणम् २ ॥ आगमाधि-
कारः ३ ॥ आह्निकम् १ ॥ तत्त्वार्थसंग्रहाधिकारः ४ ॥ एवमाह्निकानि
१५ ॥ अधिकाराः ४ ॥ शुभमस्तु सर्वेषाम् ॥

No. 474.

*Bhagavadbhaktistotra, by Avadhūta.**

Beginning :

ओं नमो नारायणाय ओं
 प्रत्यक्षवस्तुविषयाय जगद्धिताय
 विश्वस्थितिप्रलयसंभवकारणाय ।
 सर्वात्मने विजितक्रोपमनोभवाय
 तुभ्यं नमस्त्रिभुवनप्रभवे शिवाय ॥ १ ॥

End :

कृत्वा मया तव नृतिं जगदेकबन्धो
 भक्त्या स्वबुद्धि सदृशीमवधूतनाम्ना ।
 पुण्यं यदल्पमपि किञ्चिदुपात्तमत्र
 लोकस्य तेन भगवंस्त्वयि भक्तिरस्तु ॥ ६५ ॥

इति श्रीमदवधूतसिद्धविरचितं भगवद्भक्तिस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥ शुभम् ॥

No. 476.

*Bhairavastotra, by Abhinavagupta.**

Beginning :

ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओं
 व्याप्तचराचरभावविशेषं चिन्मयमेकमनायमनादिम् ।
 भैरवनाथमनाथशरण्यं तन्मयचित्ततया हृदि वन्दे ॥ १ ॥

End :

वसुरसपौषे कृष्णदशम्यामभिनवगुप्तः स्तवमिममकरोत् ।
 येन विभुर्भैरवरुसंतापं शमयति स्मृतिं जनस्य दयालुः ॥ १० ॥
 इति श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तविरचितं भैरवस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् शुभमस्तु
 लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ ॥

No. 491.

Vijñānabhairavoddyotasaṅgraha, by Śivācārya.†

Beginning :

ओं श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दर्यै नमः ओन्नमः श्रीमहाभैरवाय ओम्
 भीरूणामभयप्रदो भवभयाक्रन्दस्य हेतुस्ततो
 हृद्वाग्निं प्रयितश्च भीरवरूचामीशान्तकस्यान्तकः ।

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

† Extract by Vāmānācārya.

भेरं वायति यः स्वयोगिनिबहस्तस्य प्रभुर्भैरवो
विश्वस्मिन्भरणादिकृद्विजयते विज्ञानरूपः परः ॥

End :

श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादि प्रभयन्यार्थबन्धनम् ।
ऊर्ध्वप्रागादिपदान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥
ततः परमुपाध्याय - शकाशावलम्बनम्
यद्वृत्तिग्रन्थ[न्य]काकालपुस्तकं हस्तगोचरम् ॥
भूर्जात्मकं वा नायातं जग्धं कालघुणेन तत् ।
दग्धं वा वह्निना छिन्नमत्र साक्षी महेश्वरः ॥
विज्ञानतन्त्रविश्रुतिः कृतसंग्रहेयं
वृत्त्यन्तरात्कचिदपि स्वपतेर्विलासात् ।
नाम्ना शिवेति गुणिकौशिकगोत्रजात्यो-
पाध्यायशब्दयुतयाप्युपलक्षितेन ॥
सु जीवनाभिधाने रक्षति काश्मीरमण्डलं नृपतौ ।
आगमविशेष[त]ज्ज्ञैर्विज्ञानोदद्योतसंग्रहः सुगमः ॥
समाप्तोयं विज्ञानभैरवोदद्योतसंग्रहः कृतिः श्रीमद्भोविन्दगुरुसुन्दरकण्ठ-
भद्रपद्मानुजीविनः शिवोपाध्यायस्येति शिवम् ॥ ॥ ॥
श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दर्यै नमो नमः ॥ ॥
विज्ञानभैरवोदद्योतः कृतः श्रीशिवस्वामिना ।
चित्रितो भगवद्भ्राजानकेन गुरुशासनात् ॥
शुभमस्तु सर्वत्रोम् ॥

No. 505.

*Stavachintāmani, savṛitti by Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and Kṣhemarāja.**

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय । ओं
प्रकाशमाने परमार्थमाने नश्यत्यविद्यातिमिरे सप्तस्ते ।
तदा बुधा निर्मलदृष्टयोपि किञ्चिन्न पश्यन्ति भवप्रपञ्चम् ॥ १ ॥
नमः शिवाय सततं पञ्चकृत्यविधायिने ।
चिदानन्दगणस्वात्मपरमार्थावभासिने ॥

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri.

अन्तःस्पन्दान्दोलतानन्दसर्षद्वाह्यस्पन्दामन्दसंदोहिनीभिः ।
संविद्धाराधोरणीभिः समन्तात्सिञ्चान्विश्वं स्वात्मशंभुर्नमस्यः ॥

नारायणः स्वहृदयाम्बुनिधेर्विवेक-
भूभृद्विमर्दरभसोच्छलितं यदेतत् ।
श्रीशंकरस्तुतिरसायनमाचकर्ष
तच्चर्वणादिह बुधा विबुधा भवन्तु ॥

इह स्तोत्रादौ स्तोत्रकारः सर्वोपनिषत्प्रदक्षितसत्संप्रदायोद्घाटनमुखं
स्वात्मपरमार्थपरमेश्वररूपसमावेशं व्युत्थाने विसृष्टमाह ॥

End :

भक्तिमतां शरणादिप्रवृत्त्यर्थं प्रसिद्धप्रभावस्वनामोदीरणपूर्वं स्तोत्रस्योत्कर्षं
दर्शयत्युपसंहारभङ्गा ॥

स्तवचिन्तामणिं भूरिमनोरथफलप्रदम् ।
भक्तिलक्ष्म्यालयं शम्भोर्भट्टनारायणो व्यधात् ॥

महामाहेश्वरत्वेन प्रसिद्धप्रभावो नारायणाख्यो भट्टः शम्भोर्भिवदानन्द-
घनस्वात्मप्रत्यभिज्ञानात्मकानुग्रहकारिणो भगवतो महादेवस्य स्तोत्रमेव
चिन्तामणिं विहितवान् कीदृशं भूरीणां मनोरथानां यत्फलं भगवत्समावे-
शलक्षणं तत्प्रददाति यस्तम् यतो भक्तिरेव महेश्वरैकात्म्यमयत्वात् लक्ष्मीः
परा संपत् तस्या आलयं नित्यनिवासभूमिं एतत्स्तोत्रश्रवणपठनादिना परा
समावेशलक्ष्मीराविशति नित्यमेव भक्तिभाज इति शिवम् ॥

गुणादित्याज्जातो गुणगणगारिष्ठः शिवगुणैः
कृतामोदो बाल्यात्प्रभृति गतसङ्गो जगति यः ।
स शूरादित्यो मां बहु बहुलभक्त्यार्थयत य-
स्तुतौ तेनाकार्षं विवृतिमिह नारायणकृतौ ॥
श्रीरामेण कृतात्र सद्बिभृतिरिषेष्टा किमर्थेति -
सन्तश्चेतसि कृ-मस्ति विवृतौ कोपि प्रकर्षोत्र यत् ।
तेनार्धिप्रणयादिनैस्त्रिचतुरैर्यां क्षेमराजो व्यधा-
त्क्षेत्रे श्रीविजयेश्वरस्य विमले सैषा शिवाराधनी ॥

शंभोः प्रकाशवपुषः शक्तिरेका जयत्यसौ ।

या स्फुरन्त्येव तनुते परामृतमयं जगत् ॥

इति श्रीमहामाहेश्वरश्रीभट्टनारायणविरचितस्तवचिन्तामणिविवृतिः स-
माप्ता ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

कृतिस्त्रभवस्तुतिसूक्तिकारप्रशिष्यमहामाहेश्वराचार्यश्रीमदभिन-
वगुप्तपादपद्मधुपराजस्य क्षेमराजस्य ॥

No. 508.

*Spandakārikā, by Vasugupta.**

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय सानुगाय । ओं
यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥ १ ॥
यत्र स्थितमिदं सर्वं कार्यं यस्माच्च निर्गतम् ।
तस्यानावृतरूपत्वान्न निरोधोऽस्ति कुत्रचित् ॥ २ ॥
जाम्रदादिविभेदेऽपि तदभिन्ने प्रसर्पति ।
निवर्तते निजान्नैव स्वभावादुपलब्धतः ॥ ३ ॥

End :

भगाधसंज्ञायाम्भोधिसमुत्तरणतारिणीम् ।
वन्दे विचित्रार्यपदां चित्रां तां गुरुभारतीम् ॥ ५२ ॥
श्रीमद्भुसुगुप्तपादैर्विरचितं स्पन्दशास्त्रं समाप्तम् ॥

Nos. 514-16.

*Spandasarvasva, with Spandarivarana by Kallāṭa, and with the
śāramūtra by Rāmakaṇṭha.**

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय सशिवाय सदाशिवाय ॥ ओं ओम् ॥
यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयौ ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī.

टीका. अनेन स्वस्वभावस्यैव शिवात्मकस्य जगदुत्पत्तिसंहारयोः
कारणत्वं विज्ञानदेहात्मकस्य शक्तिचक्रैश्वर्यस्योत्पत्तिहेतुत्वं
नमस्कारद्वारेण प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ १ ॥

टिप्पणम्. दशा दिक्कालाद्यैरकलितचिदालोकवशः

सदा तादृक्स्वात्मानुभवितृया विस्फुरति यः ।

निजो धर्मः शोभोरनुपमचमत्कारसरसः

परं ज्ञातं तत्त्वं जयति जयति स्पन्द इति तत् ॥

विज्ञानदेहो विशुद्धसंविन्मात्रमूर्तिमहेश्वरः स आत्मा स्वभावो यस्य शक्ति-
चक्रात्मन ऐश्वर्यस्य ॥ १ ॥ शिवात्मकस्वभावविमर्शमुखेन

End :

यदा त्वेकत्र संरूढस्तदा तस्य लयोद्भवौ ।

नियच्छन्भोक्तृतामेति ततश्चक्रेश्वरो भवेत् ॥ ५१ ॥

टीका ॥ यदा पुनस्त्वेकत्र स्थूले सूक्ष्मे वा संरूढे लीनचित्तस्तदा तस्य
प्रलयोद्भवस्य लयोद्भवौ ध्वंसप्रादुर्भावी नियच्छन्कुर्वन्भोक्तृतां
प्राप्नोति । ततश्चक्रेश्वरो भवेत् । सर्वाधिपतिर्भवति ॥ ५१ ॥

टिप्पणम् ॥ ध्येयतया लग्ननीययोः स्थूलसूक्ष्मयोर्भावयोर्मध्यादेकत्र संरूढः चक्रस्य शक्ति-
समूहकस्येश्वरोभिष्ठाता यथेष्टविनियोक्ता संपद्यते भोग्यतां विमुच्य भोक्तृभाव-
रूपमैश्वर्यमुत्पद्यते ॥ ५१ ॥ एकत्रेति चित्सामान्यभूस्त्वन्मेषान्यापार इति
राजानकक्षेमराजः ॥

॥ विभूतिस्पन्दश्चतुर्थो निष्पन्दः ॥ ४ ॥

अगाधसंशयाम्भोधिसमुत्तरणतारिणीम् ।

बन्दे विचित्रार्थपदां चित्रां तां गुरुभारतीम् ॥

टीका ॥ अगाधोद्यप्रतिष्ठोनन्तः ।

विचित्रार्थानि पदानि यस्यास्ताम् । चित्रामिति विस्मयाभायिनीम् गुरोर्वसुगुप्ताचार्यस्य
साक्षात्सिद्धिमुखसंकान्तसमस्तरहस्योपनिषद्भूतस्पन्दतत्त्वामृतस्य भारती वाचं स्तौभि ॥
गुरुरूपाय इति शिवसूत्रेषु ॥

समाप्तं स्पन्दसर्वस्वं प्रवृत्तं भट्टकल्लटात् ।

स्वप्रकाशैकचित्तत्वपरिरम्भरसोत्सुकात् ॥

दृब्धं महादेवगिरौ महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिवसूत्रसिन्धोः ।

स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥

दिव्यजम् । एष स्पन्दाभिधानो निधिरिह विवृतो वीतसन्देहसर्प-
द्रामः संपूर्णसिद्धिप्रदनिरतिशयज्ञानमाणिष्यगर्भः ।
सर्वार्थभ्यो विलब्धा स्वयमपि सहजानन्दभोगोपलब्धा
भव्यानामस्य लाभं सफलयतु परः शंकरस्य प्रसादः ॥

End of *Tippaṇa* in No.

॥ इति स्पन्दविवरणसारमात्रं समाप्तम् ॥
कृतिः श्रीमदुत्पलदेवपादपद्यानुजीविनः श्रीमद्राज्ञान[क]रामक-
ण्टस्येति शिवं भद्रं पश्येम प्रचरेम भद्रमौ ॥ ॥ ॥

Nos. 518-19.

Spandasūtra.*

Beginning :

ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ ओं स्वस्ति ओम्
चैतन्यमात्मा ॥ १ ॥ ज्ञानं बन्धः ॥ २ ॥ योनिवर्गः कलाशरीरम् ॥ ३ ॥
ज्ञानाधिष्ठानं मातृका ॥ ४ ॥ उद्यमो भैरवः ॥ ५ ॥

Fol. 2b, l. 4 :

इति श्रीशिवसूत्रेषु शाम्भवोपायप्रकाशनं प्रथम उन्मेषः ॥ १ ॥

Fol. 4b, l. 8 :

ओं इति श्रीशिवसूत्रेषु शाक्तोपायप्रकाशनं द्वितीय उन्मेषः ॥ २ ॥

Fol. 6a, l.

नासिकान्तर्मध्यसंयमाक्लिमत्र सव्यापसव्यसौषुम्णेषु । भूयः स्यात्प्र-
तिमीलनम् ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

ओं इति श्रीशिवसूत्रेष्व्वाणवोपायप्रकाशनं तृतीय उन्मेषः ॥

No. 832.

Spandasūtra, with *vārttika*, by *Bhāskarāchārya*.

ओं नमो देव्यै ॥ श्रीगणनाथार्यो नमः ॥
अयं शिवसूत्रवार्तिकं विचिन्त्यते ॥ ॥
ओं हिमगिरितनयाकान्तं शशधरकलिकोत्संस्म ।
स्थितिलयजनिकर्तारं प्रणमत वरदं देवम् ॥ १ ॥

* Extract by *Vāmanāchārya*.

- ओं नित्योदितनिजाभासस्फुरत्तानिहुतात्मने ।
 शिवाय परिपूर्णैकचिद्रूपवपुषे नमः ॥ २ ॥
- ओं श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुगुप्तगुरोः पुरा ।
 सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासञ्जिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥ ३ ॥
- ओं सरहस्यान्वतः सोपि प्रादाद्भट्टाय सूरये ।
 श्रीकल्लटाय सोप्येवं चतुष्षण्डानि तान्यय ॥ ४ ॥
- ओं व्याकरोत्त्रिकमेकेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्तथा ।
 तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकाया (:) खण्डमन्त्रिम(म्) ॥ ५ ॥
- ओं एवं रहस्यमप्येष मातुलीयाय चावदत् ।
 श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय सोपि स्वतनयाय च ॥ ६ ॥
- ओं श्रीमत्प्रज्ञार्जुनाख्याय प्रदात्सोप्येवमावदत् (?) ।
 श्रीमहादेवभट्टाय स्वशिष्यायाप्यसौ पुनः ॥ ७ ॥
- ओं श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठभट्टाय प्रददौ स्वसुताय च
 तस्मात्प्राप्य करोम्येष सूत्रवार्तिकमादरात् ॥ ८ ॥
- ओं देवाकरिर्भास्करोहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः ।
 यस्मादागमविभ्रंशाद्भ्रान्तेर्भ्रमितबुद्धयः ॥ ९ ॥
- ओं मुक्तसारायुतस्तानि (?) सूत्राणि विवृणोमि च ।
 तत्रात्मन्येव शिवता सर्वस्याखण्डितैव हि ॥ १० ॥
- सदास्थह -- भर्तादि -- -- दिरावृता ।
 तस्यावृत्तिविनाशाय स्वरूपज्ञापये शिवः ॥ ११ ॥

Nos. 521-23.

*Svachchhandoddyota, by Kshemardja.**

- ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओन्नमः सरस्वत्यै ओम्
 विभैकरूपविश्वात्मविश्वसर्गादिकारणम् ।
 परप्रकाशवपुषं स्तुमः स्वच्छन्दभैरवम् ॥ १ ॥
- प्रसरच्छक्तिकल्लोलजगलहरिकेलये ।
 सर्वसंपन्निधानाय भैरवाम्भोधये नमः ॥ २ ॥

* Extract by Vāmanāchārya.

एकैव बोधजलधेः शक्तिशुक्तिर्जयत्यसौ ।
 यदन्तर्निखिलं भाति मुक्तामयमिदं जगत् ॥ ३ ॥
 स्मृतिमात्रविनिर्धूतनिःशेषाज्ञानकिन्त्रिषाः ।
 गुरुसूक्ता वरस्फारा विजयन्ते जगन्त्रये ॥ ४ ॥
 तत्सेवाविमलव्यक्तमहामाहेशदर्शनः ।
 क्षेमराजो विवृणुते श्रीस्वच्छन्दनयं मनाक् ॥ ५ ॥
 अभिनवबोधादित्यद्युतिविक्रसितहृत्सरोजान्मे ।
 रसयत सरसाः परिमलमसारसंसारवासनाशान्यै ॥ ६ ॥

End :

सर्वत्रैव स्फुरति सततं सर्वसर्वात्ममूर्ति-
 योसौ स्वच्छोच्छलितललितो बोधसिन्धुः समन्तात् ।
 स्वच्छन्दोयं जयति भगवान्सर्वसंपन्निधान
 स्फीतस्फूर्जन्निरूपमसुधास्फारसारस्वशक्तिः ॥
 इति श्रीराजानकक्षेमराजविरचिते स्वच्छन्दोदयोते पञ्चदशः पटलः ॥

Appendix III.

ADDITIONAL LIST OF MSS. BOUGHT IN 1875-76.

A.—BRAHMINICAL BOOKS.

POETRY.

| No. | Name of Work. | Author. | Fols. | Lines. | Date. | Material. | Charac- ter. | Place where bought. |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 824 | Bṛīhatkathā | Kshe- mendra. | 90 | 16 | 1718 | Paper. | Dev. | Bharuch. |
| 825 | Rāmāyana..... | Vālmīki. | 1427 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Surat. |
| 826 | Śrīngāratilaka | Kālidāsa. | 7 | 7 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 827 | Haihayendrakāvya | Hari. | 40 | 9 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 828 | Haihayendrakāvya tīkā | Hari. | 47 | 9 | 1779 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 829 | Haihayendrakāvya vyākhyā | Śambhu. | 76 | 10 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

GRAMMAR.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------|----|----|---|-------|-------|-----------|
| 830 | Padakaumudī | Hari. | 32 | 13 | 0 | Ditto | Ditto | Complete. |
|-----|-------------------|-------|----|----|---|-------|-------|-----------|

DHARMA.

| 831 | Kīrtichandrodaya..... | Chdhada- malla. | 625 | 11 | O | Paper. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----|----|-------|--------|---------|---------|-------------|
| ŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY. | | | | | | | | | |
| 832 | Spandasūtrasavārtika..... | Bhāskara. | 24 | 18 | | Ditto | Śārada. | Kāśmir. | Incomplete. |
| B.—JAINA BOOKS. | | | | | | | | | |
| 833 | Kalpakaumudī | O | 275 | 9 | 1760 | Paper. | Dev. | Surat. | Complete. |
| 834 | Kumudachandranāṭaka | Yasāśchan- dra. | 21 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Pathan. | Ditto |
| 835 | Gacchhāchārāṭikā | Malayagani. | 197 | 12 | N. C. | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 836 | Prameyakamalamārtanḍa..... | Prabhā- chandra. | 459 | 10 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |
| 837 | Bhavabhāvanāvṛtti | O | 179 | 12 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Incomplete. |
| 838 | Yogaśāstradīpikā | Hema- chandra. | 231 | 13 | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto | Ditto |

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